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FORMERLY NATIONAL CONFERENCE
OF CHARITIES AND CORRECTIONS

AT THE SIXTY-FOURTH ANNUAL
SESSION HELD IN INDIANAPOLIS
INDIANA · MAY 23-29, 1937

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FOREWORD

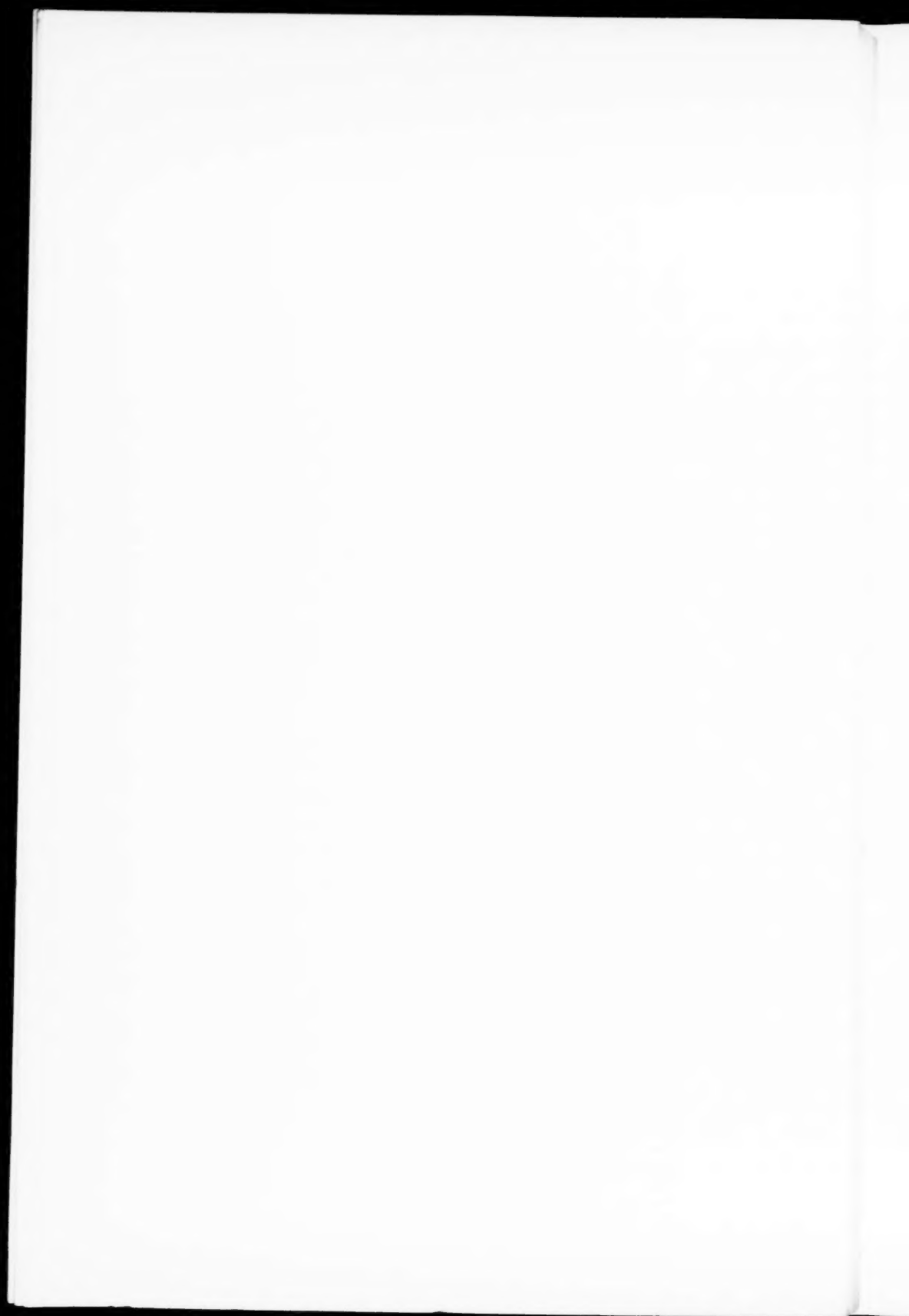
THE Executive Committee of the National Conference of Social Work presents to the membership this volume containing the proceedings of the annual meeting, which was held this year (1937) in Indianapolis. The Editorial Committee, which selected the material for publication, consisted of Maude Barrett, New Orleans; Russell Kurtz, New York City; Wayne McMillen, Chicago; and, ex officio, Edith Abbott, Chicago, president of the 1937 Conference, and Howard R. Knight, editor of the *Proceedings*.

The National Conference of Social Work is primarily a great forum for the discussion of those problems in the field of social work with respect to which the weight of evidence has not yet transmuted theory into precept. Varying points of view and divergent interpretations of existing data are, and should be, characteristic of many of the sessions.

Inclusion, exclusion, or abridgment of material by the Editorial Committee, therefore, in no sense implies either indorsement or disapproval of subject matter. Timeliness, universality, and usefulness within the total field were the sole determinants in choosing material for publication. In some instances papers that were of great value in the setting in which they were presented were reluctantly shortened or omitted either because of limitations of space or because of the availability of similar material elsewhere.

The Editorial Committee acknowledges great indebtedness to the authors who submitted their manuscripts and to the section chairmen who assisted in the selection of the papers included in this volume. Mr. Stanley Lawrence has rendered notable service in editing the manuscripts and in reading the proofs.

WAYNE McMILLEN, *Chairman*



THE PUGSLEY AWARD

EACH year since 1933 Mr. Chester D. Pugsley, of New York, has offered an award through the National Conference of Social Work for "the paper or papers adjudged to have made the most important contribution to the subject matter of social work." The selection is made by the Editorial Committee from among the papers presented by professional social workers at the annual meeting of the Conference.

This year the Editorial Committee decided unanimously that the paper which most clearly merited the award was presented by Mr. John Kingsbury of New York. His subject was "A National Health Program." Although the members of the Editorial Committee were not unanimously in agreement with all of Mr. Kingsbury's conclusions and recommendations, they were completely of one mind with respect to the timeliness of his subject and the vigorous challenge of his contribution.

In addition it was the judgment of the Committee that the paper on "The Paroled Offender," by Mr. Winthrop D. Lane, of New Jersey, was entitled to honorable mention. Mr. Lane's subject is one concerning which there is at present widespread discussion, much of which is characterized by appeals to inherited passion and ignorant prejudice. His clear and scholarly analysis represents a contribution that will undoubtedly prove widely useful in combating reactionary tendencies now in the ascendant in some parts of the country. Both Mr. Kingsbury and Mr. Lane speak from a background of long experience that gives their words an unmistakable hallmark of authority.

The terms of the award limit the selection to papers presented by professional social workers. This restriction excludes from consideration the admirable paper by Mr. Sidney Hollander, of Maryland, entitled "The Layman Looks At Social Work," which otherwise would have been a serious contender for first honors.

WAYNE McMILLEN, *Chairman*

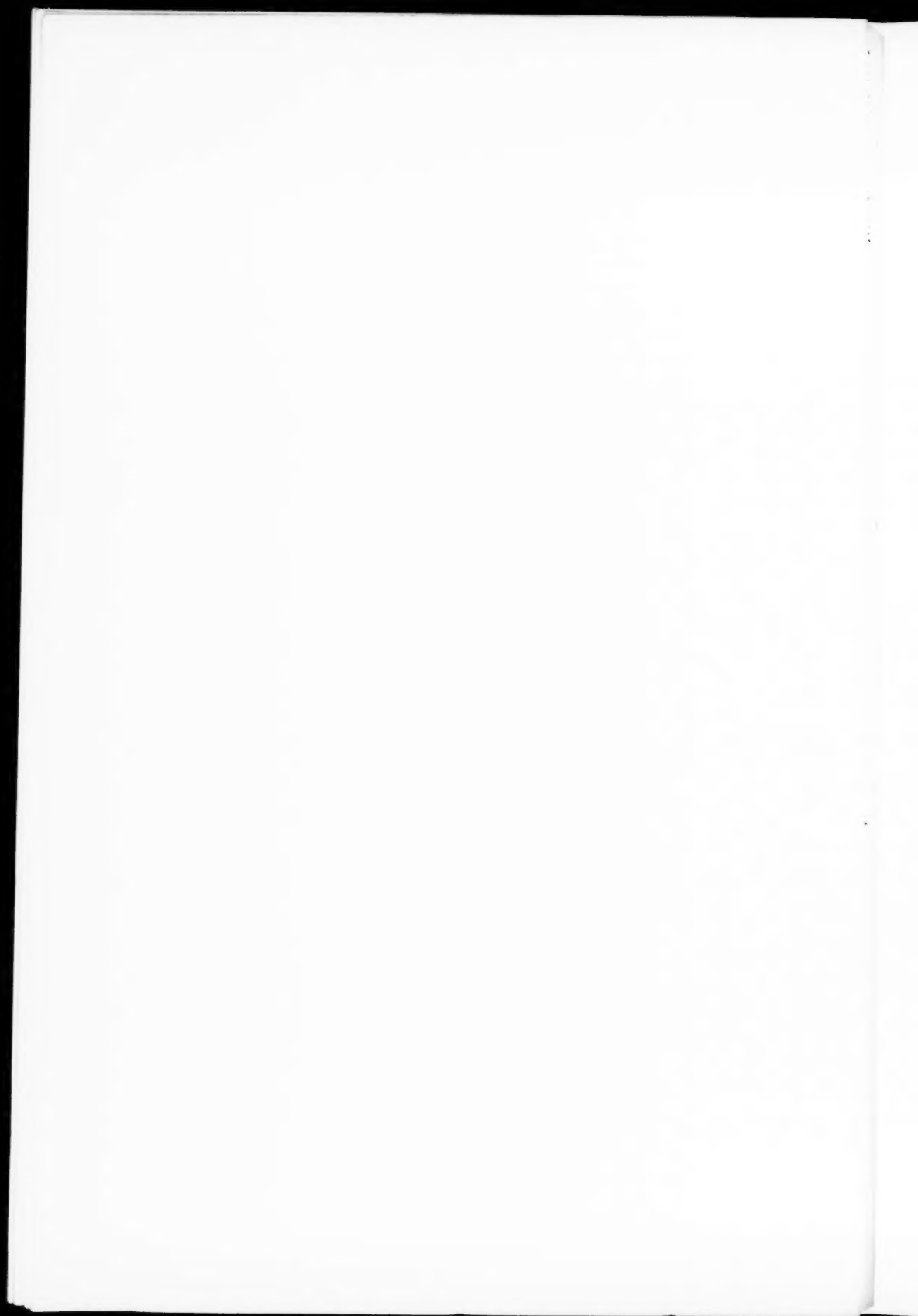


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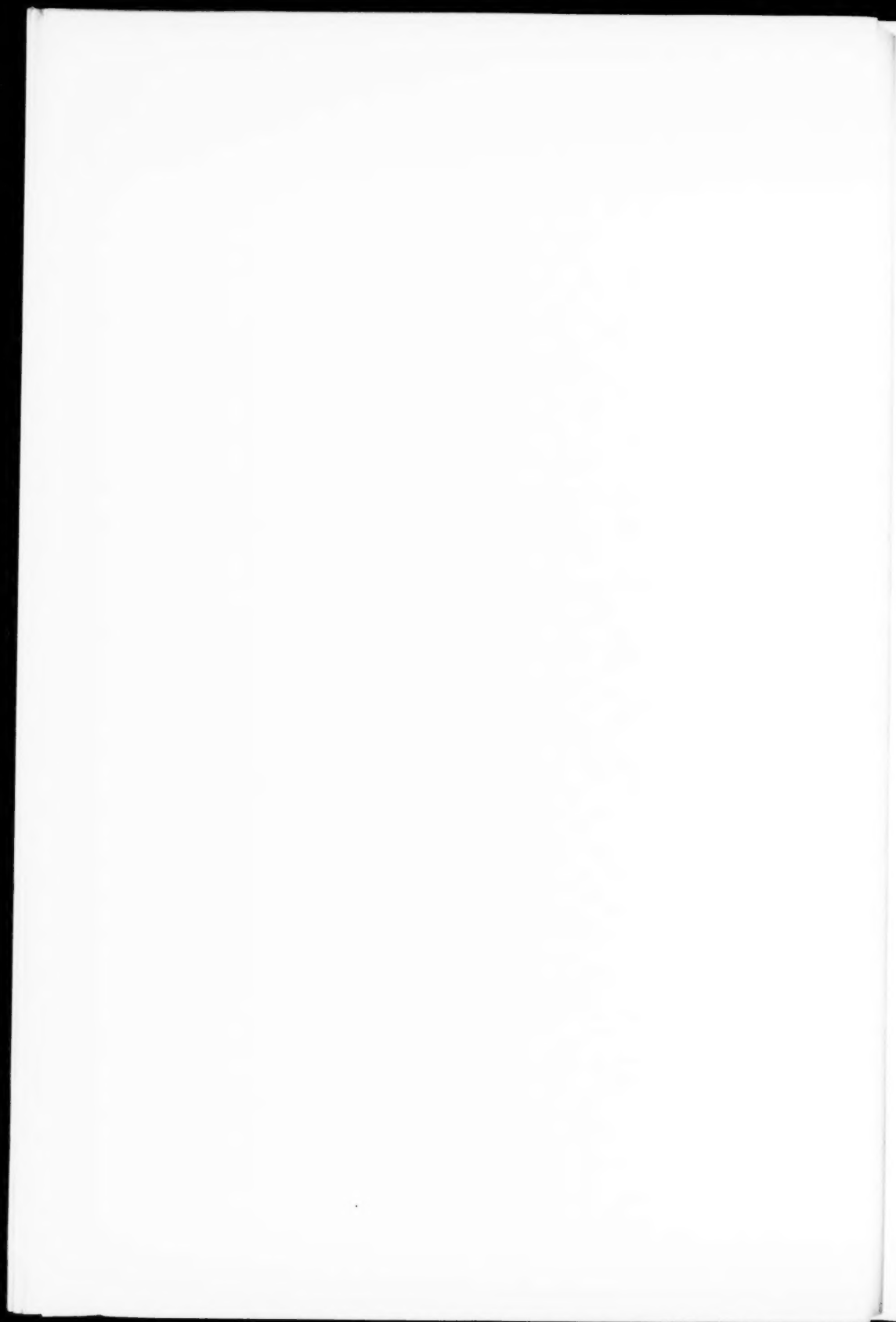
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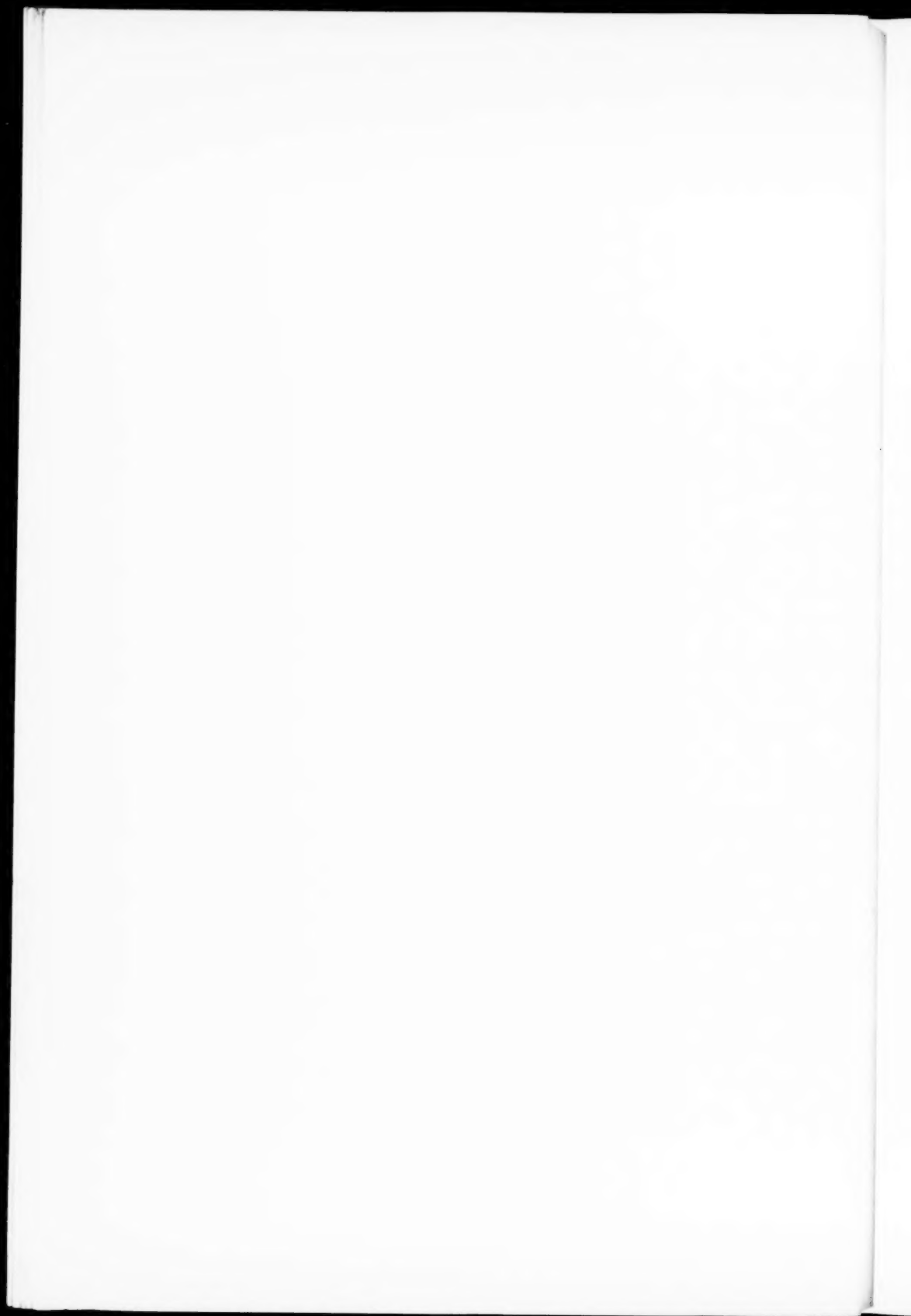
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GENERAL SESSIONS



PUBLIC ASSISTANCE—WHITHER BOUND?

PRESIDENTIAL ADDRESS

*Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago, Chicago*

PUBLIC assistance in this second quarter of the twentieth century is a strange assortment of things old and new—often with shreds and patches underneath, and then some rather grand, and quite new, outside garments—the old “pauper laws” of the states underneath, and the new social-security program shining with almost glittering promises for the top layer.

The long years of the depression period have brought with them certain permanent changes in our social welfare organization. These years have left us with a different program, a different place in the world—and with new responsibilities. And it is altogether proper on this occasion to attempt an inventory, a stock-taking—an attempt to answer the question, “Whither bound?” from here, and how do we chart the course?

There are always two ways of making a social inventory. You can look for the bright side or you can look for the shadows. There is the story of the minister who did not enjoy the egg which was given him for breakfast, and who told the housewife when she inquired anxiously about it, “I think that *parts* of the egg are very good.” Parts of the public assistance program are very good, and we could begin, if we would, with a story of achievement about the great program that we called the F.E.R.A., about the new housing experiments and the work programs, and the far-reaching plans and policies brought together under the wonderful Social Security Act. But the inadequate foundation of uncertain pauper relief on which millions of people depend for their only security means that we have been building our house upon the sands.

THE PRINCIPLE OF PUBLIC RESPONSIBILITY

But during these depression years we have seen the historic principle of public responsibility for those in need come into its own again. Although this was one of the earliest principles of our government, as old as the oldest colonies planted in Virginia and on the New England coast, it was not always accepted or understood, even in our own profession. And, although the social-work group finally accepted federal aid for the public relief program almost with a "united front," it was generally accepted only five years ago.

This theory that the taxpayers of the community must provide the necessities of life for those unable to provide such necessities for themselves first appeared with our seventeenth-century ancestors in the English colonies along the Atlantic Coast. It crossed the Allegheny Mountains when the Northwest Territory was opened, and was formally recorded in a territorial statute in the year 1790. An eighteenth-century legislature meeting in Marietta, Ohio, then the only settlement that had been established northwest of the Ohio River, enacted the first poor law of the old Northwest Territory, and authorized the county justices to appoint township overseers of the poor. These overseers were to report any person who, because of poverty, sickness, accident, or other misfortune, was, in the language of the old statute, a "miserable and proper object of public charity" and the justice of the peace was then responsible for giving the "suffering person proper and seasonable relief."¹ Thus promptly did this principle of public responsibility for those in need move across the mountains with the opening of the West.

In every territorial Legislature, this principle was written into the statute-books almost from the first meeting of the first legislative assembly. And, in the westward march across the plains and mountains to the states of the Pacific Coast, public

¹ See Aileen Kennedy, *The Ohio Poor Law and Its Administration* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 11-12.

responsibility for those in need was a social welfare policy of early record.

The importance of the public relief program as our first measure of social security has been seen in every part of the country in the last few years. But, long before this or any other depression, people have been accustomed to turn, in the hour of need, to "the county" or "the town."

THE FALLACY OF LOCAL RESPONSIBILITY

But the principle of public responsibility was in conflict with that other early principle of local responsibility. For the local governmental units were often unable, and sometimes unwilling, to assume their statutory obligations. The old system of poor relief had changed very little over a period of nearly two centuries, until during the nineteenth century new trends in social welfare began to appear. Certain groups were gradually selected out of that pool of destitution created by the old poor laws, and were taken away from the local overseers of the poor, taken out of the poorhouses, taken out of the sheds and attics, taken out of the hands of those who were called the "Farmers of the Poor," and given better and specialized care by the state authorities.

Under the leadership of Dorothea Dix, state hospitals were provided for the insane.

Under the leadership of Samuel Gridley Howe, special state care was provided for the blind and feeble-minded.

Under the leadership of William Letchworth and Josephine Shaw Lowell, special care was provided for dependent children, who were taken out of the almshouses and placed at public expense in children's institutions in many of the states and in boarding-homes in Massachusetts.

In the twentieth century there have been further attempts that are well known to you, to provide specialized and, at times, expert care for certain other classes removed from the misery of the old poor law organization. Chronologically, these new groups included the men and women salvaged by workmen's

compensation, by the mothers' aid laws, the blind pension laws, the old age pension laws, and, finally, by the more recent unemployment compensation statutes.

STATE AID FOR SPECIAL GROUPS

That is, in the public welfare program of the nineteenth century, when it seemed impossible to re-write the old pauper laws from the standpoint of modern democracy, we moved forward along two clear lines of advance:

First, better care was provided for a few special groups.

Second, state funds were used to supplement the inadequate resources of the minor local governmental authorities. New state administrative authorities were also developed, and the state boards of charities and other state boards of various kinds were substituted for the inefficient services of the old overseers of the poor.

But the great expansion of the movement away from local responsibility to state aid came after President Roosevelt, as governor of New York, asked the New York State Assembly, in September, 1931, for state grants-in-aid to the minor local governments for assistance to the unemployed and their families. A new period then began in our social welfare history, as other states adopted a state assistance program. And although state funds are still inadequate even for the social-security classes, the ferment is working—new plans are on the way.

We now find ourselves in a transitional stage, for both of these trends are still in progress. There is a further breakup or breakdown of the old poor laws called for, and a complete, adequate, and stable program of state grants-in-aid to the local authorities is still in the future.

But, looking at the whole program again, can we say that these trends have been in the right direction?

BETTER STANDARDS OF PUBLIC ASSISTANCE FOR CERTAIN "CATEGORIES"

With regard to the method of providing special care for special groups, we have been challenged recently by some of our

eastern friends, who in the rather grand, New York manner labeled this policy "categorical relief," and told us that this plan was not approved.

It is important that New York and the Middle West should understand each other—if possible. And, therefore, it is important that we should explain why we believe in providing special care for these various selected groups. First, because the people themselves prefer their public assistance that way. They would rather receive an old age pension, or mothers' aid, or unemployment benefit, or a blind pension, than to go on the general poor relief lists. In Chicago and Cook County less than one-third of the old age pensions granted last year went to people who had been on relief. These old age assistance grants were made only after careful investigation by social workers had shown that neither the old people nor their relatives had property or income that was more than microscopic. And the pensions recommended were later cut down in our state capital, so you may be sure these pensioners were certainly without resources, either visible or invisible.

A second reason why this method of special assistance by categories is a step in advance of the old relief pool is that the new forms of public aid have provided more adequate and more stable grants than the old relief provided, and have avoided some, at least, of the humiliations of the old system.

There is no doubt that old age pensions must be administered *as old age pensions*, and not as a part of any universal system of relief; and this is true of aid to dependent children, blind pensions, and the rest.

THE ADMINISTRATORS OPPOSE CATEGORIES

But some recent arguments against categories now come from our friends the relief administrators—arguments that seem plausible—to show that they could do a better administrative job some other way. Grant that this is true for the time being, and that the present chaotic system of unrelated boards and departments, each administering a separate part of the as-

sistance program, is inefficient and unsatisfactory. But the answer here is not the abolition of categorical assistance but a better system of administration, bringing together the different divisions or bureaus into one public department, and making them into orderly administrative units.

Relief administrators also find themselves at the present time unable to compete with the newer special services before appropriations committees and governors. But this again is a temporary result of the inevitable confusion arising out of the new emergency programs; and what we are after is not the better relief job for the moment, but the ultimate security of our clients.

More recently, these modern forms of public aid have been given new life by the great Social Security Act. But even yet our special categories of need are by no means completely salvaged. "*We are only on the way.*"

There has remained a large group of men, women, and children in need of assistance who have been cared for in makeshift ways under a residuary public assistance program that we have been calling "general relief." And social workers today are not willing to settle down and accept any permanent or chronic hand-to-mouth life of dependency for large numbers of people.

LOCAL AND STATE FUNDS INADEQUATE FOR THE NECESSARY PUBLIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAM

Unfortunately, instead of efforts to continue the breaking-up of the mass relief pool, in line with the general trend in the public assistance program, we had a fatal turning-back of the wheels of progress when our leaders in Washington, after an experience of two and one-half years, suddenly announced the end of federal aid except for work relief, and the handing back of the complicated program of general home assistance to the local authorities. The resources of the minor local and state governments could not, of course, carry this load adequately, especially when they were being pressed to develop the social-security program at the same time.

The Federal Relief Administrator explained the policy once by saying that the federal government should care only for those "people who in normal times would be supporting themselves on a job—not people who are in need because they are unable to work." "Provision," he said, "for these people is traditionally a state or local responsibility." But, my friends, that "traditionally" argument is no argument. Only yesterday work relief was also traditionally a local program. There is absolutely no reason in theory or common sense why the federal government should aid the states in work relief and not in the general home assistance program. Regulation of child labor is also traditionally a local-state responsibility, but we propose to break with the outworn tradition and make this a federal responsibility in the near future.

But a better reply to the Administrator may be found in what will sometime be regarded as a historic public document—the first annual report of the Social Security Board. Discussing the relation between "the federal government and the states," the Board emphasizes some important points.

First, they tell us that "in adopting the Federal Emergency Relief Act, Congress first recognized that the amelioration of destitution was a general problem within the sphere of the National Government."

But the Board also reported that "experience has demonstrated that reliance on state action alone in these fields often means postponement and, in some cases, failure to act at all." And they go even farther—"State inaction," they say, has been "due in large part to the inadequacy of state financial resources." "Wealth produced in some states," they tell us, or at least "the resources practically available for taxation," have not been sufficient to sustain such a program. "It could be established only if Federal assistance were available." Can you have a better argument for federal aid and for the continued presence of the federal government in the general home assistance program?

Our friend, the Federal Emergency Relief Administrator, has

himself given us an argument in the interesting book which he published last fall, when he commented very wisely about "a widespread feeling that by some mysterious means an unemployed person will not eat so much or require such warm clothes, if his relief is given by the local community as if it were given through a federal plan in co-operation with states or municipalities." And we have learned during the past year that this is exactly what the local authorities seem to think.

"RELIEF HAS NEVER BEEN ADEQUATE"

The federal government's withdrawal from the home assistance program led to the chaos in which we now find ourselves. The whole relief program has collapsed in many areas. Competent workers have been dismissed and those people who had been our clients are now nobody's clients and nobody's responsibility. "We are none of us equal to the cause that we profess." If we were, we should have been able to present the case for this basic program and make the President and the Congress see what the social workers of this country have seen during the past year—the homes without food and without fuel in bitter weather, children too hungry to go to school, whole families without warm clothing and bedding, the people without provision for medical care, and the evictions that have gone on so relentlessly. We should have been able to tell them of the enforcement of the old settlement laws, and of families being sent back, somewhere—anywhere—because they do not have residence in the township where they are trying to live. We could have told them of people actually living on nothing but surplus commodities in whole areas. If we had been able to tell our story, we should have had federal aid again long before this.

That interesting book which the Administrator published last fall contains some very true words as well as some that are not—well, some that we should not agree about! He tells us, for example, that in spite of the billions spent for relief, he cannot render a cheerful account of the way we met the obligation to the "4,000,000 destitute American families who looked to the

Relief Administration for their very existence." "It is curious," says Mr. Hopkins, "that among the almost innumerable criticisms we have experienced, the one most truthful allegation is never made except by the families who depend upon us." And the Administrator adds these true words: "We have never," he says, "given adequate relief." At this point social workers are all in agreement with our old friend. The billions that have been spent have never been adequate and have left us with misery and privation in what we like to call a land of plenty. The tragic fact is that, poor as the relief level was, it gave the four million families something better for a time than many of them had ever known before, and better than they have known in a large number of our American states since that tragic decision was made by the Federal Administrator and his chief about "ending this business of relief."

The true story of relief at the present time cannot be correctly told by anyone. Without the encouragement of federal grants-in-aid, there are no longer regular and complete reports; but a recent report of the Relief Administrator, issued late in 1936, contained some interesting statements about what happened after the collapse in certain areas.

In a study of sample cases that had been "closed for administrative reasons," the report made by their own representatives in one area after another is a story with less than 10 per cent of these families averaging three meals a day. Most of them had "somewhat less than two meals a day"; and many families had only one meal a day. "Fresh meat, eggs, butter, cheese, and milk had practically disappeared from their diets."

". . . . Most of them were destitute, lacking practically everything required for health and social efficiency." Some families said that they lived upon the food, given irregularly, by neighbors, friends, and former employers. "Others made the rounds of stores and markets where they occasionally salvaged food. . . ."

There had been resort to rent-free dwellings. "Shanties, garages, and condemned commercial buildings were sometimes

used for living quarters." In one area, ". . . more than one-third were in need of winter clothing." Others were without adequate winter fuel and still others needed prompt medical care.

Just how that army of people who are our clients have been living during the past year no one knows. There are great cities where relief has been kept up to the former level. But how can we know what has been happening in the small towns and rural areas when the administration of home assistance has been handed back to thousands of local townships and counties? In a state like Illinois, we have 1,423 different local authorities now determining whether they will, or will not, grant funds for home assistance, and all sorts of things are happening in all sorts of places. From Alexander County, in our state of Illinois, there came last month the story of deputy sheriffs and national guardsmen standing by during a relief riot expecting a declaration of martial law. The county seat of Alexander County is the city of Cairo, Illinois, and the newspapers reported that the riots were part of "the aftermath of Cairo's battle to survive the Ohio River's floods nearly two months earlier." And most of the two thousand men who stormed relief headquarters were said to have worked on the levee bulwarks to save the city during the flood but had not yet been paid the 50 cents an hour they demanded for the time they spent in that fierce struggle.

A recent report² of the Works Progress Administration covers the relief picture as of January, 1937, in the small towns and rural areas with reports from a total of 385 counties located in 36 states. For 12 states there is no report at all and for some of the other states this report shows the disgracefully low level of general assistance in many areas. For example, 16 counties in Georgia report general assistance for the month of January, 1937, as averaging \$2.68 per family per month; 12 counties in Missouri report the average relief at \$2.67 per family per

² *Current Statistics of Relief in Rural and Town Areas for December 1936—January 1937.*

month; 12 counties in North Carolina report \$3.54 per family per month; 9 counties in Oklahoma, \$4.68 per family per month. And so the story goes.

We have been making some studies in Chicago this last year, studies of single, unattached men and single, unattached women—you know the kind, like many of us. These single, unattached men in the great city of Chicago were living and sleeping in unheated shacks, in rooms under porches—they were sick, they were hungry, they were miserable. And many of them were men and women who had once been competent and even thrifty people, able to work and earn and live respectably like the rest of us.

WANTED—A PROGRAM OF RETRAINING AND
RE-EMPLOYMENT

Dark as the picture is, we do not want merely new relief funds. We want a continued development of new methods of abolishing relief by making other and better provision for those now in despair of their release. What we need is emphasis on the great problem of prevention and the importance of refusing to accept relief as a proper way of life for several millions of our people.

A weak point is the machinery for the actual finding of jobs. Miss Carr, of the New York Emergency Relief Bureau, in a recent article described the great increase in the number of people who went from relief to work which she had in getting an experienced representative of the Federal-State Employment Service in each of the district relief offices.

We are more than ready now for some new categories. We must, for example, find a way to do something better for that group mislabeled "unemployables," a large proportion of whom are really employables—or near-employables, at any rate.

Some way must be found to find a path for these men and women back into the labor market. In spite of the good intentions of the administrators, and the vast sums of money spent on the program, it is only too true that the present system of work relief does not do this.

WANTED—A BETTER HEALTH PROGRAM AND SPECIAL
CARE FOR INVALIDITY

Another group calling urgently for help are those in need of special care for invalidity—the people who are suffering from chronic illness: tuberculosis, cancer, and other ills the flesh is heir to—people who should be cared for on the basis of sickness and invalidity and not as families in a general relief pool. Then there are the maternity cases—and special maternal care is a category almost within our reach, thanks to the long-time program of our first social welfare agency—the United States Children's Bureau. The next step in categorical relief—and it cannot come too soon—is to make the public health services truly public health services, so that they are not only fully informed about the health needs of the country but can also provide a really preventive program.

You remember that the "Rules and Regulations" of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration "Governing Medical Care Provided in the Home" began with the statement that "The conservation and maintenance of the public health is a primary function of your Government." This is true, and it is also true that in this "primary function" our government has been guilty of colossal failure and neglect, and that adequate medical care has been almost one of our lost horizons.

Something over a year ago, the American Association of Medical Social Workers published their valuable study of the social aspects of medical care in several communities. This report shows, over and over again, the heavy costs borne by the public because medical care is so often available only when illness has reached an acute stage. Even under the F.E.R.A., one of the difficulties "in all the places visited was the tendency to interpret the program for medical care in terms of 'emergency care,' and if funds were at low ebb, all but life and death cases were refused. . . ."³

³ For example, see the *Interim Report on Social Aspects of Medical Care Furnished in Several Communities* (Chicago: American Association of Medical Social Workers, 1936): "A man on the relief rolls asked for a medical examination. His meager earnings at

The Association tells also of the difficulties of treatment because of the "indescribable environment of the patient"; of the miserable homes of the sick poor—without heat, without beds and bedding, clothing, or cleanliness. "The relief stations" they said, were, "besieged by persons seeking medical care for conditions which might have been prevented by an active public health service or by effective treatment of disease in the earlier stages."

The medical workers reported "in place after place cases of underfed children and emergency hospitalization for malnourishment."⁴

The findings of the studies substantiated the fact that is already well known to you, namely, that "medical resources are nowhere adequate for the curative and preventive treatment of illness."

ARE NEW TAXES NECESSARY FOR SOCIAL WELFARE PURPOSES?

But can adequate public funds be made available for an adequate public assistance program? We hear complaints about

hauling and trucking were supplemented by the Relief Administration. He said he had tuberculosis a few years ago, but had had no examination for a long time. But the money for medical care had to be saved for 'emergencies.' He could be examined for work relief, but examinations cost \$1.00 each. He returned to his trucking. No questions were asked about his family, if he had one, nor about his former treatment for tuberculosis" (pp. 5-6).

* "In one of the families in Philadelphia a youth fainted at the clinic from malnutrition and anemia. The social workers at the clinic asked the relief visitor to provide additional nourishment for the boy and also for a revision of the food order for the family of eleven, for whom the food allowance was \$11.70. . . . All the relief visitor . . . could do was to grant one extra quart of milk a day for the patient. . . .

"Need for fuel is another problem. Many entries into the social records report, after a home visit, that the house is cold and that all of the family have colds, or someone is sick in bed. One woman tried to heat the baby's milk by burning paper in the stove and another burned leaves to cook the supper. There were many patients who reported that they must live on uncooked food because the gas was turned off."

Because facilities for treatment were not available, "tuberculosis patients received medical attention and continued to live in homes in which no rest or convalescence was possible, and there was no protection for other members of the family. Clients with serious cardiac conditions or post-operative patients returned to home situations which vitiated the value of medical care" (*Ibid.*, pp. 13-14).

the mounting cost of social welfare. These expenditures are large, and yet we all know that they are very far from being large enough. We are often told that social workers can ask for "only so much" at a time—that there is "only so much" that can possibly be raised by taxes for public welfare purposes. But, when we examine this statement, we find it necessary to ask two questions:

First: What moneys are now actually being collected by means of taxation?

Second: What is done with the sums that are collected and available? How constructively, or how wastefully, are they now being spent?

For it is one of the tragedies of our democracy that taxes are so often large enough for many of the most urgent needs, but that these great funds are not used for the people's benefit. First, there is that enormous section of the federal taxes that goes for the Army and Navy, the Veterans' Administration, the national debt incurred for war purposes, and all the other expenditures for past and future wars.

Then there is all the money wasted to reward the political friends of the successful party. My friends, this is the real boondoggling—the truly vast expenditure that brings no useful return.

Take the case of all the present federal expenditures for social welfare. We hear that a billion and a half is a great deal to ask for emergency work relief. But compare this with that other emergency program under the Reconstruction Finance Corporation. Look at the reports of the R.F.C. and read of the billions that went for banks, railroads, mortgage-loan companies, and all the rest of that vast program. More than eleven billion dollars could be found for this purpose, and both political parties considered this a wise and reasonable expenditure of our public funds. Is it unreasonable to ask for what is necessary to save the people who are the nation's heritage? It is true that a large part of the R.F.C. grants are being paid back, but it is also true that a large part of the work-relief program has

gone into useful and necessary public work, and much of it into work of permanent value to the taxpayer and the communities.

But let us look at the ordinary budget and forget the emergency expenditures. The total cost of the War and Navy departments for 1937 was not far from a billion dollars. If you add to the cost of future wars, the total cost of paying for past wars, the Veterans' Administration, the bonus, the servicing of the war debt, the bill for a single year is close to four billions and a half.⁵ All of our social service expenditures added together are small in comparison—the expenditures that mean life, health, and decent living for our people, care for the aged, the dependent children, the sick, the handicapped. Take the cost of all of the federal social welfare activities, the social-security program, the Children's Bureau, the United States Employment Service, the Federal Housing Administration, put in the \$20,000,000 of the United States Public Health Service, add the \$12,500,000 spent for the Bureau of Education (and vocational education), add even the cost of our federal prisons and reformatories—everything that could by any stretch of the imagination be called social welfare—add them all together and you have something like \$250,000,000, much less than one-tenth of the sum that went for military and naval and other war expenditures in the same year. Add in the billion and a half for the emergency work program, and the half-billion for C.C.C., and you have expenditures of less than half of the war expenditures. The money so desperately needed for social wel-

⁵ That is:

1937 War Department expenditures.....	\$ 384,700,000
1937 Navy Department expenditures.....	609,097,000
Total future wars.....	\$ 993,797,000
Veterans' Administration.....	\$ 753,000,000
Bonus.....	2,237,000,000
Interest on public debt.....	600,000,000
Total past war.....	3,590,000,000
Grand Total.....	\$4,583,797,000

These data are taken in part from a statement of Congressman Bierman on February 11, 1936.

fare is already collected by taxation, but it is spent for past and future wars.

The President of the United States said recently: ". . . . The principal danger to modern civilization lies in those nations which, largely because of the armament race, are headed directly toward bankruptcy." The United States may be spending a far smaller proportion of the governmental income for armaments than the other nations to which the President referred, but our expenditures for death and destruction are a ghastly weight on our tax-collected funds.

But it is important, also, that we should continue to take note, year after year, of the wasteful expenditures of public funds to take care of political friends of the successful party. However, any attempt to estimate the great cost of this deliberate misappropriation of public funds cannot be made. It is like a great sieve letting the tax-collected funds disappear. You know how it is even in the new social-security program which we have been watching so anxiously. Here, there, and everywhere, political friends of somebody are appointed as administrators of old age pensions, administrators of child welfare, administrators of this or that, and then we are told that some social worker will be appointed as an assistant to do the work. The money is there, but it is thrown away. Is it unreasonable, then, to ask for enough to give the people a little hope of security? At any rate, we shall continue to ask for more money from taxes, in the hope that some other interests will be given less.

ABOLISH FAMILY RESPONSIBILITY FOR OLD AGE PENSIONERS

For one thing, these special forms of public assistance are not yet as far removed from poor relief methods as we should like them to be. With regard to old age pensions, for example, there are two things that many of us are perfectly clear about. First, we want to abolish legal family responsibility, instead of withholding pension grants if the relatives are suspected of

being able to support the aged parents. You are almost certainly dealing at this level with poor families. You know these cases, when helping the aged grandparents has meant taking something that was needed for the children. Putting the old people in the family budget has left them without proper food, without decent clothing, without proper housing, and has led to the breaking, instead of strengthening, of family ties. It is only when they are put in their own special category where they can have their own budget that, at long last, we get something in the way of modern care for them.

ABOLISH THE "MEANS TEST" FOR OLD AGE PENSIONS

Next, we want these modern forms of public aid given without the tedious, costly, and wasteful inquiries about their small bits of property. Many old people were willing to ask for old age pensions who would not ask for relief, and still many more would ask for pensions if it were not necessary to endure the investigation about whether their children or grandchildren have any property—and if so, how much? If we are realistic, however, we know that the means test cannot be completely abolished at the present time. I am not proposing a universal old age pension, but only, as immediately practicable and possible, a universal pension for everyone below the income-tax level.

CONTRIBUTORY PENSION SYSTEMS ARE UN-AMERICAN

Before the subject of old age pensions is left behind, one other point needs emphasis. That is, that the present contributory system of old age benefits will never be a proper substitute for the assistance grants. We heard a great deal during the last campaign about why there should be no deductions from the workers' scanty wage, and certainly every social worker should agree with this. A contributory system of social security is a method of taxing the workers, "the equivalent of a gross income tax on the lowest earning income group in the country." A system which requires a 1 per cent or a 3 per cent

tax from every worker for his old age is the European method of taxing the poor. It is not the American method of public assistance. Any tax on the worker takes from a weekly wage that is already inadequate. "Sound social objectives are entitled to general tax support."

How inadequate these wages are for decent living, no group knows so well as those who are members of this Conference. Our clients come from the low-wage group. We know what living on the poverty line has done to them before they come over the line and become our clients. We know how they lived when they lived on wages before they began living on relief. The unskilled worker's wage gives his family no comforts, and very few even of the decencies of life. These wages leave whole families undernourished for long periods of time.

The President of the United States in an important address this winter said that one-third of the nation was ill-clad, ill-housed, ill-fed. That third of the nation is the world in which we live and work, and we know, as the public officials in Washington can never know, just how full of tragedy that world is.

It is ancient wisdom that man cannot live by bread alone. But many of these families do not have even the minimum for bread. A recent important report⁶ from the rather conservative economists of the Brookings Institution of Washington gave valuable testimony on this point when they considered the requirements for what they call "a satisfactory minimum standard of living for the masses of the population . . . an adequate diet for health and efficiency."

Drawing upon predepression studies of the United States Department of Agriculture, the economists reported that 12 per cent of the self-respecting, supposedly independent families not living on farms had incomes of less than \$1,000 a year, and that such incomes could not provide what these experts describe as "the adequate diet even to maintain the physiological needs of

⁶ M. Leven, Harold G. Moulton and C. Warburton, *America's Capacity To Consume*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institute, 1934.

the family"⁷—and the median income of families on relief in Chicago was \$461 a year. As an English writer said recently, "Malnutrition has taken pride of place among the social scandals of the day."

The greatest difficulty in getting decent standards of relief comes from the low wages and the inadequate incomes of the families just above the relief level. If the independent wage-earners are not able to earn even the minimum of subsistence, we shall not be allowed to give adequate care to families supported by the help of public funds. This is the old problem—that the "subsistence standard of living" of the families who are supposed to live on the wages they earn (and who can never earn enough for decent living) dictates our inadequate standards of public assistance. To find some way to help that group, who are above the relief level but below the minimum standard of living, is the great problem that the social worker and the community must find a way to solve together.

SUBSTANDARD WAGES SUPPLEMENTED BY RELIEF

A still further problem is that too many families today are in both levels—they are working for wages on a full-time basis, but they are also receiving public assistance because their wages in private employment are below the family subsistence level. There has been plenty of testimony about this during the past year. Very important was that recent article in the *Survey* magazine by Charlotte Carr, the New York City relief administrator, who pointed out that one important factor "delaying the reduction of the relief load in New York" was "that ancient evil, substandard wages—wages so meager that they are below the subsistence level of relief budgets and must be supplemented if families are to survive." Miss Carr has told us that they have in New York "some 7,000 supplementary aid cases . . . on the relief rolls." "Of course these employers are exploiting not only their employees but every taxpayer in the city."

⁷ "Farm families in the same income groups naturally fare somewhat better as to food because of the lower costs involved" (*ibid.*, pp. 123, 124).

ABOLISHING THE NEED FOR RELIEF

Many years ago I had the great privilege of holding one of those wonderful European fellowships granted by our American Association of University Women. The year I spent at the School of Economics in the University of London was that interesting period when Mrs. Sidney Webb was a member of the great investigating commission called "The Royal Commission on the Poor Laws and the Relief of Distress." Those investigations, which she herself described as a "grand inquest" and which led to that constructive report which we all know as the Minority Report of the Poor Law Commission of 1909, made an indelible impression upon my mind, which has lasted through the years. This report set out the radical change of thought on the part of the great masses of the British people with regard to the relief of destitution. They discovered that the real problem was not the problem of relief, but the problem of abolishing the need for relief. The great question of providing for the destitute out of the public funds really became the question about what made the people destitute. Day after day in the hearings and in the investigations came the marshaling of the evidence that destitution in modern urban communities was not merely a lack of food, clothing, and shelter, bad as they were, but also a condition of mental degradation. The Webbs have told us that destitution in the desert may be consistent with a high level of spiritual refinement, but destitution in the densely crowded modern city leads everywhere to oncoming disease and premature death from continued privation; and many times to the degradation of the soul. Living in poor tenements in poor streets, "picking up a precarious living by casual jobs, living day by day and night by night in overcrowded tenements, through months and years of chronic underemployment and unemployment—anyone who knows the life-histories of the families habitually below the poverty line learns to recognize a sort of moral malaria which undermines the spiritual vitality . . . of those subject to its direful influence."

The proposal of the Webbs in 1909 was a proposal for blocking the downward way toward the level where people are so desperately in need of public aid. But the new forms of public assistance in America must be granted, as are the educational services of our public schools, without a means test, and in a way to lift the standard of living of that large group of wage-earners who are now below a proper minimum of subsistence. There are two ways of lifting the standard of living of this group, one of which is the direct and accepted method of increasing wages. The other method, which is less considered than it should be, is the lifting from those inadequate incomes some charges that have hitherto fallen there. It is less than one hundred years ago since the period of free schools really began. Before that time, the budget of the poor family carried the cost of educating the children. As the cost of education has been lifted from the budget, so other charges can be lifted—the cost of provision for sickness and invalidity, of caring for the handicapped members of the family, of provision for old age. This means that there is no place in the social worker's platform for old age benefits or unemployment compensation based on worker's contributions. These measures should be a method of increasing low incomes, not of subtracting from wages that are already inadequate even for the physiological needs of the family. The great French scientist, Louis Pasteur, talked about "extending the Frontiers of Life." We like to think that in this country that can and may be done.

MUST THERE BE A "STANDING ARMY OF UNEMPLOYED"?

The tragic era called the depression is now slowly drawing to its close. During these years the desperate need of different sections of the nation brought emergency remedies of many kinds. We are now on our way to the abolition of the old local responsibility of townships and counties, and the substitution of a stable, well-organized series of public assistance grants from the federal and state governments.

But, most important of all, we have come out of the "Slough of Despond." We have come into the "Valley of Decision." We know that our great objective is the complete liquidation of the great relief pool. We are determined that the near-employables shall be made employable. We are convinced that our administrators, instead of being urged to use their time in spreading relief thin, must be allowed to spend that time constructively in finding methods of retraining and opportunities for re-employment, that abolishing the need for relief will no longer be one of our far horizons.

We are told that there must be a standing army of four to five million of unemployed men and women in our industrial democracy. Permanently? Do we accept this counsel of despair? Is there no remedy except the half-remedy of living a shadowy existence on some kind of poor relief or work relief for these men and women and their unhappy families? Unemployment compensation will give security of a kind to many of these people, but a limited amount of unemployment compensation is no substitute in our society for a real job at a really living wage.

To accept this theory of the standing army of the unemployed and the unemployables is to say that we accept destitution of the most lingering kind as inevitable for millions of our people.

Many of us have supported the demand for a census of the unemployed and that other demand for an investigation of relief. We have done this because we want to know what the conditions are that leave people for long periods of time in these unhappy categories. What we really want to know is how to abolish unemployment, and we want to marshal the evidence that will convince people that we must find some other substitute for life at the relief level, or at the work-relief level.

We may well say, as our English friends, Sidney and Beatrice Webb, have said in recent years, that we see a change of heart and an advance of knowledge in respect to the problem of persistent destitution in the midst of plenty. "The universal

maintenance of a definite minimum of civilized life" is seen to be "in the interest of the community no less than in that of the individual . . . the joint responsibility of an indissoluble partnership."

This policy concerns the very foundation of our political democracy. Mr. and Mrs. Webb have stated the case with their usual vigorous insight when they say that we are, in short, no longer confronted with "an appeal to our good nature to relieve destitution, an appeal which we are free to refuse if our hearts are hard enough; but with a stern determination that whether we like it or not, we must abolish Mass Destitution, or perish as a civilized society."

REQUIREMENTS FOR PERMANENT SECURITY

*The Honorable Robert F. Wagner, United States Senator
from New York, Washington, D.C.*

THIS is, and will be so recorded in history, a momentous day for the common people of America. An act which I had the honor of aiding in drafting, and which I sponsored in Congress, the Social Security Act, was in its entirety held constitutional by the United States Supreme Court today. Through these decisions, millions of Americans are guaranteed protection against two great hazards: one, unemployment; the other, destitution in old age.

I hope you will not regard me as immodest if I reminisce a little. Ten years ago, I began a fight in the Congress of the United States, by asking for an investigation of the subject of unemployment insurance through the aid of the federal government. At that time I was regarded as a wild socialist. Perhaps they were right. I do not know. But at any rate we had our investigation. The report was made, and legislation was introduced, but unfortunately it was allowed to linger in committees, the administration at that time being entirely out of sympathy with these aspirations.

But fortunately in 1933 a new leader came into the White House, in sympathy with the aspirations of the common people, and desiring in every way possible to prevent unemployment, to provide for benefits in case of unemployment, and to prevent destitution in old age; and under Franklin Delano Roosevelt we enacted the Social Security Act,

From time to time the expediency of the moment brings forth a flock of temporary converts to the cause of progressive action. But we who have given our whole lives to this cause know that it does not depend upon the ebb and flow of fair-

weather friends. It draws its inspiration from those who put their shoulders to the wheel of progress without waiting for the band wagon; who champion reforms before they become popular; who spend their years pushing steadily through study and education toward humanitarian goals. These are the real standard-bearers of civilization, and it is because you stand among them that I appreciate your services.

As we look back over the years, we cannot fail to be encouraged by the great gains within our own memory. We have seen the principle of social insurance begin with the tiny experiment of workmen's compensation in a single state. I was the author of the Workmen's Compensation Law in New York State, which was passed after a terrific fight in the year 1913—we have seen this beginning expand until our whole nation is pledged to the protection of the old and the unemployed. And after the court decisions today, no one can question our right to continue this progress under our Constitution.

We have watched the doctrine of "the right to work" grow from a philosophical abstraction to a concrete responsibility of organized society. We have observed the right to collective bargaining change from an empty slogan into a national guarantee. In the recent protection of this basic industrial liberty by our Congress and our highest court, we have seen a historic triumph for real democracy in America.

But, although our progress has been great, the problems of our society have grown even faster. Our achievements have never quite caught up with the needs of the times. The dynamic forces of science and invention have speeded up beyond all foresight the rate of social change. Every improvement in transportation cutting distance in half, every new machine in the hands of large-scale business, every industrial trend making our social and economic life more interdependent, has magnified our problems by making them national in scope.

Day by day our whole business structure becomes more tremulously aware of the slightest disturbance in any quarter. For instance, if we in New York stop buying automobiles, un-

employment begins in the city of Detroit. Day by day increasing millions of our people become affected by conditions which once we thought affected only small groups or factions. Day by day our future as a nation hangs more clearly upon the abolition of evils once thought to be only local or regional in their sweep. Today, as never before, the American people have common problems and a common destiny.

These fundamental changes have caused a revolution in our thinking about social problems. Twenty-five years ago we were entirely "case-work" minded. We saw the trees more clearly than the forest. We sought out isolated instances of unemployment, of illness, or crime, and tried to remedy these evils by individualistic or small-scale methods. Today, just because our national life is so much more integrated, we have a better composite picture of the whole situation. While not neglecting the individual, we see him largely as the product of general conditions, over which he himself has absolutely no control. We seek out the few underlying cases of social evils, we trace out how these evils poison every channel of our group life, and we seek as a united nation to stop these evils at their very source.

This new approach means a transition in the character of social work. The workers in the field throughout the country continue to supply the inspiration and the intellectual food for action. They formulate the programs. But as the scale of action becomes ever larger, the power and resources of the government itself become necessary to put the programs into practice. The unity of purpose is now complete between the social worker and the public servant.

I believe that public welfare is a major responsibility of government, and, therefore, I have enlisted in the plan to establish a federal department of public welfare with the director a cabinet officer.

This means that all have a greater stake than ever before in the aims and deeds of those in public life, and their supreme satisfaction should be this: while political parties, leaders, and administrations will come and go, there has been in recent years

a permanent change in the character of American government. Henceforth for all time American government will be devoted above all to the protection and advancement of the welfare of the American common people.

For these gains we have much to be thankful. We may also rejoice in the rising tide of recovery throughout the country. But those of us who see beyond the moment know that we are confronted by a challenge different in sort but as imperative as that of 1933. The obstacle which we must overcome today is not despair, but rather excessive exuberance. If we become blandly contented with things as they are, it will only be a matter of time until we shall be visited with the terrible tribulations of things as they were. If we go to sleep as soon as the depression is over, we shall be caught napping by the storm of another depression.

This is no time for America to go to sleep. As the atmosphere becomes clearer, we get a better insight into the tragedies which still mar our national life. Millions of people are still unemployed, still groping in a night that is without hope, their families insecure, their spirits dejected, their right to live by their own hard efforts denied. With the labor market glutted, standards of wages and hours are threatened and undermined. With so many men and women drawing less than full pay, business enterprise lacks the fuel of purchasing power. Our greatest task, long recognized but not yet solved, is to distribute among the masses of the people the chance to work and the corresponding power to buy. The problem of our age is the problem of unemployment.

It is my view that the Supreme Court decisions interpreting the Labor Relations Act as to interstate commerce, in so far as they have widened the area in which Congress may act, and the decisions today which held that Congress may levy a tax to serve the general welfare, further opening the field to action, make it certain now that we may enact laws in Congress to fix maximum hours, minimum wages, and abolish child labor.

In dealing with unemployment, which seriously affects all

parts of our country and consumes our resources like a great plague, relief is no cure. Financially, it cannot go on forever. Humanely, we know that any kind of relief is a somber spectacle, an unwelcome necessity. Not even the most generous dole, not even the most wisely administered made-work program, can prevent the strain of enforced idleness or irregular work from gnawing away at the bodies and hearts of men.

But it is inhuman and unthinkable to talk about the government cutting down relief until a better alternative can be found. The ambulance cannot be removed while people lie wounded in the field. The war against unemployment must first be won, and the creation of jobs in normal industry is primarily the way to win that fight.

Toward that victory we must dedicate every ounce of our resources and energy at our command. We will not waver or turn aside, and that victory shall be won.

In our drive toward re-employment we are faced at once by the barrier of technological change. In many industries the displacement of men by inventions has been going on for years. Out of every five million who were employed in 1929, one million have become victims of the use of machinery. Just think of that proportion.

In the long run, this mechanical progress should prove an unmixed blessing. It opens up to mankind new hope for the future—new forms of enjoyment, higher incomes, greater leisure, and more complete protection against insecurity in sickness and old age. But this prospective blessing becomes an immediate curse if it is greedily appropriated by the few. It must be shared generously with the men and women whose daily exertions produce the nation's wealth.

This is the real issue back of the campaign for higher wages and shorter hours. Shall more machines bring greater leisure or more unemployment? Shall better methods of production widen the gulf between those who have and those who want, or shall industrial progress mean better wages providing

comfort and security for all? Shall business thrive on an even keel of fair prosperity, or ride on the wild steeplechase of the business cycle? In the answer to these questions, the business and humane elements are inseparable. In the long run, the interests of those who give employment and those who seek employment are not antagonistic but mutual. A century ago, competition may have been the life of trade. Today, co-operation has become the way of life.

That is why amicable relations between industry and labor are imperative. For many years in this country, industrial autocracy, sponsored by a small minority, fomented discord among men. The yellow-dog contract, the spy, the company-controlled union, the denial of the freedom to organize—all these were too large a part of the pattern of our economic system.

Among a race of underlings, these practices might have produced supine submission. But free men could not be expected to react in the manner of slaves. Trained from infancy in the gospel of liberty, American workers fought when necessary to retain their industrial rights. And far too often it became necessary for them to fight.

In the guarantee of collective bargaining under the National Labor Relations Act, the worker has won the equality he deserves. The employer as well has gained the only sound footing upon which he can march toward permanent peace. A few frost-bitten die-hards are still fighting the Act. But ever increasing numbers of workers and employers are embracing its opportunities gladly and magnanimously. Compacts of permanent peace are being signed in great numbers in terms of justice for all concerned.

The Labor Relations Act, in my judgment, is the Magna Charta for our working people. It has made the worker free, where in many large industries he was in effect an economic slave—and I know what I am talking about, because on several occasions, as a member of committees in the United States

Senate, I went through the coal fields and steel works, and I saw how these men were robots without any rights because of the economic power of those who employed them.

The worker was forbidden to organize, to bargain for his services. He took what was given him or out he was thrown. His alternative was to take whatever terms were proposed or starve. If he attempted to talk unionism, he was promptly discharged.

But that is all over now. Under this law, the worker is guaranteed the right to organize and bargain collectively, and we have had some recent elections showing how peacefully such relations can be carried on. In former years, many workers were treated like outlaws, although the workers of America, like the farmers, are the backbone of our country. When this country called upon them to save democracy, as they thought at the time, they did not hesitate to go across the ocean and expose their breasts to save America, as they thought, and democracy. Those men are the backbone of our nation.

Editorials still appear in some of the newspapers which just will not give in, because, after all, the newspaper publishers are also included under the National Labor Relations Act. Now, they say it is one-sided. You have seen these editorials, and yet I challenge you to produce a single particular suggestion which they offer to make it two-sided. As a matter of fact it is not one-sided. The difficulty is that they cannot understand—and I am only speaking of the minority now, because the majority is ready to obey the law—that the workers should have the same power to organize and to bargain collectively which the employer has. Now, hasn't the employer the right to organize? Has any worker ever challenged the right of employers to organize into associations? Have they not a right to bargain with their competitors, or bargain even with their stockholders? The very rights which we have given to the workers have long been enjoyed by the employers in this country, and rightly so, and this law simply puts both sides on an equality.

But this co-operation between employer and worker is not

of itself enough. Collective bargaining can help to distribute income fairly, but it cannot create new income out of thin air. It can squeeze the maximum number of jobs out of existing business, but it cannot create fertile new areas for the employment of labor and capital. To absorb the millions of the unemployed, these new areas must be cultivated. Where are they to be found? Why are they still neglected?

The answer is clear. Although we have emerged from the wild night of the depression, the hang-over is still pronounced in residential construction. Over half of the men who have been steadily unemployed since 1929 are members of the building trades. For eight years there has been a cumulating shortage of homes. Today, after four years of general recovery, the index of construction is at only 42 per cent of normal. A large-scale housing program would immediately affect allied industries, and in short order would be felt in every artery of trade and enterprise. If vigorously pursued, it would absorb a major portion of the unemployed.

In order to start such a program, we must recognize that it involves a more equitable distribution of national income. Houses have not been built in sufficient numbers for the ordinary people because they cannot afford them. Without going into detailed figures, and averaging the country as a whole, a decent, safe, and sanitary family dwelling costs at least between three or four thousand dollars. This requires a family income ranging from \$1,500 to \$2,000 a year, which is far more than the vast majority of our families enjoy. The underprivileged must receive help if they are to get out of the slums. Society must bear its share of the cost if it wishes to be rescued from the menace and degradation of the slums.

I am not going to stress the purely social aspects of a low-rent public housing program. You know what the slums mean in terms of crime and delinquency and disease. But let me emphasize just this: that all of those dangers are being augmented today by the existence of a housing shortage—by the nearness of a critical housing shortage which is slowly developing. When

such a crisis develops, it brings a rapid rise in rentals, tearing down living standards faster than wage increases can build them up. It forces a denial of sufficient food and clothing in order that basic shelter may be obtained. It encourages the progressive expansion of slum areas and the progressive contamination of healthy neighborhoods.

The low-rent housing bill which I have introduced means action in the nick of time. It will provide directly for over a million people within the next four years. Additional millions will be helped by the incidental stimulation to private construction. Such a beginning will stand as a practical example in humane and economic accomplishment. It will summon America forward toward the complete abolition of the slums. Social workers should at once put housing on their *must* program.

In my judgment a slum-clearance program to house the underprivileged decently would be the greatest accomplishment for humanity of the Roosevelt Administration. Give children decent and healthy surroundings, take them out of the slums, and we will see crime and juvenile delinquency very much reduced.

While this program will increase security, security can never be absolute in a man-made world. In the federal Social Security Act is embodied the most concentrated effort made by any nation to alleviate the hazards of modern industrial life. Upon that foundation we have just commenced to build. We must extend the Act to those groups as yet uncovered by its provisions. We must develop a higher standard of comfort for the old, a wider margin of protection for the unemployed, a more far-reaching system of aid to the crippled and the destitute. Vocational rehabilitation, a more pressing need now than ever before, must be pushed forward. Methods must be devised shortly for removing the risks which the wage-earner faces through ill-health. This is another major hazard of life against which we must provide some protection. I am personally convinced that a sound plan of health insurance and provision for adequate medical care can be devised in America which will be

acceptable not only to the patient but to the physician. Vistas of human achievement stretch before us awaiting only the will to achieve.

Experience has taught us that a program's merits do not insure its adoption. The future of low-rent housing, of social security, of industrial justice, depends upon the energy, the determination, and the resourcefulness of those who are fighting for social progress in America.

Today social welfare has at least been fully accepted as one of the recognized objectives of our national government. We should all be mightily heartened as we undertake the great tasks which still lie before us and before the nation.

EFFECT OF THE FLOOD UPON THE MUNICIPAL SOCIAL, AND WELFARE PROGRAM

*Neville Miller, Mayor of the City of Louisville
Louisville, Kentucky*

THERE is no mystery concerning the cause of the 1937 flood. The 980 miles of the Ohio River Valley were drenched with rains of tropical intensity. In Louisville during the month of January there were 19.5 inches of rainfall, which was almost equal to the normal rainfall for a six months' period, and on one day—January 21—we had 3.68 inches, which was almost the normal amount for the entire month of January. The river left its banks on January 15, reached its peak on January 27, and returned to its banks on February 7. All previous records were surpassed and the peak of 57.1 feet was 10.4 feet higher than the previous peak reached by the flood of 1884.

During this time 32,000 dwelling units out of 83,000 had water above the first floor, and approximately 10,000 more suffered damage by reason of flooding of basements. Approximately 200,000 persons were made homeless, all except a small portion of the business area was flooded, banks and business houses were closed, hotels and office buildings deprived of heat, light, and elevator service, transportation was at a standstill, and the energies of the entire community devoted to combating the flood and to rescue and relief work.

Just prior to the flood, Roger Babson said:

Louisville has one of the brightest outlooks of any American city for 1937. I am bullish on the prospects of the Nation as a whole in 1937, but I am particularly optimistic on the South and on Louisville. I estimate that Louisville will run considerably ahead of the remainder of the country during the early months of 1937.

The flood undoubtedly changed the picture in many respects. However, one fact worthy of mention is that the flood dramatized the loss unduly. The loss has been estimated at between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000, which, although a large sum, is not as large as many other losses sustained by other communities even within recent months. The Detroit Board of Commerce estimated that the Chrysler strike resulted in an economic loss to that city of approximately \$8,000,000 per week. As the Chrysler and General Motors strikes lasted a combined total of ten weeks, the strike caused Detroit a loss of approximately \$80,000,000, which is conservative because General Motors pay-roll losses were greater than those of Chrysler, and the estimate does not include the tremendous losses suffered by the two corporations.

Business Week for February 13, 1937, estimates that the shipping strike which ended on February 4, after lasting 98 days, cost the general San Francisco business area between \$600,000,000 and \$800,000,000.

It is extremely difficult to estimate the material damage or financial loss of a community which has suffered such a catastrophe, much less the effect upon the health and general welfare of the citizens. Some damage is readily discernible. Other damage may not be discovered for a long while and some may never be actually perceived. Of course, the material damage is the easiest to ascertain and to estimate, and I shall first discuss it briefly because it undoubtedly affects the community welfare program.

The flood damage in Louisville has been estimated at between \$50,000,000 and \$60,000,000 and, unlike either the Chicago fire or the San Francisco earthquake, practically no loss except that to automobiles was covered by insurance. In addition to the property damage, business sustained a huge loss due to suspension of business during the period of the flood, and the city suffered other innumerable incalculable losses. However, notwithstanding all this, there are today many evidences that a boom is well under way in Louisville and that the com-

munity has remarkable recuperative powers. Let us briefly examine a few of these signs.

On December 31, 1936, bank deposits had reached the all-time peak of \$170,000,000, 19 per cent above 1935 and 8 per cent above the previous peak of 1928. The river returned to its banks on February 7 and there was a period of pumping and drying out before business could be resumed, yet on April 1, 1937, bank deposits were \$10,000,000 above that all-time peak of December 31.

The flood and the 1937 city tax bill arrived simultaneously at most of the homes of Louisville, and yet, notwithstanding all the losses sustained, tax collections on April 30, 1937, showed an increase of 0.3 per cent over the same period in 1936.

Before the flood, business in Louisville was humming; it has now taken on an accelerated pace. For example, sixty-three industrial plants show an increase in employment of 10.2 per cent as compared with an average gain of 4.1 per cent last year; the K. & I. Terminal in March had the largest traffic since May, 1930; traffic on the Municipal Bridge for March, 1937, exceeded that of March, 1936, by 40,100 cars, and 7,012 more than the previous peak of May, 1936, while retail business in March was 139 per cent above February and 25 per cent ahead of March last year.

Indices of local business volume prepared by the First National Bank estimate that Louisville business on April 1 stood at 115.1 as compared to national business volume. This is 15.1 per cent above the estimated normal. There are other indices which show a similar result. The amount of employment, the absence of mortgage loan defaults, the inability of employers to find suitable skilled workers, the number of telephones in use and the trend in installation, all show the same result. In spite of the interruption to business and trade and normal living caused by the flood, it is quite evident now that there has been a striking recovery.

It is interesting to examine briefly the economic forces back of this recovery. Naturally a flood, fire, or earthquake upsets

the equilibrium between supply and demand and immediately there is an extraordinary demand for reconstruction, which produces a boom. The life of this boom will depend upon the magnitude of the disaster, the resources of the community, and the spirit with which the rebuilding and reconstruction is carried on. The flood came in January near the close of the business off season. Spring business would have been under way in a few weeks. In fact, it was already starting. Seasonally the time was right, and this facilitated the resumption of a normal trend of upward business volume. We were also fortunate in regard to the cyclical trend, because for three years national business has been on the incline, and when it has gained so much momentum because of three years of increasing volume it is only reasonable to expect that a community could not long move counter to the trend.

Another economic factor of outstanding importance is that of purchasing power. Ability to buy and willingness to buy are basically necessary for good business conditions. One might believe that the losses caused by the flood would so damage purchasing power that there would be no funds available for replacement—however, because disaster losses are not spread equally and much capital is available from those who have not suffered losses, and because the psychology of co-operation tends to relax credit, immediately after the flood there was much additional purchasing power available. Also, outside assistance was readily available, because the outside world poured millions of relief dollars into the Ohio Valley in order that reconstruction and even improvement might start at once. The Red Cross, the Works Progress Administration, the Disaster Loan Corporation, and direct contributions from other communities are examples of the funds which became available.

As soon as the river had receded, we set about the work of cleaning up and rehabilitation. As may be easily understood, there were many groups which were able to solve their own problems. The banks had money available for those who could meet their requirements for security. The H.O.L.C., building

and loan associations, and insurance companies all adopted a very liberal policy toward the mortgagor whose home had been damaged and every effort was made to encourage him to hold on to his home. It was essential that the large national distributors preserve the established outlets for their products, and therefore in many instances the small business man found assistance from this source.

There were many who could help themselves, who had savings accounts or who had relatives who were able to help. On the whole, I believe all employers paid their employees in full for all time lost during the flood, so that the problem was not further aggravated by loss of wages. However, there remained a large group who had suffered losses due to the flood and who were unable again to get on their feet without aid. This group contained those in whom welfare workers are most interested.

Let us look briefly at the more important agencies which are not normally in the community and which are carrying on the rehabilitation work.

The Red Cross.—The Red Cross program can, perhaps, be divided into two phases: one of caring for the immediate needs of families at the time of the flood and the other the work of rehabilitation.

The Red Cross received contributions for the 1937 flood of \$24,999,873 and had made up to May 14 commitments totaling \$17,029,785.55. A study of the Red Cross figures reveal a number of interesting facts.

It is estimated that 63,500 families suffered, but only 38,657, or approximately 60 per cent, registered with the Red Cross. To date the cases of 15,512 families have been closed, of which 89.9 per cent have been given relief. It is expected that the same percentage will prevail upon the total registration, which will mean that assistance will be given to 34,700 families. Of the cases closed to date approximately 40 per cent have been home-owners.

It is interesting to note that approximately 11,600, or 30 per cent, of the families registered have been known to the social

agencies of the community during the last five years and that 22,978, or approximately 60 per cent, have been known to the social agencies at some time during the period since 1918. I believe it is safe to assume that most of these 11,300 families which represent the difference between the five-year period and the period since 1918 have been thrown closer to the borderline because of their flood losses.

W.P.A..—The W.P.A. program, like other programs, had two phases: one concerned with the immediate flood problems and the other with rehabilitation of public property. In addition to doing many miscellaneous jobs at the time of the flood, it assumed responsibility for cleaning up the evidences of the flood and the pumping-out of public buildings. It now has under way a W.P.A. rehabilitation program of over \$1,000,000, and the greatest difficulty we have in regard to this program is the inability to secure sufficient man power.

Prior to the flood there were 2,383 persons certified for W.P.A. because of need. Of these 771, or approximately one-third, were unable to obtain W.P.A. employment, and since no relief was provided for employables this was a serious problem. Since the flood the total certified has been reduced to 2,143, and only 268 are not assigned. In addition there are 880 noncertified persons working on W.P.A. projects. The small number of unassigned represents many persons who have temporary employment. There is sufficient W.P.A. work to use all certified persons and many noncertified, but there will always be a small number waiting assignment.

Disaster Loan Corporation.—Before the flood had reached its crest, Congress was considering ways and means of assisting those affected by the flood, and on February 11, 1937, an act was passed under which the Disaster Loan Corporation was established for the purpose of making loans for repair and rehabilitation of homes, repair of store fixtures and purchase of new fixtures, and the purchase of new stocks of merchandise. Sixteen offices were set up, ranging from Huntington, West Virginia, to New Orleans. As of May 8, the Louisville office

had received 1,433 applications for loans aggregating \$1,439,352, and 1,264 applications totaling \$938,817.71 had been approved. The Disaster Loan Corporation has met the needs of a very distinct group who were unable to secure assistance from the banks, and yet who were not applicants for Red Cross assistance.

In addition to the work of the agencies mentioned above, there has been a great deal of assistance rendered by charitable, religious, and fraternal organizations, and also many miscellaneous contributions of various forms, the amount of which it is impossible even to estimate.

It would not be wise to attempt to discuss any but the most important and most evident aspects of the effects of the flood on the community. I shall touch briefly upon a few which to me appear most important.

Business.—The flood caused a tremendous property and business loss. However, business appears to be in a position to take its loss without serious consequences. It is not going to result in closing of factories. On the contrary, employment is increasing and the business boom which is now under way will in many instances more than take care of flood losses. Louisville will continue to be a prosperous community.

The flood undoubtedly inflicted a serious blow on that group which, for lack of a better name, we may term the "middle class." The H.O.L.C., the building and loan associations, the insurance companies, and others holding mortgages on their homes will help them to remain in the home-owner class; the D.L.C. will help many start again in business; the Red Cross in some instances will help in various ways—but their equities have been wiped out, or at least diminished, their savings depleted, and they are very near the edge. Undoubtedly the increase in employment will help them to regain their feet, but they have no margin left to withstand sickness or other misfortune.

Unemployables.—The group usually classed as "unemployables" has not been helped by the flood. The Red Cross in many cases has made good their losses; they, perhaps, have

better furniture; but they will not be helped directly by the business boom or increase in employment, and some who were able before the flood to take care of themselves are now applying for relief.

During March and April of this year we accepted for relief 144 cases as compared to 104 cases last year, an increase of approximately 39 per cent. The flood has been an important factor in bringing on this greater need, particularly since the old age assistance program has removed the necessity for our accepting for relief most of the new aged cases as we had to do last year.

TABLE 1

Cause of Death	Deaths
Drowning	6
Exposure	10
Asphyxiation	2
Burns and explosions (escaping gas)	15
Bacillary dysentery	1
Pneumonia in excess of average for two weeks before flood	28
Heart disease in excess of average for two weeks before flood	28
Total	90

Employables.—As has already been said, there is today a W.P.A. job available for everyone on the certified list and for many not on the list. Business is better and undoubtedly some employables will be absorbed by business. The Red Cross has in the main absorbed their flood loss. Their present condition is no worse, perhaps somewhat better, due to the flood.

Health.—The actual loss of life due directly to the flood was relatively small. Although it is difficult to secure exact figures of what deaths may be traced either directly or indirectly to the flood, the comparison of total deaths with the normal death rate for the same season of the year and other comparisons put the death loss at approximately ninety. Specifically enumerated, the deaths from various causes chargeable to the flood may be summarized as in Table 1.

It is also fair to say that persons who died from heart disease or pneumonia during the flood were in poor condition prior to that time and probably would have died during the next few months even had there been no flood. It is worthy of note that there are no deaths from typhoid fever, diphtheria, or smallpox, the three diseases for which the most effective preventive measures are available. The results might have been very different had there not been such well-nigh universal typhoid vaccination during the flood, had the children who have been protected against diphtheria by toxoid during the last few years not been so protected, and had there not been almost universal vaccination against smallpox in Louisville.

However, there are certainly some benefits. At least 200,000 people received typhoid vaccine, and this should reduce the number of cases of typhoid fever in the city even below the record low number which occurred last year. It is interesting to note that the only case of typhoid which has developed during the time since the flood occurred in a young woman who refused to take the vaccine.

Emergency funds in the sum of \$75,000 from a federal appropriation have been made available through the State Department of Health, and this will naturally assist us in carrying out a much more comprehensive health program during the coming year than has ever been carried on in Louisville. It is to be hoped that many of the features of this program inaugurated under federal assistance will become permanent parts of the health program of the city of Louisville.

There is also a realization by the public of the importance of an adequate health department with a trained personnel carrying on an adequate health program for the community. The flood has also given impetus to the campaign of the health department for the elimination of various insanitary conditions.

Housing.—Louisville had a shortage of good housing prior to the flood and now the problem has become acute. In 1934 a survey showed 7,288 vacancies, or a ratio of 8.7 per cent. A recent survey showed 1,470 vacancies, or a ratio of 1.8 per cent.

The records of the Family Service Organization show that in April, 1936, it paid rent for 37 per cent of its relief families and during that month had about 4 per cent of the relief families who were evicted. In April, 1937, it paid rent for 54 per cent of its relief families and had 5 per cent of its relief families evicted.

Also the range of rents has changed. In April, 1936, the larger number of families were in what is called the "\$6.00 and under" group, while in April, 1937, this large number had moved up into the "\$8.00 a month" group. Perhaps what is more serious is that the families are living in and are paying more rent for poorer housing than they were last year.

However, there is one bright spot. Owing to the destruction caused by the flood in a section which has been seriously affected by every flood, a successful movement is now under way to remove all the families out of this area and make over the area into a park.

There are several general effects which I believe are worth noting. The flood broke down many lines which had previously existed—class lines, religious, even lines between social agencies. I believe the well-to-do have a greater realization of the problems faced by the less fortunate. There are 208 citizens serving on Red Cross committees, many of whom for the first time will see what case work really is and will become conscious of the need of a higher standard of relief work; they are coming in contact with the individual case, which makes a more lasting impression upon their minds than general conditions do.

I have tried briefly to give you a picture, sketchy though it may be, of the physical damage, the business conditions now existing, and the effect the flood has had upon the community. That the loss has not been greater and the effect more destructive is due to the large heart of a generous America, which so promptly and generously came to the assistance of those who were the victims of the 1937 flood.

PUBLIC WELFARE AND EFFICIENCY IN GOVERNMENT

*Charles P. Taft, former General Chairman
Community Chest, Cincinnati*

UNEMPLOYMENT is the root of our problems today. In a profound sense the world has no other problem. Unemployment is responsible for holding back the purchasing power of masses of people. It prevents the balancing of the national budgets. It is responsible for the growth of social bitterness and of class feeling; for the sense of injustice that sustains communism at home and threatens war between nations; and it produces the impatient urge for action, any kind of action, that so often turns into fascism.

In the United States rather grudgingly we finally did something about unemployment relief. At first it was a dole under various names; then it was work relief under various names. By that program we have succeeded probably in preventing all but a minimum of starvation and exposure. For that we can be thankful, but we need not be proud: one could hardly do less for our fellows of the American community, and we have not been very intelligent about it.

Nevertheless unemployment has been reduced in the last four years. What did it we will not argue about; the fact cannot be denied. Take Cincinnati as a reasonably typical community. In May, 1929, 89 per cent of its employable citizens were working full time. In May, 1933, only 52 per cent were doing so. A year ago, 73 per cent had regular jobs, and our current census will show still more improvement. In the nation there are probably more people working today than in 1920, and a larger proportion of the population than in 1900. Business indices show that we have reached at least 88 per cent of 1929 business activity. Corporations have been raising wages

substantially, but even so they have reported greatly increased earnings. For various reasons they are paying greatly increased dividends. We were only a few weeks ago discussing the dangers of a boom. We are better off.

But there is a ghost at the feast, the ghost of the people without jobs, and the ghost mocks all our efforts. In May, 1933, in Cincinnati, 30 per cent of employables were totally unemployed. Three years later, 20 per cent were still in the same boat, which meant that in May, 1936, at least 100,000 of our people were without visible means of support. A few weeks ago Alsop and Catledge in the *Saturday Evening Post* estimated that 25,000,000, or a fifth of our nation's population, were in that class still. The fact is bad enough, but far worse is the mental attitude we are gradually acquiring, assisted by some in high places, that there is nothing we can do about it.

Both political parties and their leaders have repeated that our greatest primary task is putting people to work. Sometimes they say hopefully it can be accomplished, but they do not convince themselves, and it is not being accomplished. They argue about the feature that has public attention at the moment, "dole," "work program," or "local administration," while individual men and women go through hell, and their children suffer with them. They are eating all right, though none too well, but their spiritual experience is degrading and destructive.

That much we know about the unemployed, but not much more. The statistics that everyone or anyone uses are "guesstimates." What skills have these men and women? Why have they no jobs? Are they permanently off the pay roll, all 25,000,000, or is there a turnover; and if there is, how long does a man stay out of work on the average? Nobody knows. And far worse, nobody is trying to find out.

We do know a little about unemployables. There are widows with dependent children, there are oldsters that employers will not take on, there are many with physical handicaps. What do we know about them? Why are the widows not on mothers' pensions? Our relief lists in Cincinnati show two men of

thirty-five unemployable on account of age, and list eighty Negroes unemployable for physical disability described as "body pains." The sum and substance of it is that we know a lot of stuff, and what we know is worth nothing.

How can we meet this problem without knowing the important facts and adapting our program to fit them? The biggest fact is that a tremendous proportion of those out of work are unskilled or skilled in the wrong line. How can we find a place for them in our economic system unless we train them or retrain them to fill the places that today are actually crying for skilled people? Some of that training takes time, but a lot of jobs can be filled by short-time training courses.

Yes, unemployment is a ghost all right, but one reason why it is not being laid is because we do not study it with that intelligence and Yankee shrewdness we Americans boast of. We do not even study it with neighborly feeling. The unemployed are not a mass of fungible goods like grain in a bin or apples in a box; they are individual men and women of all ages, as different as passengers in a crowded bus. And nearly every one needs personal guidance from somebody to help meet personal problems and rebuild morale.

The employer is in this picture, too, and employers are not all alike either by any means. What jobs are open and what skills do they require? Are the various industries planning their apprentice training on a national or even a community basis? Shall we continue to get caught short every time we come out of a depression? Some important industries have found it possible and profitable to level out the peaks and valleys of seasonal employment. Some cannot, but in many cases their employees can be fitted into other lines during the off season.

That last process cannot be carried out without a real public employment service. Many employers, with the vain hope for the return of the good old days when immigrants crowded their employment gates and they took their pick, resent the coming of public employment offices. The offices are often not much good, and the government has not been plugging them as it

could and should. But these employers must realize that the good old days are gone forever, and that the day of conservation of man power, like the day of conservation of soil and natural resources, is here to stay.

The other fundamental reason why we do not lay this ghost of unemployment is the mental attitude with which we approach the job. Now this is no game or sport, but I learned some lessons of life from games. When I played football at Yale, Tom Shevlin and Tad Jones came back to coach us, and they started us with just two basic principles. The first was a thorough knowledge and experience of simple fundamentals of the game. The second was mental attitude. Mental attitude meant that you were better than the other fellow no matter how good he was, and that you would not be licked. This has been an age of fear and confusion. What we need is a clear voice that says unemployment can be licked and that we will not be licked by it.

Any program to tackle this job costs money. It costs money to train and retrain people and it costs money to guide them to self-support. Who is going to foot the bill? A number of vigorous advocates of return to normalcy claim that the problem of unemployment can be met simply by cutting off the funds and turning the unemployed back to fend for themselves with the assistance of private agencies, churches, and local communities. These people are not even as smart as ostriches. In 1929 in Cincinnati there were, altogether, 2,000 relief cases. Today there are more than 20,000 on relief and W.P.A. Suppose that 50 per cent of these cases were chiselers, a statement which is, to say the least, extreme. You still have more than five times the relief load which the community was carrying in 1929. The city and the private agencies cannot handle that burden. To put our people back to work is going to cost money, and the money has to come from every agency concerned, private and public. This is a partnership that you and I belong to, this body politic called the United States. My official topic has to do with co-ordination of governments, and that can

only come about if the governments from Washington to the townships and villages think of themselves as partners.

In that partnership, the United States, our national government must contribute its fair share. We cannot let Washington run out on us. Washington cannot give every employable person a job and nobody with any sense ever thought it could. But neither can we do this job without federal subsidies. There are several reasons for that state of affairs, but one very fundamental reason is that Washington is occupying so much of the available fields of taxation that the taxing ability of states and municipalities is seriously impaired.

An additional reason why Washington must contribute is because there is no other way but grants-in-aid to make states and local governments contribute their fair shares, and to make them keep up to adequate standards and conform to reasonably uniform plans of operation.

I can hear some of my Republican friends starting in to shout "States' Rights." But, except for a very limited number of sincere theorists, the votes in Congress that defeated adequate minimum standards in the Social Security Act, and in every other kind of grant-in-aid, were votes for the protection and increase of political jobs and jobbery. There is a very important place for the states in our system of government, which at the moment most of them are not filling, but the reason is not requirements for getting federal grants-in-aid. The reason is the utter demoralization of state governments under political gangs, many of which have been Republican in the past and most of which are Democratic today. Minimum requirements for federal grants-in-aid today will not weaken the states; they will begin to build up their present vestigial vertebrae.

Conditions vary in those states from state to state. Of course the state boundaries do not include uniform and homogeneous geographical areas, but they do well enough. Perhaps better areas could be laid out, but state boundaries gave us a chance to meet local situations, and local situations are what we are dealing with. Interstate commerce and national businesses cre-

ate some interstate shifting of employment—and, of course, with a community like New York, or Cincinnati, or Kansas City, we ought to break over state lines and create a metropolitan authority or partnership to handle community problems. But the point I want to pound home is that we can break the back of this problem in the localities individually. There will still be depressed areas in England or the United States that need special treatment, but the community is the meat of this nut we have to crack, and the states are adequate as the intermediate division point to service the community.

When you come to local government what we need is democracy instead of communism or fascism. It is communism when we turn over the solution of our unemployment problem to the party machine, the politicalariat, just as much as when we let the proletariat dictate to us. In each case we let a small group of privileged people run the rest of us and look down their noses at us. On the other hand, it is practically fascism when we abdicate our places as citizens on the plea that this takes something special that only a few experts know anything about, experts who are in Washington and the state capitals and whose deputies are at home, all able to tell us just what we should do.

Democracy, on the contrary, as I read history, really got its start in the seventeenth century when small groups of people insisted that each man, rich or poor, had a life to live and a contribution to make to the community. Here is a problem that affects every one of us, twenty-five millions out of work, our friends, our neighbors, our former employees, our customers.

The democratic way to go after that problem is to educate us all about the facts, and then to plan our attack and mobilize everybody in the community. That is exactly what our employment center in Cincinnati is aiming to do with its four-point program. Everybody in town cannot collect the statistics we need about apprentices and long-term trends in employment. Neither can everybody take short-term courses or give them. But everybody can learn what we are doing, and for many it may mean a reorientation of the plans for their own lives.

Many people can actively help with part-time jobs, and many more can lend a hand with handicapped persons.

Furthermore, the direction of the community program can and must be widened to include intelligent laymen. And organizing lay support in the community runs into some obstacles that are no pushovers. I have already mentioned the fact that some employers are slow to understand what we are up against in these days. They give you a more difficult problem in diplomacy, and set a high standard for backbones. But to paraphrase Daniel Burnham, a sound farsighted plan has eternal life, and it gives to its backers an appealing confidence that must win out in the end.

Of course any community setup includes the private agencies. From them are recruited the best of the public servants. They are experiment stations for subsequent government activity. They give to the whole enterprise the element of character-building which few government agencies are in a position to contribute. They take the extra steps that government cannot pay for. They are the ones who build morale, that essential bridge between the relief rolls and the permanent job. Their boards and committees furnish the experienced laymen who know how to do particular jobs and general organization work.

One last difficulty I am sure is in your minds, the difficulty inherent in the use of volunteer workers in the way I have suggested. Let me state to you the philosophy which I believe to be sound, and let me point out a few ways in which the depression experience sustains my views.

My experience with volunteer workers has been with the Y.M.C.A. In 1922, when I came to Cincinnati, the Y had a number of building branches. Its work was almost entirely restricted to paid-up members in those buildings and was conducted by staff men. Its lay committeemen numbered forty or fifty. In the community-chest campaigns the greatest number of kicks in my district on any agency was on the Y.M.C.A.

In fifteen years the work of the Y has been built up through lay committee service. Fifty-seven per cent of our work with

boys now is done largely through volunteer help with underprivileged boys and outside of buildings. Our committeemen number over four thousand. And the kicks in the community-chest campaigns are literally nonexistent today. There can be no doubt about the cause and effect in that situation.

We have our own type of difficulty. We give a committee a job, and it becomes intensely interested, and cannot see why it is not the most important job going. The committee may go off half-cocked on some matter of public relations or on some matter of internal policy. But I want to tell you that our city today knows what the Y is doing, and if anybody gets out the hammer in practically any kind of gathering in town, we know that somebody from the four thousand committeemen is there to stand on his feet and battle for us.

You may wonder why I put so much time on something which you feel to be unimportant, or on which you probably disagree with me. It may become clear if I ask you a question which you must answer honestly in your own hearts. Why are social workers unpopular today? Why do you not have partisans in every group who understand your job and can defend you against unfair criticism? Do not think I am unsympathetic. I went out of my way a year ago when I published a book about the presidential campaign to say that

... if there is one group which has held together the social fabric of our urban communities during these trying years, it is these self-sacrificing men and women who have been carrying case loads far beyond the burden assumed by men and women in ordinary employment, and receiving pay less, usually, than they could make elsewhere.

The answer to my question is simple enough. You are the object of political attack because you have not bothered to educate the public about what you are doing, and, far worse, because you have not even bothered to educate your relief clients about what you are doing. You may tell me that, on the contrary, you are constantly thinking of public relations and work for free space in the newspapers every day. That helps, of course, and we do that, too, in our Cincinnati Y. But what

makes our job easy is four thousand laymen each doing a job for the community through the Y, and familiar in general with other parts of our work. Even publicity is easier if it comes tied to strong laymen's names. And certainly they can do a better job than the professional in convincing the economy boys in the legislatures that cheap administration and untrained workers is no economy.

The failure for which I have the hardest time forgiving social workers is in their relations to organized relievers, for they certainly could have them on their side if they put their minds to it. At least the social workers in Indiana were able to convince the Workers' Alliance that the employees of state relief should be properly trained people, and that group backed them up before the legislature. I do not mean that either family case work or convincing the Workers' Alliance is an easy task. Dealing with families is hard enough if you belong to them. You need to be a psychologist and a good deal besides.

Some of you have read Link's *Return to Religion*. He is a practicing psychologist who, in a period of fifteen years or more, has interviewed and advised over three thousand people on problems extremely personal and intimate. He suggests that that kind of service is not unrelated to the confessional. The kind of work you do in many cases can be put in the same class, and as the dispenser of life-giving elements and wisdom, it is hard for you not to assume some attributes of God. People resent that even when they can't say so. An essential attitude of mind and in many ways the only saving grace of your job is a profound humility and a realization that you are not the last word, that there is a divine spirit that shapes our ends and works through individuals, irrespective of what you by yourselves may do.

Let me put my point in somewhat different language. In my experience in Cincinnati I have sometimes laid claim to being a politician. You are used to damning politicians, but I am talking about politics in a little wider sense. Politics not only determines what should be done for a particular group that needs

government action, but it also involves getting the whole community to believe that the program proposed is the right one. A family welfare agency through its staff may work out a plan for a family, but the plan is only half the battle. It will not work, no matter how good it is, unless you convince the family that it is the right plan and secure their full co-operation. You have to do that much in good case work, but you have generally omitted the next step, which is to convince the whole group of relievers, and then the whole community, that you know what you are doing. I am suggesting that if you build up over a period of years real lay committees and volunteer workers, you will not need to worry about public relations. They will interpret your work for you and they will multiply your hands. You had better learn to make them your friends and helpers if you really want social work to play the part it can in healing the wounds of our machine age.

So there is your partnership of the federal, state, and local governments, the private agencies, and the people—the people in need and the people who help them. And of all in the partnership never question and never forget that our only hope of progress is the divine spirit that works in greater or less degree through every individual man and woman in our nation.

THE NEGRO AND HIS RELATIONSHIPS

*Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, President, Howard
University, Washington, D.C.*

SOME seventy years ago four and a half millions of people emerged from slavery, after two hundred fifty years of the most demoralizing experience that a group of human beings could possibly have, an experience in which they had not only owned no property, but had been the property of others, in which they had been deprived of all that rich complex of activities connected with the acquisition of homes, in which the sanctity of their home ties had been violated by the separation of mothers and fathers from children, and children from their fathers and mothers, and in which many of them had been used as mere breeding animals.

Considering all of the circumstances under which these people lived, and the strenuousness of the race before them, it would not have been surprising if, even with the best help, they had made a failure: for they were without trained intelligence, without property and without organization. If they had been received into the best educational institutions, and had been kept in contact with the finest trunk lines of American culture, there would still have been the possibility of failure.

But this was not the case. They were almost immediately segregated and forced in the early stages of their lives to build up their own institutions—to pull upward, as it were, by their own bootstraps. And, added to this, they were surrounded with a great cloud of unbelieving witnesses who said, "We feel kindly toward you, but you cannot make it. You are going to die. If you happen to live and multiply, you are going to be paupers; you will always be on the public purse. If you happen to escape that, you are going to be unintelligent and obtuse in

your minds; you will never learn anything. You will never have any real vigorous contribution to make to American life."

It is something to realize that seventy years after the day of emancipation all of these questions have been answered. The Negro has survived. He has come from four millions and a half to over eleven millions. He has not been a pauper. Until this depression he has earned his living by the sweat of his own brow. He has earned it in every section of the country; he has earned it as an unskilled laborer and as a skilled laborer. He has not been characteristically an American beggar, but a self-respecting singing workman. He has shown all the fundamental signs of intelligence that he was not supposed to have, has attended all the best universities that would admit him, and wherever he has gone he has not only passed the courses, but has left his mark. He has come out of these institutions and duplicated the entire American system of education from the kindergarten to the university, manned the units thereof with his own personnel, subjected them to the same accrediting standards as apply to all American institutions, has had them marked up as fulfilling the requirements; and now he is busy in at least some of those institutions in independent research, advancing the frontiers of knowledge and making contributions to American life in that way.

But I think most encouraging of all has been his spiritual individuality. The American people have not only now come to endure him, but to love him somewhat, at least, because he has something to give. He is not only a workman, but a singing workman. He sings while he works, and sings from his heart. He dances; he dances not only with mechanical exactness, but with a rhythmic joy, saying by his attitude, "I got wings, you got wings, all of God's chillun got wings."

He is an intuitive mystic; he approaches the presence of God with his emotions, not pushed on by multitudinous dogmas, but driven to the unseen realities of the universe by what he suffers. Seeking to find God because he must have him he has become a spontaneous and joyous religious worshipper.

All this passes over into the histrionic ability which we have been happy to see in *Green Pastures* and in many other attractive expressions of his genius on the stage. He has come through.

On the question as to whether the Negro is a normal human being, normally capable of taking care of himself economically, normally capable of an intelligent and constructive life, and normally capable of making an interesting contribution to American culture in conformity with his experience—the answer to all these questions is “Yes.”

So that when we raise the question as to the Negro's status today, we do not mean what we would have meant forty years ago. We do not mean to raise the prior question as to whether he has proved himself thus far to be a human being. He is a normal human being, who has made great progress. Andrew Carnegie said that in all his study of human life, he knew of no progress comparable to the progress which the American Negro had made in the sixty years since he was emancipated from slavery.

This progress of the Negro has been a tribute not to him only, but a tribute to the constructive genius of the American people as well; for, after all, if the Negro has come any considerable distance toward self-respect and participation in American life, he has come because of the constructive, encouraging, wholesome spirit which is in the American people. We have need to congratulate ourselves, therefore, that, looking back over a period of seventy years, we have come thus far constructively in dealing with this question.

I wish I could say that under the New Deal we have overcome the depression, that we are having the most marvelous experience that we have had since the days of slavery, and that our status is greatly improved.

The fact is that during this depression the Negro has suffered more grievously than any other section of the population. His status has deteriorated. He is in a worse condition today than he was before the depression. Although the central federal gov-

ernment undoubtedly has good will toward him, and has taken many constructive measures to be of special assistance to him, none of these measures have effectively reached his case. So that in my judgment the Negro today is in the most precarious condition he has been in since 1880, and is likely to lose in the next ten years the greater portion of all that he has gained, unless the thoughtful American people become acutely aware of his situation and undertake to meet it with thoroughgoing measures.

The depression in the first place broke down and put a stop to the most encouraging trend in American life as touching the Negro since the days of slavery, that is, the trend of Negro population to the industrial centers of the North and, secondarily, to the cities of the South, as a result of the shortage of labor.

I think if you would speak calmly to almost any thoughtful American Negro today, and ask him what is the most encouraging thing that has taken place, in his memory, he would probably say the migration of the Negro to the cities of the North on account of the displacement of labor in the time during the war, and the shortage of labor during the early years of peace.

For the first time in his history, the Negro then had a chance to sell his labor on the open market for a living wage, and to feel real money with substantial buying power in his hand. For the first time he had a chance to get at skilled and semiskilled labor connected with modern industrial processes, in a large way.

Rapidly the percentage of Negro men engaged in these basic industrial enterprises was increasing, so that by 1929 Negroes employed in this group constituted the third largest group of employed Negroes in the United States. There were first the farmers, 36 per cent; then the domestic workers, 26 per cent; and next the men and women working in the mechanical and manufacturing industries. By 1930 this third group had risen to 18 per cent and, joined with those in mining and transportation, made a basic group reaching nearly a quarter of the employed workers in the Negro race.

This migration of the Negro to the North not only had the direct effect of introducing him into the ranks of industrial labor, with good pay, but it had the indirect effect of enhancing his standing in the South. Before this migration the people of the South had spoken in a derogatory manner of the Negro; wages were low, educational advancement was low, the Negro was at a low valuation; but when he began to sweep to the North by the hundreds of thousands the people of the South became disturbed. They began to change their statements about the value of the Negro to the South. He was considered to be a very valuable economic asset. Efforts were made to interfere with his going to the North. In many cases tickets were refused at railway stations and trains were obliged to leave from points one, two, and three miles from the center of the communities.

During that decade the white South did more to improve the condition of the Negro than during the whole previous period since the days of slavery. In education, for example, money was put into the colleges, high-school facilities were rapidly provided and high-school enrolment increased 300 per cent; and, in a way never done before, an accrediting organization was set up to determine whether real high schools and colleges were available or not. For the first time in the history of the South this condition existed: the South declared "When we say 'A' class, we mean 'A' class; 'A' class for the Negro means the same thing as for the white colleges and high schools. We have come to the place where we want to have one type of education for both whites and Negroes in the South, and when we say 'A' we mean 'A.'"

That period was a happy period. It was such a happy day that when Negroes saw it, and saw the results, many of them actually prayed for the Lord to let the war go on a little longer until they could make sure of this new era in their lives.

However, the depression put a stop to that migration movement. It relaxed that constructive tension. If it had done nothing else but this, it would have been a tragic thing in the life of the Negro. But the depression did more than that. In

the second place it turned the migrant Negro into a problem to himself and to the community in which he lived. The migrant Negro in the North has suffered greatly throughout the depression, even as he is suffering now.

It has been a great disillusionment to him to see that the same pattern of human relations which prevails in Atlanta, Georgia, has come to prevail for him largely in New York, in St. Louis, and in Kansas City. In every one of the large centers of population he has suffered in great disproportion to his numbers. At the beginning of the depression, about 1930, the indication was that Negroes were suffering from unemployment at a vastly greater percentage than any other group of the population.

An examination of a large group of cities by the National Urban League indicated that, while Negroes in these cities represented about 20 per cent of the persons employed, they constituted on the average about 50 per cent of the persons on the relief rolls. In some cities, in both the North and the South, Negro unemployment rose to as high as 75 per cent of the total persons on relief. In many cases the suffering of the Negroes in the cities has amounted to a ratio three times as great as the suffering of the whites.

This means that the great displacement of white labor had acted to push the skilled workers down to the group of semi-skilled workers and the semi-skilled workers down to the group of unskilled workers. This had intensified the competition between the unskilled black and white workers and the white unskilled workers had gradually pushed the Negro unskilled workers out of even those types of employment ordinarily assigned to Negroes; so that both in the South and in the North the Negro soon found that there were not any Negro jobs, that when white labor is in distress, it will back up into and hitch itself up to any job that has an income to it. The consequence was that in all the urban centers of the country the Negroes were pushed out on the margin of the labor situation, and were tied up in enormous numbers of unemployed in great disproportion to their percentage of the population.

Many of them undoubtedly looked wistfully back to the South, and sang with fervor, "I wish I was in Dixie," but they could not go back and cannot now go back because, as I want to point out next, this depression has made the most profound and disintegrating attack upon the status of the Negro as an agricultural laborer in the South, an attack from which it is possible to conceive that as many as two millions of them will never recover. The forces at work in this depression have almost paralyzed the plantation system built around cotton in the southern states, involving about 36 per cent of all Negro labor in the United States, and at the foundation of whatever economic security the Negro had in the South.

Long before this depression began, the Negro had discovered himself to be a loser in this system. He was living by many thousands on the lowest possible level of subsistence consistent with keeping soul and body together, even before the depression. He had been able to gain, since the Civil War, only 19 per cent ownership of farms and homes in that section; and his ownership of the farm was very precarious indeed. Approximately 80 per cent of his farm people were tenants, living on a farm averaging about 48 acres, valued at less than \$1,500, with and income at best ranging around \$250 cash. In the early days of the depression one study shows 26 per cent of these farm-tenant people were "going in the hole," as they say; about 62 per cent were breaking even; and only about 9 per cent were making any profit—a profit ranging from \$70 to \$90 per year.

To make a long story short, due to five or six major factors operating from various quarters, the cotton system in the South has brought a situation to a pass in which from two to five millions of the human beings who make their livelihood off of these crops and off of these plantations are no longer necessary for the maintenance of this system.

There can be no doubt of the fact that this is a federal administration which has good will toward the Negro. It has shown it in many ways. It has made repeated pronouncements that the Negro is included in all its economic programs, as a

human being. In the Department of the Interior, the Department of Commerce, and the Federal Emergency Relief Administration it has appointed intelligent Negroes to take care of the interests of their people. It has gone so far as to implement several pieces of its most important legislation with specific instructions that this legislation must be applicable to Negroes in the same way as to whites, and has set up tests which must be met in carrying out certain projects so as to guarantee that this is being done.

Yet there can be no doubt of the fact that the steps taken by the administration to meet this fundamental breakage in security of the Negro workers on the cotton farms have not reached him. By the end of 1933 the administration had spent \$111,000,000 on these cotton farms alone in rental and benefit payments, to cut down acreage, constituting about 85 per cent of all the money spent for this purpose and about 65 per cent of all that the government had put into the whole program in cutting down acreage and removing the surplus of cotton, wheat, tobacco, hogs, and butter.

But every careful and painstaking study of this situation that I have seen indicates that the great bulk of this money flowed into the pockets of landlords, the bankers, or the insurance companies, and did not reach effectively either the black tenant or the white tenant.

Quite to the contrary, it brought about a situation which tended to reduce the necessity for both tenants and workers on some of the large plantations and turned out to be an additional reason for the displacement of tenants, the backing downward of tenants to the status of hands, and, finally, the eviction of some of the most stable elements in the population from the entire cotton-crop situation.

Relief for these tenants was itself effectively crippled by the character of the political and economic organization in the South. Thousands of them were never listed on the relief rolls. The Negroes were listed at a much lesser percentage than the whites, and even when they were listed, they were given a great

differential in the amount of money assigned to them. So that if you go into the South today, you will find many thousands of Negro tenant farmers cast off from the system which no longer needs them, looking into a dark future, darker than they have ever seen before because they can now see no way in which the plantation system inherited from slavery can absorb and use their labors.

Here, then, is what we are facing with regard to the Negro today:

The great migration movement into the North and into the cities has been set back and the Negroes have been piled up in all the great cities, as disproportionately large sufferers on account of unemployment. The plantation system has all but broken down. It appears to be on the point of cracking permanently. It seems that from two million to five million of the eight and a half-million human beings now working on it as tenants will never be able to be employed there again.

The consequence of this situation is that another migration is on—not a migration of inspiration and hope such as occurred during the war, but a migration of desperation. The Negro and the white tenant farmers are moving toward the cities because they are obliged to move in that direction—because they are desperate.

They will not be able to stop in the southern cities, because the whole economy of the southern states is crippled and stunted by the plantation system upon which it rests.

They will move on into the North, both white and black tenants, and we are on the point, in my judgment, in the next few years, of transferring the bulk of the so-called race problem from the rural regions of the South in the first instance to the cities of the South, and in the second instance to the cities of the North, under the most unfavorable conditions for such a situation that we have had since the days of slavery.

This is a dangerous state of affairs. It is dangerous for the Negro and it is dangerous for the nation. What if the Negro piles up in these cities in large unemployed numbers, and the

competent re-employment of the great reservoirs of labor is long delayed? There will be an increasing disposition for the old feeling against the Negro which arose out of slavery, and which had been partly and effectively suppressed by the new migration to the North, to return. Already you can see the beginning of this feeling in a place like Gary, Indiana. And there may be an increasing disposition on the part of numbers of communities to look upon the Negro as a great bulk of inevitably impoverished human beings, who cannot be assimilated into the economic system.

This is not only dangerous for the Negro, but profoundly dangerous to the liberal political and labor movement in this country. If I were to put my finger upon the most dangerous thing in America today at this stage in the history of our government, I would put my finger on the great unemployed reservoir of Negro labor rising out of the maladjustments of the cotton-plantation system in the South, and spreading its path among the cities of the North and West.

We are accustomed to think in this country—it is often on the lips of those who own great properties—that we face an acute danger from communism. I tell you that it is not so.

The most acute danger confronting this nation today is a conservative dictatorship of political and economic power, based upon the resistance of the owning classes of the country against yielding enough concessions to absorb the great reservoir of the unemployed. Justifying themselves on grounds of race in cutting off the sense of obligation to unemployed Negro laborers, and playing upon accumulated race feeling as a means of splitting the liberal labor and political movement and of consolidating the support of the great bloc of one-party states in the South—already a nucleus of dictatorship governments—they could bring about a seizure of power based upon the consolidation of conservative financial strength and rearoused racial emotion such as might be almost unbreakable.

This is quite conceivable. If we want to be wise in our social programs, we must entertain the thought of what is conceiv-

able. In the next ten-year period we may see the reluctant little-forward-going captains of industry in the East, and the lords of finance in the East, fearful for the security of their possessions, deliberately joining hands with the conservative group which still dominates the southern states, with their not out-grown slave economy still persisting in the cotton-plantation system, sweeping the two together, to break the backbone of the liberal labor and political movement, and having broken it once to maintain the power for years to come.

What must we do?

In the first place, we must get rid entirely of the notion that it is possible to solve the economic problems of the Negro, and of the South connected with the Negro, by any form of separate economy. The idea that Negroes at this late date in American life could reproduce the system of modern capitalistic economy, with sufficient strength and power to employ their own people, is an illusion. It was an illusion fifty years ago. It is a definitely disestablished and untenable illusion today, and utterly dangerous to the Negro and to the American people.

The Negro is a laborer. Before he is a Negro he is a part of the laboring masses of America. He is affected by all the fundamental currents that affect the laboring masses. He is unemployed in great disproportion, not in the first instance because he is a Negro, but because he is the most disadvantaged segment of the labor group. In addition to that he has a difficult life because he is a black man.

We cannot solve his problem by addressing ourselves merely to those aspects of his life that have to do with him as a Negro. We must realize that the best way to help him in the first instance is to handle with organized effectiveness the fundamental problems that concern the laboring masses and the poorest elements of the laboring masses.

The Negro is suffering from the cotton-crop system. Seventy years ago he was the only one suffering from that system objectively, but today there are five and one-half million poor whites in the South who are literally dragged down to the very margin of subsistence by this system.

These Negroes and poor whites have looked at one another across the land and have come now to know, as they should have known forty years ago, that they both are dealing with a system of cotton tenure which is bound up with concentrated ownership and exploitation and which will kill the spirit and ruin the life of any group of human families, whatever their race or color, if it is allowed to continue for a long time. To help the Negro in the South means first of all to take such steps as will affect constructively the life of the poorest elements of the laboring people, white as well as black.

The same is true in the North. The Negro is displaced because of this backing up of the disadvantaged reservoir of unemployed labor. In their desperation to deal constructively with their family problems the disadvantaged white laborers back up on the unprotected Negro and back him out of subsistence. There is no way to help the Negro by addressing him and saying, "We feel kindly toward you, brother; we are going to take care of you."

It makes no difference how kindly you feel toward him, it is necessary to stop that backing-up movement of the great disadvantaged groups of American labor before you can get a place big enough to push him into and give him a living subsistence.

In the second place, we are in need of a political policy deliberate and thoroughgoing, which will recognize the necessity of maintaining intact the political and economic structure of the northern states, and which will not allow that structure to break down and to be impressed with the segregated pattern which has come down from slavery in the South.

At this moment the Negro constitutes at best only 6 per cent of the laboring population of the great northern cities, while he constitutes from 25 to 30 per cent of the laboring population of the South. These northern cities have had three hundred years of stable political structure, a political structure that has withstood and assimilated millions of migrants from all countries in Europe, in almost every language and every religion. Deliberate thought will indicate that if we can restore the healthy economic functioning of these northern states and cities they have

the same power to assimilate the Negro economically as they have had in assimilating the Italian, the Czechoslovakian, the Pole, and others. It should be the deliberate purpose of the great northern states, and of the northern cities, to maintain the policy of open employment to every human being, to advance them, and to open public office to them, on the ground of proved ability; to open the public schools to every human being so that all may hear the same voice, sing the same songs, learn the same doctrine, in order that with all our diversity and multiplicity we may produce a great nation, not made by solidarity of race or language but by free individuals, each seeking his own individuality in sane and intelligent co-operation.

In the third place, it is necessary for the present administration to put hardness and power into its oft-expressed purpose to include the Negro in its plans for recovery in the country. This does not mean merely the increased making of appealing statements of policy from the platform and the appointing of a few, though they be able, Negroes in the great trunk-line departments at Washington, however important these things may be. It means the studious begetting and the determined putting through of measures designed to extend employment basically and with extensity wide enough to include the Negro as among the poorest and most disadvantaged elements of American unemployed labor. It means (and we may say so deliberately) bringing the maximum pressure to bear upon the captains of industry and finance to yield a maximum of their margin of profits and to reduce themselves to a much lower income and margin than they would otherwise be willing to do, in order that they may participate as public servants in the solution of a problem.

It means the further implementation of measures to take care of the differential disadvantage which the Negro suffers as a Negro. This means that to those able Negroes who are in the Department of Commerce, the Department of the Interior, and the Department of Labor there must be added enough additional Negroes of ability, and of sympathetic white persons, to

supervise, to inspect, and to keep in touch with the functioning of these measures in the states, and in the localities, so that the will of the administration expressed in these measures may actually find a chance to be done in the localities in an effective way.

Now, finally, we are at the most opportune moment in the history of this nation for a great liberal political and labor movement to make an effective attack upon the system of economics, which for over three hundred years has been ruining the Negro and the South. We must no longer conceal from ourselves the fact that the South itself is strangled by the system of cotton tenure which has made a slave and a peon out of the Negro.

It is fortunate for our perspective today that, when we look at the plantation system, we see not only three million Negroes, but five and a half million poor white men suffering under the same disadvantages. When we remember that these five and a half million white men have been sucked into this system since 1865, and that altogether there are fourteen million human beings in the South who labor under this awful system, we can realize that the entire economic structure of the southern states—in fact, the entire life of the southern states—is resting upon an impossible system of economics which is not only grinding down the face of the Negro and the poor white man, but is pounding down the economic and spiritual life of the whole South, and must be done away with.

I am not an economist, and I do not know how to do it, but I have this to say, and for me it is encouraging to be able to say it, that seventy years ago, when the slave system, threatened by the advance of liberal thought and machine industry, stretched forth a hand to grasp and hold and dominate the nation, it was a great sadness that it had to be broken from the outside. Today, in this crisis, the party is in power which dominates that section. Today the party that dominates that section is not only in power, but it is in power by the deliberate and thoughtful help of suffering free black men who, with their eyes wide open and with all of the distrust and hesitation that

grows out of three hundred years of painful experience, have yet trusted that party, because they have believed that under liberal leadership the terrible situation which has taken the very substance out of their existence for three hundred years can be modified from within.

I believe that the time has come when it must be attempted. I believe that it rests as a serious and solemn obligation upon the party now in power to call the present political leaders of the southern states in conference, to lay before them the deliberate purpose of this party, to set the Negro peon and the poor white tenant slave free economically, and to place them in a favorable position of economic and political organization and liberty, which will prevent any succeeding group of exploiters from restoring them to their present condition.

If the present party does not attempt to do this, it will be haunted until its inevitable death by the possibility of internal defection and reactionary revolution which has within it the power of breaking the back of the liberal political movement of modern times.

For the first time in American history, both in the South and in the North, such a political movement can be supported by a labor movement in which the poor white for the first time is joined hand in hand with the Negro, and in which, under the aegis of the Committee for Industrial Organization, the rank and file of unskilled labor is and can be further organized for powerful trunk-line action.

This is the most opportune moment in the history of America for a creative turning point in Negro life and racial relations and for the effective destruction of the most dangerous economic, political, and cultural complex in American Life. If it can be broken, the circumstances, the movements, and the historical necessity are here to do it. It can be done by the co-operation of liberal agencies arising within and led by southern personalities. The hour has struck. I hope that the New Deal will not let it pass.

THE PROBLEM OF INDUSTRIAL RELATIONS

*The Honorable Frank Murphy, Governor of Michigan
Lansing, Michigan*

WHEREVER we may look upon the American scene, it is worthy of note that in most of the countless activities which men pursue, efficiency is a watchword and a guiding force. In our homes, on our farms, in the schools, in government and—most remarkably—in industry, we are constantly seeking to apply men's inventive genius, initiative, and general intelligence toward the end that our tasks may be lightened. We are ever searching for the methods by which our objectives may be accomplished most easily, most effectively, and with the least wear and tear on the human body and mind.

It is indeed strange, in view of this widespread devotion to the principle of efficiency, that in one vital phase of our industrial order—where efficiency in production is a virtual god—we have thus far failed grievously to put this devotion into practice. That phase consists of the relationships between the two groups who together run industry—the employers and the employees.

I need not tell you that while efficiency demands that these relationships be peaceful and harmonious, they have too often been violent and antagonistic. Employers and employees alike—and sometimes the public and government as third and fourth parties—have too often failed to realize that industrial peace is not only possible but practicable. They have failed to grasp or to admit the fact that the peaceful way of deciding their conflicts is the only intelligent and certainly the most efficient way. And in this blindness they have, of course, missed the primary truth that if peace is to rule their relation-

ships it must be sought for and accomplished with one concerted purpose and protected with a concerted allegiance.

Events of the past twelve months have brought the problem of industrial relations to the forefront of public attention so forcibly that there is no need to devise an excuse for discussing it. The lives of all of us—both producers and consumers—are seriously affected, since each of us helps pay the price of ill will generated by industrial stoppages.

Some people would have us accept the naïve notion that industrial disputes are, in the main, caused by agitators who are the agents of sinister foreign powers. They attempt to discredit the leaders of labor unions by calling them “dangerous alien radicals,” in the face of the fact that many of those same leaders are members of respectable, solidly American families. They tell us that if these leaders were to be put on a ship, taken beyond the three-mile limit and sunk, there would be no more sit-downs or walkouts—that peace would prevail in industry. The persons who utter these fictions either cannot or will not appreciate the fact that, allowing for the undoubted presence of a few selfish and insincere members in the labor unions, there is back of them a substantial mass movement based on natural causes.

No one at all cognizant with social problems will seriously deny that this is true, any more than he can accept the feeble and unjust interpretation of those who would blacken the unions by labeling their leaders with hackneyed epithets. Let us look at the reasons why we cannot honestly believe this interpretation.

In a generation we have transformed the character of American life. We have created a complex urban community with its concentration of population in small areas and its accompanying problems of housing and poverty such as those presented by the multitudes of tenement dwellers. We have created large industrial establishments where thousands of workers are subject to control by one directing head, and where they have scant opportunity to express individual initiative in their work. For the masses of workers, creative craftsmanship has been replaced by

machine precision, uniformity, and monotony, a dreary triumvirate of forces, which combine to make of the individual a sort of infinite nothing.

We have created the vast modern corporation with ownership separated from management, thus breaking that intimate personal contact between the worker and his employer which is a primary virtue of smaller establishments. We have substituted for this intimate relationship thousands of stockholders who have little knowledge of or interest in the product of their company or the conditions under which it is produced. We have created professional management, but have too often diminished its true value by placing the corporation's finance and banking policy above its concern for production tactics and employee relationships.

We have likewise made it possible for corporations to acquire power often greater than that possessed by governments. We have permitted the concentration in the hands of a few individuals representing vast organizations of power to control basic policies of production, finance, and—what is more important—employer-employee relationships.

We have created the machine which, with all its obvious blessings, has brought new and trying problems and has furnished new cause for conflict in industrial relations. True, it has given us higher standards of living, increased production of goods to meet all our physical needs, reduced hours of work, and lightened the burden of working men and women. But, at the same time, the machine has made the workman's job less secure. Economists and social scientists may talk about its long-run advantages, but its short-run maladjustments have had devastating consequences upon millions of individuals.

These are the great forces which have molded our economic and industrial environment and transformed the economic and industrial picture. They have changed the ways of making a living. In the debate as to whether they have been a boon to society or a bane, I choose to be on the side of the optimist, for it seems inevitable that what is done to enlarge and improve

production for human use will in the end improve man's estate. But I choose also to emphasize that their existence places on us the heavy responsibility of making appropriate adjustments in human and institutional relationships.

The problem of industrial relations is, in brief, the problem of wages, speed, hours of labor, opportunity to express creative craftsmanship, fear of job insecurity, industrial ill health, a fair chance of promotion based on merit, protection against petty and unreasoning tyranny, mutual self-respect, and defense against the detestable institution of industrial espionage. It is a problem of allowing men to live with the dignity they, as human beings, deserve.

We cannot permit ourselves to be deluded into thinking this problem consists simply of strikes, for strikes are only an index of the status of industrial relations. Essentially, it is a problem of the daily adjustment of a person to his occupational environment, for when such adjustment takes place imperfectly unrest is sure to follow. It is the accumulation of hundreds of unventilated grievances, each one of little moment in itself, but all together sufficient to create a pool of pent-up emotions which will eventually precipitate a strike.

It is a sad commentary on industrial leadership that the inventive genius and resourcefulness which produced the modern machine, the skyscraper, the automobile, is far behind the times in dealing with the problem of industrial relations. The testimony on industrial espionage recently gathered by a United States Senate Committee, showing how extensively many corporations have relied on spying as a method of preventing labor unrest, indicates a fundamental lack of understanding of human relations. The institution of the company store suggests a similar lack of sympathy with human desires. Such devices for dealing with labor problems obviously differ sharply from the careful, scientific research and investigation which industry employs in formulating its production, marketing, and purchasing policies. It is evident that industry must learn to know men as intimately as it knows materials.

For example, before passing judgment on the principle of collective bargaining, industry should realize that a worker will not delegate a power to someone else if he can do it better himself. Collective bargaining represents a power delegated by the workers because as individuals they have been ineffective in protecting their so-called rights. The latter fact suggests powerfully that collective bargaining is here to stay.

We can agree, I believe, that despite ominous predictions to the contrary, the present wave of industrial disputes represents merely a normal reaction of working people to economic insecurity. They are giving vent to the repressive effects of five years of depression and the fear of insecurity. They are asking a share in the control and determination of working conditions. The sit-down strikes and the renewed vigor of union organization work are merely indications of their desire to employ more effective techniques. With these they are reaching out successfully into new industries. But the recent strikes signify nothing new in terms of what labor has been striving for since the beginning of the century. The public clamor for legal restraint and control of labor organizations and employers is undoubtedly due in large part to the unusual turmoil and strife of recent months, rather than to any extraordinary change in the attitude of labor.

Unfortunately, recent strikes becloud the fact that in a considerable number of American industries, stability has actually been achieved through orderly processes of collective relations. Working conditions have been set forth in trade agreements in the railway, coal, clothing, and printing industries, to cite but a few. These agreements have set up orderly procedures for the conduct of relations between several million workers and their employers. Strikes take place only after long established machinery has broken down. Disputes and grievances, which are inevitable wherever human beings are involved, are aired in discussions around conference tables rather than in battles along picket lines. They are then enforced by customary precedent and mutual self-respect. In this way great corporations have

gone about their business of producing goods and services without a major stoppage in a quarter of a century. As a democratic process for controlling working conditions this peaceful technique has built up a common and statute law of industry with its own bill of rights and "constitutional" guaranties.

The American public, through legislation, has tended to recognize the social desirability of collective bargaining. By implication it has said that the individual worker is not quite able to protect himself against the vagaries of industrial competition, and that wages, hours, promotion, and layoffs can best be determined with workers acting in concert. Such legislation as the Railway Mediation Act, the Norris-La Guardia Anti-injunction Act, and the National Labor Relations Act is evidence that the public believes industrial peace and social order can best be attained by encouraging workers to organize.

These laws, therefore, seek to remove from the statute books restrictions which hamper the free organization of labor and to eliminate interference by employers or by courts. They seek in effect to write into public policy the theory that industrial peace can be achieved most readily if there is a balance of power between labor and capital. A great preponderance of industrial power on one side or the other has never made for long-time stability except on the basis of exploitation and coercion. The history of industrial disputes in this country and abroad indicates that collective arrangements are most successful in industries where both labor and capital have been effectively organized. If, therefore, the present drive to organize labor results in equalizing the status of workers and their employers, we will unquestionably be far along the road to industrial peace.

Today, many look with dismay upon the encouragement which is being given to labor organizations. They fear it will result in shutdowns of great industries. They fear for the consumer, thinking he will be forgotten in the collective bargaining processes between labor and capital. They fear, likewise, a further disintegration of the competitive forces which in the past have been relied upon as a stabilizing element.

In some of these observations there is no doubt much food for thought. If labor and capital become effectively organized, it may be necessary for public authority to assert itself in a positive manner to protect the consumer. Already we see evidence of this in the appointment of a consumers' representative to co-operate in the control program of the coal industry. This is a new field of experimentation in social control, but we may need shortly to extend it to industries even less directly affected by consumers' interests.

I am little disturbed by the effect collective bargaining agreements may have upon competitive processes. We long ago ceased to rely exclusively upon competition as a regulator of our economic life. The free operation of competitive forces has for years been restrained by trade associations, by monopolistic practices, by so-called "gentlemen's agreements," by government regulations, and by the operation of collective bargaining itself. These forces are not new. They have been in the making for a generation. In fact, we have tried to curb them through our antitrust laws, but in this attempt we have not been too successful.

Briefly, we have incorporated into our complex economic system a large number of institutional checks on the operation of free competition. It is my belief that the future trend of government will be in the direction of keeping these institutions under control rather than of outlawing them or of removing the restrictions which inhere in them. If this analysis is correct, what, then, should be the government's part in the control of industrial disputes?

From what I have already said, a hands-off policy is apparently indefensible. Modern economic living is highly interdependent. Industrial processes and relations are sympathetic and sensitive. A dislocation or shutdown in a major industry affects almost at once the jobs of thousands of workers in supplementary industries hundreds of miles away. The government cannot long continue to view such a situation in the role of a mere observer. Sooner or later circumstances will compel it

to take an active part, for modern life is industrial life, and when that stops the very existence of social institutions is threatened.

On the opposite extreme it is proposed that industrial disputes which lead to strikes, lockouts, picketing, and similar types of conflict are simply manifestations of the law of the jungle in modern society. We long ago ceased to indorse that method in disputes between individuals. The duel as a means of settling grievances of a personal or economic character is proscribed in all civilized jurisdictions. We take our problems to a court of law and abide by the findings of a judge and jury. Why not do likewise in disputes involving industrial relations?

Many serious-minded persons are so urging us. They point to the inevitability of conflict, to the great social hazard of conflict. They suggest that a strike is social dynamite, likely to explode at any time and upset not only the contestants but our whole economic structure. In an enlightened and progressive society, they say, there is no justification for resort to the rule of tooth and fang. They contend, therefore, that we should prohibit strikes and lockouts. In a word, they declare that where agreement is impossible, the contestants should be required to take their case to court and abide by the findings of that tribunal. Any method short of this, we are told, exposes the public and the consumer to unnecessary and unjust deprivation of peace and comfort and introduces a potent threat to the safety of the social system.

While the justifications given for this proposal are persuasive, it has limitations so grave that I am unable to indorse it. Other nations which have tried compulsory arbitration of industrial disputes have not found it successful. In our own country, the experiment in the state of Kansas between 1920 and 1925 ought to convince us of the futility of reliance upon the police or the edict of a court to enforce industrial peace. My objection to compulsory arbitration is that it is neither feasible nor practical to enforce a court order which runs counter to the opinions or

sense of fairness of great masses of people. Court orders do not produce goods. They do not mine coal nor run trains. When they are unenforceable because of the physical impossibility of imposing penalties on all who participate in violating a court order, the flames of conflict are fanned and respect for authority is broken down.

In addition, the very nature of the process of compulsory arbitration may actually retard the development of voluntary procedures. Either side, failing to gain its end through conciliation, would be tempted to delay agreement in the hope that a court of law would issue an order in accordance with its point of view.

When logically pursued, compulsory arbitration of labor disputes would seriously restrict many basic constitutional guaranties. The right to quit work for any reason at all, the right of free speech, and the right of assembly might easily be curtailed, since the exercise of these rights might conflict with a court order holding strikes illegal.

Finally, it is extremely probable that this method of dealing with industrial disputes would place our political institutions under an intolerable strain. Labor and capital, having placed their fate in the hands of courts and judges, would become active contestants for the control of government in order to appoint the members of the judiciary. An indication of this is the fact that the attitude of labor in other countries toward compulsory arbitration has frequently varied according to the degree of control it possessed over government. Where such control has been great, labor has been less opposed to compulsory arbitration than where it has been insignificant or absent.

We are being urged from many quarters that, since labor organizations are coming to wield great power over the lives of workmen, and over the operations of industries, they ought to be held fully responsible for their acts. There has been a great ado about proposed legislation providing for the incorporation of trade unions, for public supervision of union elections, for

registration of union officers, for making them suable in the courts, for requiring that their books and membership lists be a matter of public record.

It is axiomatic, of course, that responsible leaders of responsible labor organizations should be accountable for the acts of such organizations. Irresponsible leadership has done labor more harm in the public mind than all the attacks of employers' associations. Labor must learn to discipline its forces, to hold in check impractical or untimely demands. It must grow to appreciate its place in the industry and the place of the industry in the economic system. Its demands must be consistent with the industry's competitive position. It must be industry conscious as well as labor conscious, and must learn to look upon employment as a mutual enterprise. It must realize that co-operation is a joint and not a one-sided affair. It must keep its agreements inviolate. Only by scrupulous adherence to such a program can labor become an active and constructive force in industry. If labor's leaders fail in these respects, the public demand for restrictive legislation will surely be irresistible.

Labor organizations have, generally, opposed proposals which aim to restrict their activities. The recent disclosures before the Senate Committee investigating industrial espionage reveal the basis of their fears. Incidents are common where representatives of spy agencies have been elected to important positions in trade unions and performed the dual functions of union official and *agent provocateur*.

In considering the merit of proposals for controlling labor organizations, even their proponents must concede that the analogy between the incorporation of trade unions and of a business producing, let us say, steel, is not perfect. A union's assets consist of the good will of its members and such funds as it may have with which to pay strike benefits or to maintain its staff. The property of a corporation, on the other hand, consists of buildings, machines, materials, and other highly tangible assets. An injunction tying up the corporation's liquid funds does not close its production operations. But a court order

which ties up the union's funds absolutely disables it, preventing the performance of its functions during the period of the injunction.

Moreover, the law as it applies to labor disputes, despite clarification in recent years, is highly uncertain in character. Courts do not agree whether picketing can be peaceful, and even if peaceful, whether it can be legal. They are clearly at variance whether a strike for a closed shop is intended to benefit labor or injure a third party. In some states such a strike is legal, in others illegal. The problem is enormously complicated when, in a single state, some judges hold a strike to be within the law, while others declare it to be illegal. In many areas, therefore, the legality of a trade union's activities depends largely on the viewpoint of the judges involved in a particular case. Because of this uncertainty of its legal rights and status, labor does not approve incorporation which would make it suable. Possibly, after we have extensively clarified our labor law and a greater balance of strength between employers and workers has been attained, these objections will be removed.

I doubt, finally, that much progress can be made toward industrial peace by means of repressive legislation. The experience of other countries should serve in some measure as our guide, and it is significant that democratic states in general have not resorted to this method.

What positive role, then, can government assume if it is to aid in settling industrial disputes?

1. It seems to me, that, first, it should be a fact-finding agency. It ought to have all the facts pertinent to each dispute, to make possible an intelligent public understanding of the issues in controversy. It should sift the conflicting evidence, the controversial data, and get at the truth in so far as it is possible to ascertain the truth in a conflict involving not only facts but emotions.

2. The government's function ought to be that of a mutual friend and intelligent moderator. On its own initiative, or at the request of either or both parties, it should enter the arena

to aid in the search for those formulas upon which peace can be built. Nothing dispels suspicion so quickly as a discussion of the issues. Nothing makes for better mutual understanding and self-respect as the give and take which inevitably comes from the comparison of the problems which face both labor and industry. Fortunately, employers have been changing the attitude that there are many issues which "are not subject to discussion." The two parties must appreciate their respective responsibilities and find that meeting ground upon which mutual confidence and understanding can be obtained.

3. The government must also be prepared to take its place as an active participant with labor and employers in finding a solution. Its attitude must always be impartial. Its influence must always be in the direction of moderating the attitudes and demands of the two parties. Its view must always be the public view. Public interest is paramount. The government must insist on peace and orderliness. It must insist on the building up of mutual self-respect. To these ends, the public must be represented by continuing agencies specializing in the problems of industrial relations. These must cover the entire field from fact-finding to mediation, conciliation, and, if necessary, aid in creating the machinery for voluntary arbitration. Government must make available at all times the most effective possible kind of mediation agencies. These must be set up on the basis of each industry if necessary, as well as on a geographical basis. Every measure and method of conciliation and mediation must be at hand, always in the name of impartial government.

First and last, we must all remember that industrial peace is no easy goal. It will be achieved only when industry and its leaders realistically face today and tomorrow and forget the past, which trained them to resist instead of to co-operate; when labor and its leaders courageously assume the great responsibilities which are theirs; and when government properly exerts a positive, enlightened, and constructive influence.

In doing its part, government can never afford to forget the lesson of history. It cannot safely follow the example of those

governments whose attitude toward the people has been indifferent, negative, or destructive. It cannot resort to the use of force and violence, for these are easy, superficial methods that imperil not only the disputants in a controversy but government itself. We must remember that government is a fragile, tenuous thing—held together by something spiritual. If it is hateful and oppressive, it is useless and people recoil from it. To be useful, it must always be the great friend—kindly and understanding, firm and constructive.

The present situation in industrial relations presents an incomparable opportunity for enlightened government to show its worth. The need for sound judgment and insight is more profound than at any time in the past, we for have no successful pattern for dealing with industrial disputes. A proper appreciation of the forces involved, a proper understanding of the issues in the conflict will show that the peaceful way is the right way. In time, as these are achieved, the parliament of industry, embodying the intelligent, peaceful methods of democracy, can and will result from self-organization and mutual self-respect.

ADVENTURES IN UNDERSTANDING

*The Honorable Florence E. Allen, Judge, United States Circuit
Court of Appeals, Cleveland, Ohio*

I AM not going to ring all the changes so familiar to us, not only in our minds, but graven indelibly on our hearts, as to what we suffered, as to what every civilized nation in the world suffered in the great war. But I do think these two things are worth saying, because they are not often said. Sometimes I think to myself that this depression out of which at last we begin feebly to emerge, is just as much a backwash of the war as all of the other hideous results that went with it, and a backwash that is quite difficult to trace, and yet I am sure it is there.

I feel that the materialism that followed on the war was a result of the war just as darkness follows light. It seems to me that everyone who had a boy go across the sea, and everyone who suffered in that contest, had a sense of the injustice of the burden.

Now, I think about that as a judge. I have been a judge for seventeen years, and over and over again, we judges appraise the justice and equality of the burden. Sometimes when both parties are equally at fault we divide the burden. When we consider questions of taxes as we do in these four states in which the Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit sits—Ohio, Michigan, Kentucky, Tennessee—we are constantly talking about the equality of the burden, and we try in conformity with the Constitution of the United States to make the burden equal. The burden of war can never be equal. There are some families that have no sons, or as we go on to a more advancing stage, in which woman also shall fight or at least be killed by instruments of destruction thrown from the air, there are families which

have no children, and will not suffer that indescribable loss. There were in the United States some families in which some boys served, but never crossed the sea. There were families whose boys went across and all came back. There were families that lost one boy. There were families that had their entire male line wiped out. I know a family of that kind, and I say to you that the burden of war can never be equal. Because war runs counter to the spirit of civilized thought which holds that the burden of civilized life shall be equal, for that one reason only, war must cease. Also because all of us who were drawn into it resented the injustice of the thing, war must cease. Our spirits all over the world became calloused, and we were ready to go out and eat, drink, and be merry, because our boys had died, and tomorrow we should die. I ask you if that has not been a true reaction in most of the families which immediately suffered from the war. The boys who were exposed to it somehow suffered a tainting of their ideals that never can be appraised. I shall give you one instance of a boy whom I know well.

He came from the West, but he enlisted in Virginia, because that was where he was working when the United States entered the war. When he came back, broken in health, they gave him a ticket to the place in Virginia where he had enlisted, but they would not give him a ticket to the place in the Rocky Mountains where his family lived and had always lived. And, of course, that was no one's particular fault. I am sure the President did not know about it, but as that boy went back home and as he fell into the illness of which he died, over and over and over again he would say to his mother—and I think he was the most brilliant, the highest-minded boy that I have ever known—he would say, "All of the things that you taught us, the world says are not so."

The boys felt that. Everything that we had tried to teach them in the school and in the church, and most of all in the home, the world said was not so. We had taught them that it was the highest crime to kill, but we said, "It is your duty to kill, just so long as you kill a German."

We had taught them that it was a high crime to steal, and to commit highway robbery and burglary, but we said, "Use every kind of violence now that you are in this war," and so after the war, not only from the United States, but from every country which engaged in it, and I have studied the statistics, there rose up a great wail from the men and women who were engaged in appraising the life of the youth. They said, "There is a criminal spirit abroad in the land. It is manifested mostly among people of very tender years," and in some of these reports which I have seen in the German and in the French, and from Canada and England and from the United States, over and over again they said, "This is due to the war."

When we count up all that the war did to us besides dislocating credit, besides uprooting all our financial systems, besides destroying commerce, and wealth and killing men, somehow it did something to the spirit of mankind from which it only now begins to recover. Men and women everywhere said, "All that you, the home, the church, and the school, all that you have taught us, all of these things about honor and about affection and comradeship and the building up of a community in which there shall be opportunity—all of these things the world says are not so."

And that destruction of idealism was a very difficult thing indeed to fight.

My subject has been formulated as "Adventures in Understanding."

There will be no peace in the world without understanding, and the building of that understanding is an adventure, because never before has it been done or tried on this scale, never before have we attempted even to establish international friendship as it must be established in the heart of the individual and in the heart of the governments of the world.

And I want to make a very plain distinction between the thing that the individual feels and the things that are done by government. The stream will rise no higher than its source, and there cannot be international peace unless there is some spirit

of human tolerance and friendship among the peoples that make up the nations, and to teach that spirit to the individual through education is our first task.

But our second, and equally difficult task, is to have that spirit register itself in governmental action. Wars are made by the acts of government. When someone shot the Archduke and when Austria delivered her ultimatum to Serbia, that was an act of government. When Russia mobilized in defense of Serbia, that was an act of government. When Germany declared that a state of war existed, that was an act of government. When she mobilized and crossed into Belgium that was an act of government, and when Great Britain came to the defense of Belgium, that was an act of government. When we declared war, it was done by the government of the United States. Make no mistake as to what I try to say: there can be no world-peace unless we build the desire for peace in the heart of the individual, and at the same time see to it that his will registers in governmental action. Each of these programs involves an adventure because never before was this thing undertaken as we undertake it today.

It did not have to be undertaken as we undertake it today, because they used to fight rather simply, tribe against tribe, and rather heroically, Horatius at the bridge style, standing in all his might and sending back the Tuscans against the gate of Rome. That was the ancient combat, and that was the kind of combat which existed until a comparatively recent time, but now with the drawing together of these small states into great nations, with the lust for territory and dominion and power in all parts of the world, with the mechanization of all industry, the thing becomes hideously impersonal, and somewhere from the air they throw a bomb into a market place, where there are only men, women, and children selling their market products, and that is modern war.

Today we must strike out along new trails and see to it that we establish between ourselves, the civilized nations of the world, law instead of war. There never has been any substitute

for violence except resort to law, and it is more difficult in one sense, not nearly so difficult in another, to establish law between nations than between individuals. When the first barbarians crept out of the jungle and set up a code, "Thou shalt not kill," that was infinitely more a miracle than that the so-called Christian nations of the world should unite together in a system which says to the sovereign powers, "You shall not indulge in mass murder at your will!"

Now, we have to desire this passionately as individuals. We in our own hearts have to endeavor to feel friendship toward people of other races and other groups. By that I mean something a little more than tolerance. Tolerance signifies that we simply endure other peoples. Our task is larger. We have deliberately to grant the contributions made by other nations to the life of the race, and if in our narrowness, as we sometimes think, they have made no contribution to the race, then we have to accept them as human beings, because the world was made for human beings of whatever kind or color. That is my doctrine, my individual belief, my way of combating intolerance in myself.

I say to myself, "This man, that woman, they come from a race which has contributed to the life of the world," or I say, "If I cannot see that they have contributed, they have exactly as much right to live upon this world as I."

But I might have the friendliest feelings that are possible, and yet war might be declared by the government of which in my small way I am a part, and so we have to enter upon another adventure in understanding, which is to see to it that our government interprets our will toward peace. In America, the forefathers long ago made that a simpler proposition for us than for some other nations, because the Constitution was written shortly after the time when mercenaries had harried this country, and Benjamin Franklin and George Washington and Madison and Hamilton and Jefferson understood the evils of the imperialistic military system. It seems that under that mercenary system, if a man was killed, his duke or his prince got more for

him than if he was simply wounded; so Benjamin Franklin, in one of his wittiest essays writes as if he were the minister of a small German state, and he writes to a high official in England, calling his attention to the fact that of the German prince's soldiers there were one hundred more who died at the last battle than had been figured up, and that so many more pounds sterling were due his master because he got more for dead men than for live men who were crippled.

I suppose that we shall never go back to the time when this or that king delivered his men to this or that other king, to fight the battles of the other king. That day has passed forever. But this is still the day when great interests can so manipulate government that somehow the boys of one country or another will be sent to fight the battles in which they have no concern. When you and I, my friends, say with no uncertain voice to the men who sit in Washington that when the great financial powers want to protect their oil wells, or their land concessions, or their investments in this or that or the other foreign country, they can protect them with their own sons, but not with our sons and our brothers, when that time comes, we shall really register our desire, the true desire of the American people for peace, and the dollar diplomacy wars will cease—and that very time approaches.

After all, when this government was founded, for the first time in history, to the representatives of the people was given the power to declare war. Now, that meant something. It meant that here the war power should not be in the hands of a king or an executive, but that it should always rest with the legislative branch of the government.

To me that is so important that I had typed out a little extract from Elliott's *Debates on the Constitution*, when they were debating the clause in Article 2, Section 8, which gives Congress the power to declare war. There was this debate. Mr. Pinckney was opposed to giving the legislature this power, because its proceedings were too slow. He thought that it ought to be given to the Senate. Mr. Butler was for giving the power entirely to the

President, who would, after all, have all the requisite qualities, he said. Mr. Madison and Mr. Gary felt that the executive ought to have power to repel sudden attacks—which, of course, he does have—but Mr. Gary said that he “never expected to hear in a Republic a motion to empower the executive to declare war.” Then Mr. Mason said that he was against the giving of war to the executive because he could not safely be trusted with it and was not entitled to it. That is, that the executive did not represent the people directly; and then he said he was for “clogging rather than facilitating war, but for facilitating peace.”

And on the motion to strike out the whole clause, that is, to take away from the Congress the power to declare war and place that power in the President or the Senate, the motion was lost. So we embarked upon a very great adventure, because for the first time in history it became a people's question whether there should be war or peace. The people were intended by the Constitution to instruct their representatives as to whether there should be war or peace.

I grant that we slipped aside from the spirit of that enactment. Over one hundred interventions were made by this country after the Constitution was established in various parts of the world. Some of them were justified under any rule of international law—as, for instance, when pirates would attack Americans somewhere in the South Seas. But interventions have taken place without the declaration of war by Congress, so long in period and involving so large a force of men and resulting in such a dominance over the country in whose affairs we intervened that even those who think that we should continue to intervene in Central and South America must say that this was war.

Milton Offut, of Princeton, in a scholarly book on intervention (and he believes in it, he is for dollar diplomacy), says that what we did in Nicaragua and Haiti and Santa Domingo was war; we made war without declaration of war.

But the American people came back to their sense of obliga-

tion with reference to the problem of peace. I know that the clouds hang very dark over the world. I know the tenseness of the European situation. I understand the graveness of mounting armament, the economic barriers that have been raised up throughout the countries of the world since the World War. And yet I say that since the war, the world has so gained in establishing a militant desire for peace in the individual, and in making that desire register throughout government, that you and I should really understand that the adventure is begun.

Now, I am going to prove that. We almost intervened in Mexico because Mexico made land laws that we did not like. Of course, now and then we do unfair things to Frenchmen and Englishmen and Germans in this country, but they do not come here and fight us. Because of the land laws the tension between Mexico and America rose to such a point that it was officially declared that we could not arbitrate and the ground was set for intervention. And then the American people, speaking through professors of international law, speaking through the great conference on the causes and cures of war, which to my mind is one of the finest influences for peace in this country; speaking through the letters of thousands and thousands of men and women who were determined that their boys should not drag across the deserts of Chihuahua and Sonora to protect some land title whose source was perhaps shrouded with fraud, the American people and the United States government sent Dwight Morrow to Mexico, and Dwight Morrow hired at his own expense an American lawyer to investigate the Mexican laws.

The Mexicans said that in their constitution and in their laws they were only re-enacting the old Spanish law. Dwight Morrow had this lawyer look up that question. He went through all the old Spanish grants, and his answer to Morrow was that the Mexicans were right, that we had no shadow of right in opposing the kind of legislation which had been enacted in Mexico. That saved us a war. Make no mistake about it, the Mexicans may be undersized, some of them perhaps not as tall as I;

perhaps they do travel three or four hundred miles to a market place to sell their hats or their serapes; perhaps they do cultivate the side of a mountain, which seems perfectly absurd to us; perhaps they do all these things, and have a great deal of illiteracy; but once we solemnly intervened in Mexico, that would be war.

We stopped war between the United States and Mexico. That is the first thing.

And now what is the second thing? The Monroe Doctrine lay upon us like a pall during this era of dollar diplomacy. All of the nations to the south hated us because we had taken upon ourselves the responsibility, so we thought, of directing the affairs of this hemisphere, and they with their Latin pride said that it was some affair of theirs what happened in this hemisphere. They called the Monroe Doctrine an insidious cloak for American imperialism. Because the American conscience of the American individual registered at Washington, beginning with Secretary Stimson and President Hoover, and continued to a magnificent climax by President Roosevelt, we have at last entered into a pact in which we agree that when the peace of this hemisphere is threatened, there shall be consultation with all the nations to the south, as well as to the north of us. In other words, we have established friendship instead of domination on this hemisphere.

And now I am going to say just one word in concluding, about the multilateral pact. Almost every day I see some kind of a wise crack in the newspapers against the pact and against the people who want to stop war by making law—and, of course, you cannot stop war by making a law against it any more than you can stop murder by making a law against it. But that was not the purpose of the Kellogg Pact.

The point is that you cannot stop murder if there is not a law against it. If I had Dillinger before me in court, if he confessed openly to twenty-five cold-blooded murders, I could not sentence him, if he plead not guilty; no jury could be impaneled to try him, he would go scot free, if there was no law making murder a crime. The whole point about the so-called Kellogg-

Briand Pact—which, by the way, was written in Chicago by a lawyer named Salmon O. Levinson—the whole truth about the Kellogg-Briand Pact is that the international law declared that up to the time of the signing of that pact, a sovereign state had the right to make war, irrespective of the justice of its cause. That means that the great Canadian nation, with which we have had such friendship over a hundred years, would have the right to enter our borders regardless of the justice of the cause, and we would have the right to enter her borders, if we so desired. That was international law, and we began to change international law when we wrote in the pact that we solemnly pledged ourselves to renounce the use of war as an instrument in the settlement of international controversy, and to seek the solution of any difficulty only by pacific means.

Do you know what I would do if I had one thing that I could do in America and in the world to build the best spirit in the heart of the individual, and to carry out the peace adventure through governmental action? I would see to it that every boy and girl knew by heart—not by rote, not by lip, not by word of mouth, but by heart; as we say in the homely phrase, “knew with the spirit”—the meaning, the astounding meaning, of the Kellogg-Briand Pact, because that pact fills the great gap in international law and says that now the nation which makes war without having been attacked is an aggressor nation, guilty of the violation of the law.

We all remember that Lincoln, in the great debates with Douglas, on one occasion was talking about the meaning of a phrase in the Declaration of Independence as to the inalienable rights of the individual. Douglas, who played upon his audiences just as a violinist plays upon his instrument, argued with telling force that the Declaration of Independence did not mean what it said. He said that it meant that the Englishmen should have the rights of Englishmen in America, but that it had no reference to men of other races.

But Lincoln cut down through that argument with his trenchant logic. I shall not mar his remarkable diction by trying to

repeat most of it. He pointed out, as a lawyer would, that saying in the Declaration that all men were endowed with certain inalienable rights had no effect, really, upon our independence from Great Britain. It added nothing to our Declaration that we renounced that allegiance to say that all men had those rights.

"Why, then," he asked, "did the forefathers write these phrases into the Declaration?" And now I do quote part of what he said: "The forefathers declared that all men were endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, because they wanted to make it 'a hard nut to crack.' " He said that they wrote those words in the Declaration to stand as "a stumblingblock to tyranny," against the time when some man should wish to deprive other men of their rights. And, of course, that was true. It is a stumblingblock to tyranny that we have been taught and somehow—humbly, feebly, ineffectively, but still from the heart of us—do believe that we have, all of us, these inalienable rights. I say that the time will come when the multilateral pact for renunciation of war will be a stumblingblock to jingoism, a stumblingblock to militarism, the standard raised for the first time among the nations of the world, renouncing their sovereign right to kill men in mass murder, regardless of the justice of their cause. And so you and I are going on, not only in a desperate effort to help to retain peace in this sadly troubled world, but you and I are taking part in a great American enterprise, opened for us when the Constitution was written, opened for us when the Declaration was announced, because we believe that government was made for men and not men for government, because we believe that men and women and children are the reason for having government, because we believe that government is our servant; you and I believe that war, the war which is established by the will of the government, has no place in American history, and to the building up of that principle, we as Americans must dedicate ourselves with the other nations of the world, if somehow the race is to survive.

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CULTURAL RESTRAINTS, INTRASOCIAL DEPENDENCIES, AND HOSTILITIES

*Abram Kardiner, M.D., Practicing Psychiatrist
and Lecturer, New York Psychoanalytic
Institute, New York City*

ONE of the significant results of the crisis in our contemporary culture has been the increasing eagerness with which the social sciences have looked to psychology for aid. However promising this is, we must be on our guard constantly against "psychological explanations" which merely explain and then come to rest easily on the reference shelves for students who are interested in ideas. A dynamic sociology has quite another task; it needs to change your perception of social realities; it must track down etiologies and dynamic relationships, so that we can confront these social realities with the confidence that we can alter these forces and not be crushed by them.

In this paper I have selected three points of reference—social restraints, intrasocial dependencies, and intrasocial hostilities. and shall attempt to show the dynamic relationships between them to the end that one may better appreciate the meaning and force of personal security and what it depends on in any given society, and how it can be modified.

First of all, what are cultural restraints? A social force which interferes with a personal objective. That is a bit too general. It must be defined first with respect to what aspect of the ego is effected by the restraint: Is it a continuous or discontinuous force? Is it under personal control—and what kind of control, police, conscience, or something still more automatic? For the sake of brevity we shall go into only two types of restraint: (1)

those which interfere with an instinctual objective—as, e.g., the sexual or aggressive impulses, and (2) those which interfere with social goals whose value is created by the society itself—e.g., prestige, class, wealth, etc. The importance of drawing a distinction between these two is that they have a different reference to the ego as a whole and require different devices to hold them in check.

I think I can safely assume that most of you know in a general way the effects of sexual restraints. We must, however, underscore several aspects of the effects of social control of the sexual instinct; we must take into account whether the conventions of a given society have the effect of creating sexual *inhibitions*. Now as you know an inhibition starts with being an external prohibition, then becomes automatized and becomes an unconscious inhibition. The importance of an inhibition lies in the fact that it modifies the behavior of the entire individual. Let us contrast what happens in an uninhibited impulse and an inhibited one. When there are no obstacles between an impulse and the anticipated gratification there is a mobilization of executive functions by means of preparatory psychic and motor phenomena. The successful consummation of the act leads to a feeling of satisfaction, a feeling of ego enhancement, and the formation of a psychic imago of one's self as successfully consummating the act. This leads inevitably to a friendly and confident attitude to the impulse when it arises again and to pleasant anticipations. This is psychically represented by word, idea, and motility constellations that are accessible and psychically mobile. Now note what is bound to happen when all the preparation is not delivered to its objective, but the energy contained in it is used to withhold the execution of the act. Either one of two things, anxiety or aggression.

When a social ideal or demand stands between an impulse and its satisfaction, you have, first of all, the anticipation of prohibition, which if continued often enough and if it is backed by sufficient force direct or implied, leads to a complete abandonment of the original impulse. This makes a permanent modifica-

tion in the ego, if the threat of punishment or loss of love compels the individual in the interests of self-preservation to meet the demands for being loved and protected. This leads to a lowered self-esteem, hatred of the forbidding object with repressed hostile trends toward them—i.e., toward those objects from whom one expects love and protection. Love and protection now becomes a reward for renunciation.

Now it so happens that the sexual instinct lends itself to such treatment; but not without modifying the whole structure of the ego and not without creating a social force of great importance—a counter pressure against these mores. In other words, one of the sources of intrasocial hostility is the systematic repression of instinctive sexual needs.

Does this situation have any effect on the culture as a whole? Yes indeed. Because now you must create institutional avenues of discharge for these pent-up affects. I want only to touch on one of them—religion. In those societies where we have strong intrasocial tensions with rigid sexual restraints, you find typical phenomena in their religion—as, e.g., Oedipus stories. But this is the healthy and institutional channeling of these forces. Much remains for the individual to handle himself.

How does a culture impose these sexual restraints and what are the forces that maintain them? Let us examine this situation in our culture. We enforce sexual morality by means of (1) customs, (2) direct prohibitions, (3) implied prohibitions. There are not only incest taboos, but also aim taboos, i.e., we place an arbitrary date on the time when sexual aims are recognized and fixed rules about how it can be exercised. For our purpose the infantile situation is most important. We live in isolated families, where intimacies with others is limited. Incest taboos are rigid—and at the same time incestuous objects are the most accessible and are the easiest libidinous targets. Sex is moreover secret; we wear clothes, sleep in separate rooms, excretory functions are performed behind closed doors. Sexual activity is given no place in the child's world. We prohibit sex not only by direct, but by implied prohibitions; and of the two the latter

are the more powerful in creating internal pressures on the child. We even go after every substitutive reaction we can identify. This compels the child to use its meager resources to solve a very difficult problem; it places additional burdens on other erogenous zones. The most important consequence is that it fosters an attitude of hatred, a mistrust of parent, and in the interests of self-preservation the child has no comeback; because owing to the inability of the child to combat the world, it is obliged to place a higher premium on the protection and love that is supposed to be the reward of good behavior. The results of this conflict make an indelible impression on the growing ego and form prototypes of many later reactions.

Now we have made a hypothesis which seems to prove that sexual restraints are one source of unconscious repressed hostilities. The basic characteristic of our culture is that it creates two polarities with a great deal of tension between them, the two polarities being the demand for aggression to be successful, and a premium on submission to discipline. According as one places higher value on being loved and protected, initiative and self-assertion become blocked, and thus the individual allows himself to be exploited in the hope of self-preservation. But the individual who submits does so at the expense of envy, hatred, and lowered self-esteem.

I am afraid that this theory of ours is all wrong. We would be led to expect, if it were true, that, in a society where there are no sexual restraints in the early formative years, the ego of the resulting individual will be strong, confident, and assertive, free of envy, and will enjoy a high self-esteem. If we look at the Trobriand from this point of view we can decide either that our theory is wrong, our facts are wrong, or that we have made some essential errors of omission. In this society the individual is exposed to no cultural restraints as regards sex except incest taboos, including mother and sister. But since each boy lives in a paternal village all objects are sexually accessible to him to do anything and everything he wishes. The culture limits the choice of objects, but encourages the sexual aim in every way.

After marriage, however, fidelity is expected. Do these people enjoy a high degree of personal security and confidence? No. They are notably inaggressive and devoid of stamina. They are unusually weak in the handling of envy and rivalry situations. One can gauge the amount of intrasocial tension from the universal fear of sorcery and frequency of suicide, the fear of sorcery being, of course, the fear of other people's evil wishes.

No, our theory is not wrong; but it is incomplete. There are other factors than merely impulse freedom that have a role in creating the security system of a given society. One may even argue that the effects of sexual restraints do not all register to the detriment of the individual; sometimes they add considerably to his strength. But we must proceed to examine other factors.

There is another instinctive tendency which is also subjected to rigid social control, the impulses which are generally characterized as "aggressive." We must first clarify the concept a bit. We know that it is executive in character. The aim of these impulses differs in nature; sometimes, as in the case of the sense organs, they are interpretive; in the case of the muscular system, motor; and in all instances place the organism in a position of effective mastery. When these impulses are directed toward members of one's own society, institutional defenses must be organized. And the rules of the game differ in different societies. There are, as in the case of the sexual instinct, two general categories of aggressive impulses; those that are checked at the source—intrapsychic control or inhibition—and those that are subject to social control, by external agencies such as police, government, taboo, etc. By far the more important is the former. Because in this instance the aggression is disposed of in a special manner that has a profound influence on the character of the individual. If it is unconsciously repressed the ego itself often becomes the target of the aggression, with the result in a characteristic form—masochism. When the aggression, or those aspects of it that are controlled by external agencies are sanctioned, we do not have this result. From the point of view of the social sanc-

tions under which aggression is controlled we have one of the finest and most precise indicators of a culture. In our society the social sanctions apply to certain overt forms of aggression; but we allow it free rein in avenues of competition and rivalry. In Zuni it is both a public sanction (external) and an internal sanction, which gives the culture a specific quality. However in Zuni any form of rivalry or competition or derogation is looked down on as a specially disturbing influence.

By this time it should be quite apparent that we cannot understand social restraints unless we know something about what means society has of enforcing them. We might begin with the concept of authority; but I shall presently show you that this is beginning at the wrong end. There are several preliminary factors which give authority its power. Let us first examine the constellation of dependency.

What is dependency? It is an attitude to another person in which the first one demands or solicits protection or help, or wants him to take over responsibilities or delegates to the other person executive functions which he cannot execute for himself. What is this attitude a response to? To an anxiety, which is the emotion that accompanies a state of helplessness. What activities does dependency motivate? To be near the object, to do whatever the object demands in return for the protection or aid.

Let us examine for a moment the dependency of the infant. At this time the dependency is emotionally inarticulate; the state of helplessness is conceded by the parent and the aid given is unsolicited, but indications of it are watched for. At this time the child's helplessness is due to the actual inadequacy of the child to master the environment. He is effective at only one zone, the mouth, with its sucking instinct or reflex. But even here the sucking reflex must be met with success, otherwise this reflex ceases to function and a state of somnolence develops in which the infant refuses to nurse. At this time (oral mastery) the mother anticipates every wish of the child, interprets every discomfort, and does for the child what it cannot do for itself. But even under these favorable conditions one cannot say the

infant's life is free of tensions; the mother cannot reach every discomfort (colic for example, wetness of the body for short intervals).

Now no child has ever told us how it feels about this situation; but from inference we can make up a fantasy, reproduced often in pathological states. It is, moreover, questionable whether the child at this time subjectively recognizes its dependency. No indeed, it is all assertive with such weapons as it has at its disposal. One cannot speak of any dependency until the child subjectively feels a discrepancy between its wishes and the capacity to realize them. If we were to reconstruct the attitude of the infant it might sound something like this! The child has a justifiable feeling of satisfaction in itself, and one may call the control the infant has of the environment a technique of magic. Why not? The child makes a few reflex vocalizations or grimaces, and lo! forces are set to work in the environment which ease the tension. The child responds eventually with an attachment and dependency upon the object. Do not forget the needs of the infant are limited and easy to anticipate.

When this symbiotic phase comes to an end, owing to the establishment of new contacts with the outer world, the capacities of the child still continue to lag way behind its needs, and the magic begins to fail. It has now to learn a new technique for making the world bow to its wishes. At this point there is a focus in which one of the signal features of human character is formed—i.e., the readiness with which the new technique is accepted, and its effectiveness registered as development of self-confidence. Instead of this there may be a fear to take on new adaptations and the tendency to cling to the old remains dominant. It all depends on what basic constellation is built up about parental help. At all events there is a constant discrepancy between the newer technique, which is in a constant state of change, and the desired satisfactions, and at those junctures the magic attitude is revived, but with an additional and important modification. The omnipotence is now projected on to the parent and the parent is endowed with all the attributes of

magical control. At this point the child's attitude is recognizable as *dependency*.

We have an accurate clinical check on how this works out in so far as the individual is concerned, and as a cementing social force. The feeling of dependency carries with it important corollaries, when the parent begins to institute instinct prohibitions. The forces are distinctly identifiable. Should the child give up its desired gratification he does so only in the hope that the parent will therefore continue to be at his disposal for love, protection, and as his executive. Then it often turns out that in addition to delegating the power of protecting and executing all difficult tasks for him, the child also delegates control over his sexual impulses as well, and the individual now ceases to exercise any authority or responsibility over the forbidden activity. The formula now becomes not "I want sexual gratification," but "I may or may not be permitted to have it."

We see therefore that this dependency becomes the whole fulcrum on which the lever of parental authority rests, and how it acts as a preventative of any further growth of the ego. If the illusion continues, as it will in the event of serious failures, the ego does not feel compelled to enlarge its resources. It becomes necessary to see in authority a force which the child is compelled to obey—and that is only half of the story; this force would not be compelling if the child did not delegate to the parent magical hopes and wishes, and enhance the real powers of the parent with omnipotence. It is from these latter aspects of authority that the power to enforce disciplines and renunciations is derived.

For the sake of contrast let us examine those types of individuals who never learn to trust anyone. This sounds as if they would grow up to be very independent people, and as if they would be equal to any situation. But no, that is not the case. It simply means that they cannot delegate this omnipotence to anyone else, and try to retain this by inflating their own ego. This inflation is, however, constantly denied by reality and can

never be effected until the sense of reality yields, as it does in paranoid states. There is in these individuals a constant longing for affection and dependency which is countered by the anxiety that such trust will only be used to their disadvantage.

These two basic character patterns are of the highest importance in the evaluation of social forces and the institutions that emerge out of each. Human nature is our base line; it has certain immutable constants; social forms and vicissitudes vary as do environmental conditions.

Suppose we grant that all this is true—but that it is true only for the individual, and, moreover, only for the neurotic individual. And if we grant this, what has it to do with social organization? Society cannot be studied by a mere inventory of customs. Their descriptive characteristics give you no clue to the emotional fabric which is their living spirit. And the ultimate check on how a culture works can only be checked on the actual feelings and reactions of the individual. I shall show you that the organization of the in-group (family if you will) and the character of the relation of this group to the society as a whole gives us the key to understand what anxieties are unleashed and what anxieties are taken care of in the individual. We can best study this problem by contrasting cultures in which these basic anxieties are put to rest with those in which they are fully exposed.

Let us now look at the constellation of competition or rivalry which, from a descriptive standpoint, is one of the signal features of many societies. This cannot be viewed in a psychological vacuum, but must in each instance be viewed from the values and needs created in each specific society. That alters the objective of rivalry, but the psychological processes must be the same everywhere. The specific values of the objective are never twice the same. The objective of rivalry is to recapture a security vested in the objective, as the result of which the individual will command love, regard, admiration, etc.—at all events always a power vested in beauty, excellence, virtue,

worth. The special virtue of this power is that it protects against shame, degradation, self-depreciation, or helplessness. The successful pursuit of this objective becomes the indicator of self-esteem.

Let us now consider some of the socially ordained objectives about which rivalry develops—rank or relative status, wealth, property, prestige. The simplest of these is property-wealth. Note the attributes of property-wealth. The word “possess,” incidentally means to “sit upon.”

1. It has a utility value—you can use it, control it, animistically considered.

2. Magical properties. It is a way of enhancing the “size” of the ego; the more you “sit upon” the bigger your ego. You make property a part of yourself. This is most clearly seen in the impoverishment phobias; when you lose your money you lose part of yourself. You can exert power by virtue of the fact that the ego is extended. The prestige value of property-wealth (money) is again an instance of its magical properties. You can command the love, allegiance, loyalty of other people by means of a decoy. The magical properties have a contagious effect. Note how people want to associate with those of wealth and thereby acquire a fictitious or temporary augmentation of the ego.

The goal of rivalry is to satisfy an anxiety of helplessness. This need is either fostered or made unnecessary by the sanctions and goals of each individual society. It is a wish to control a magical power with which to command the love of others. This is not a direct expression of the need for dependency, but its negative. The feeling of rivalry or competition will be greatest in societies where the individual is left unprotected, where the dependencies are not recognized or there are serious limitations put upon it.

There is one social unit which we can use as a guide, the character of which decides the issue, and that is the size, character, and relationships of the in-group. The character and move-

ment of emotional forces in this *in-group* have much to do with the character of the society as a whole. Let us consider a few actual societies and watch how these dynamic factors operate in the formal organization. A short while ago I referred to the Trobriand as a people in whom there were no efforts to impose sexual restrictions apart from object (incest) taboos, but that notwithstanding the resulting individual was weak and insecure. This seems to contradict our theory. They live in families, father, mother, and children. The family is matrilineal (reckon descent through the mother) but patrilocal (the woman goes to live in the husband's village). The biological father is denied any role in paternity. Furthermore he has no disciplinary function over the growing child. The relation between father and children is limited to helping to rear them, to love them; but he cannot impose any disciplines. This latter function is taken over by the maternal uncle, who as a rule lives in another village. The binding loyalties of the man remain fixed on to his sisters; he works for her or them and shares the fruits of his labors with his sisters and their children. This is an extremely difficult culture to interpret. But I would venture the opinion that the diffuseness of the loyalties between maternal uncle and sisters makes it impossible for the individual to develop any strong sense of security in those who make up his immediate environment. The ability to concentrate both dependency and obligation to one object is a piece of psychological economy. Where the emotional lines of force of loyalty, obedience, authority, and obligation all run away from the actual individuals who comprise the family, you create a centrifugal tendency.

Contrast this organization and psychological alignment with that of the Zuni. This society is both matrilineal and matrilocal. But the entire society is practically one *in-group*. The lines of the family are the conventional ones. But the household consists of a mother and her children, her daughters and their children. The father and the daughters' husbands occupy a

place at the periphery of the group. This society is decidedly polarized toward the woman, who is the permanent and stable feature. Moreover this society is constantly enlarging the boundaries of the in-group. Ceremonial friendships are built around economic co-operation. Whenever there is any institution that tends to disturb the barriers of common security, it is transformed into an extension of the in-group.

So much for the formal arrangement. Co-operation for economic purposes is general. The lines of ownership are fluid and not rigidly enforced. Their religion is a communal one and the catchinas are worshipped by communal dances. There is no such thing as individual prayer. We note that the usual symptoms of strong intrasocial tensions are absent. There is no fear of the dead, and no complicated rituals to placate them. There is no strong and exacting deity, no suicide, and no Oedipus stories in their folk tales. Hostile tensions are not permitted to accumulate. Sibling rivalry is diluted in its effects, because the child is practically common property and has the call on the love of several mothers. There is no authority and no prestige except in the priestly functions; but even this is not a source of power. No one has the opportunity to exploit anyone else and there is no government. The great social sanction, both external and intrapsychic, is the sense of shame.

We must note here a new principle at work. We find here that in order to preserve this state of affairs they must exert a repressive influence over all aggressive impulses. These impulses are not very useful in this society. But do not forget that sanctions of this kind do not exist on the basis of authority nor even on the basis of the sense of shame. This latter must be backed by the positive knowledge of mutual advantages; when it is broken the common security is molested and anxiety is released. Zuni is therefore a society in which the individual is protected by mutual guaranties against isolation, feeling of impoverishment, ego deflation, humiliation, starvation, and shelter. And so they need not have recourse to other means of supplementing it—as,

for example, by wealth or prestige. Wealth accordingly has no significance in this culture. Generosity is the rule, murder or theft is rare. As one thinks of this culture one is immediately struck by the absence of the tendency to self-aggrandizement which in our culture seems so natural.

We might look for a moment at a phenomenon in our culture—a common objective and goal, to be on top, to surpass, to get a position of dominance. This is commonly regarded as an instinctive tendency. One hears reference to animal behavior to demonstrate its instinctual character. This is sometimes called a self-maximizing tendency. I shall not attempt any denial of some of its instinctive character, although it is far from proven. The quest for self-maximization is the symptom of a tendency to acquire a security that is denied in the culture as a whole. Self-maximization as a goal of life is bound to occur in societies where opportunities for mutual dependency and hence rivalry are very great.

Let us turn now to a culture in which the opportunities for mutual dependency are limited, the Chuckchee of northern Siberia. They live in an environment which permits no exploitation. Their economy is intimately bound with the deer, which they use as dray animals, food, and clothing, and with whose skins they build their shelter. This animal is untractable, wanders about for its food, is subject to weather and disease. To survive they need strength, doggedness, persistence, with an economy which yields very little sense of security. One feels inclined to say that many other traits of this people—their inhospitality, selfishness, stinginess, and aggression in connection with these—are purely derivatives of the characteristics so necessary for them to survive. This conclusion does not stand up when we examine the Eskimo, who live under similar conditions.

As regards intrasocial frictions: there are no serious instinct privations. There are incest object taboos, which are probably not respected except those pertaining to mother-son. The pa-

rental hatred coming from these sources of instinct frustration must be limited. The individual has on the whole pretty free mobility. Failures are more likely to be encountered in combating environment. We find here a society in which all lines are centrifugal directions. Hence authority here carries little restraining power, for the rewards for submission or co-operation are not forthcoming.

Your greatest interest, no doubt, is in what light these considerations cast on our own culture. Comparative sociology can have no other purpose. In the limited space at my disposal I hesitate to make any generalizations. But some features of our culture stand out with great prominence, and from the point of view of the individual it looks something like this.

In our culture the lines between in-group (family) and out-group are very sharply drawn. Families are separate units which pursue different goals relative to out-groups of varying duration and cohesiveness. The family is a member of a city, state, nation. These latter at times are in-group only for special occasions. As far as the individual is concerned everything outside the family is a domain in which he is a stranger—though with certain rights, to be sure. But it is a domain of anxiety, for he can make no claims except for certain reciprocal services, on a utilitarian basis.

The isolation of the family renders the libidinous ties in it particularly strong, and the parent becomes the target of love and dependency attitudes. The conflict between the two have definite consequences. All impulses, sexual and aggressive, have to be repressed in the interest of consummating the goals of dependency. The instinctual renunciations bring in their wake strongly repressed hatreds and aggressions and distrust of parents and of authority in general. Our society is based on the formula all against all, and even though co-operative efforts are common they are temporary and limited in scope. The individual is always isolated, though he can always claim something from the family, meaning chiefly father and mother, siblings

being much less dependable. The only avenue open to the individual to put these anxieties to rest is in the pursuit of power and prestige, and that is an insatiable quest that never brings lasting security.

Thus the tasks imposed on the ego in our culture are exceptionally severe. The restraints imposed on impulse life are extreme, the dependencies are exaggerated, and the hostilities raging within our society are of the most violent character. Security can only be captured at the expense of someone else. This can only end in anxiety for all. This used to be a claim of those who thought about society in terms of ethics; but I hope I have given you a demonstration of how it works and according to the laws of psychology.

THE CASE WORKER'S NEED FOR ORIENTATION TO THE CULTURE OF THE CLIENT

*Maurine Boie, Assistant in Social Economy
Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr
Pennsylvania*

IN A simple and concrete way I am going to try to discuss an orientation to culture in terms of its utilization in case-work diagnosis and treatment of the problems of the client.

At the risk of being elementary and repeating what may be familiar to some of you, I would like to begin with some of the questions I have heard case workers ask about culture.

Perhaps the first of these is, what is culture? What is the difference between culture and sociology, or the older, more familiar study of group life as contrasted with individual life, or the study of environmental versus personal, emotional, or psychological problems? Then arises a natural question as to the value of a cultural approach to the case worker.

The term "culture," as I shall use it, refers to the whole of the social heritage of any people—what Tylor has defined as that complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, customs, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society. Culture is the accumulation of the group's experience, its ways of solving the problems of life's demands and needs, the attitudes, folkways, mores, ways of behaving and feeling that have been invented, tested, approved, and perpetuated in a particular people's history. All of these habits and ways of doing things become organized into complexes and patterns, institutions for meeting economic needs, organizing political relations, expressing religious worship, regulating marriage and family relations, and the sum total of these

we call the culture of that people. These patterns differ widely in various cultures.

In the process of acquiring the social heritage the individual becomes a human being; moreover, he becomes an Indian, or Melanesian, or American human being in feelings and ways of doing things, culturally, that is, as well as biologically. Thus every baby, from his first moment of life, is taught a culture; his original or constitutional nature, his drives and impulses, are patterned by the culture pattern. The way the individual feels about sex, his attitudes toward authority, God, his father, mother, and children, what kind of work he does, what has value to him and gives him status and self-respect—all these and many other of the most fundamental attitudes and acts in his life are patterned by his culture. It is of the first importance to emphasize that individuals in our culture are subjected from earliest infancy to this molding, conditioning influence of their culture, that their organic tensional and libidinal life, if you prefer, is subjected to a process which permits certain expressions and represses, inhibits, and forbids others.

A fundamental characteristic of culture patterns is the traditional element, the stability and continuity, the inertia which attaches to this heritage. The folkways and mores define situations, the appropriate behavior and feelings which the group has found workable, and the group develops techniques for perpetuating and controlling such mores. As an example of persistence of folkways, let me point to the incongruous association of a rabbit with laying eggs, an aptitude which properly belongs to birds. This bit of Easter folklore is centuries old, but no amount of natural science succeeds in eradicating it from the body of culture that even educated parents transmit to their offspring. The current public discussion of a change in the Supreme Court also illustrates how much feeling attaches to a man-made institution less than two centuries old, and how resistant we are to any change in a social invention. We are all familiar with the efforts of "vested interests" to maintain the *status quo*, but we are not accustomed to understanding this

phenomena as the natural process of any social group in perpetuating its cultural pattern.

But culture, as every other aspect of life, does change; the cake of custom gets cracked, variations and mutations appear, and conflict develops between different patterns. The processes of culture in a sense partake of the nature of the laws of the physical world—they are vast and impersonal, they are beyond, or hitherto have been beyond, the conscious control and direction of any group or generation, since every group is itself a product of that culture process.

In the light of this knowledge of the nature of all culture, what can we understand of our own American culture? Its first and more important characteristic, and one in marked contrast to all primitive and historically earlier cultures, is the great diversity of culture patterns extant and permissible within our general culture pattern. We have, not one unified, integrated, traditional pattern, but a myriad one. The different nationality strains which immigrants have brought to the melting pot of the United States comprise only one aspect of our complex cultural pattern. Our culture is not transmitted by word of mouth alone, but by written tradition, making possible a knowledge of earlier and different patterns. It has admitted and included and developed and absorbed many different and conflicting elements. It has brought them into wider circulation by means of communication and transportation unknown in other cultures, inventions made possible with scientific, technological resources undreamed of elsewhere. For each of the basic needs of human life no single pattern has been accepted by the whole culture, no integrated body of folkways to prescribe to proper behavior for the individual in respect to religious observances, family life, or anything else. Instead our culture has placed a premium on variation and change, our democratic ideology has depreciated class differences and tradition, and our scientific philosophy has fostered iconoclasm further. Obviously, this manifold mixture of varying patterns places a tremendous burden of choice, reconciliation, and integration on the individual.

On the other hand, the complexity and nature of our culture pattern has facilitated a rapidity of change which is even more astounding and difficult to control. Take such phenomena as the spread of the culture complexes of the radio, the bar room, and the sit-down strike, and you will see how complicated, how unplanned for in any rational sense, how beyond direct, conscious group control is the diffusion of such complexes in our culture. Yet we need to understand these changes and developments, to ask what they mean to individuals, what needs they satisfy, what tensions they create or release, what frustrations they produce. I think I can best demonstrate our need for an orientation to culture by examining some of the characteristics of our culture, as determined by the social scientists, and illustrating in case material how this knowledge can be utilized in diagnosis and treatment.

Let us now examine the institution of the family. I shall select only one aspect for illustration, that of the great variety of patterns of family life extant and permissible in our culture, an aspect which is readily appreciated. We need only think of family life among southern mountain folk, or the Deeter family in *Tobacco Road*, compared with life in a Boston intellectual family, or New York society group such as Edith Wharton described, or with life of Italian-born peasants, to be aware of great differences. Or, if we take the family traditions of any client, or of our own parents, how much alike were the backgrounds, education, religion, occupation and social position, ideals, ways of doing things of the father and mother? Or contrast the stability and continuity of family life in a traditional peasant community, such as W. I. Thomas described in *The Polish Peasant*, with that of any large American city. Ogburn's study of *Recent Social Trends* is rich in data and analyses of general, far-reaching aspects of change in family life. To the case worker all these aspects of change have special significance because this variety of existing and permissible patterns of family life is a source of conflicts in individual personalities, conflicts which cannot be fully understood without seeing the

reality of this characteristic of our culture, recognizing its manifestations, and understanding the emotional use made of it by the client.

An example of the relation of this variety and conflict of culture patterns to the emotional life and problems of the client, let me describe briefly Mrs. Link. Mrs. L. had been deserted by her husband and left with the care of two small children. Among the significant details which Mrs. L. told about herself were those about her childhood. Her mother was a Puritan, a very proper, capable woman, an excellent manager, a careful mother. Mrs. L. received a very strict education in manners and deportment; she and her sisters were never permitted to chew gum, to cross their legs when seated, to use slang. Implicit obedience was expected of the children and no allowances were made on any occasion. Even when Mrs. L. was a grown woman of twenty-six she had to ask her mother's permission to go out in the evening, must always be accompanied by one of her sisters, must always be home by eleven o'clock. Translated into other terms, throughout Mrs. L.'s entire childhood, every expression of her impulsive life was disciplined, controlled, repressed, and inhibited, poured through a mold of propriety and restraint; she was allowed little independent ego development, but instead was inculcated with a severe overdose of superego ideals. Mrs. L. married a man whose personality and background of family life were very different from hers. Mrs. L.'s family never tolerated a penny's worth of debt; her husband's mother had charge accounts at every store in town and never worried about how to pay for them; Mrs. L.'s mother wore sober colors and styles of dress, Mr. L.'s mother the gayest, smartest, latest fashions; Mrs. L.'s family lived a quiet life of sober work and soberer pleasures; the L. family lived for gayety, parties, and good times, and indulged their tastes and appetities. Mrs. L. would walk back to the store to return a two-cent error in her bill; Mr. L. used his firm's funds to buy a car and dress in the height of fashion. As Mrs. L.'s marriage proceeded, she found herself torn between these two patterns of family life, on the

one hand trying to raise her children and manage her household as her mother had taught her to do, on the other trying to compromise and reconcile herself to her husband's tastes. She felt she was losing her husband's love because she was too quiet and sedate, and he was attracted by carefree, beautiful, colorful women, yet she felt guilty for every minor relaxation and departure from her mother's strict and virtuous propriety. When her husband deserted, Mrs. L. felt she was inferior and a failure; in every new situation she unconsciously placed herself in the most abject position, refusing to take relief adequate for a decent standard of living, finding an apartment in a disorderly house, getting a job as cleaning woman. In her interviews with a case worker she denied herself all expression of emotion, until her increasing anxiety forced a breakdown.

Without going into further detail, may I state in the language of the case worker, Mrs. L. presents a deep-seated personality conflict, a conflict which clearly goes back to her early childhood experiences, experiences in which her whole impulsive life was blocked, controlled, repressed by the severity of her mother's discipline; in the child's effort to take over the superego ideals of the mother. Let me say at once that I do not think the problems of Mrs. L.'s personality and life can be solved or explained solely on the basis of the cultural conflict between two patterns of family life. But the point I wish to make is this, that we cannot understand Mrs. L.'s life-experiences without recognizing the important reality factors involved and understanding what use is made of them emotionally.

A second marked characteristic of our culture is urban life, a phenomena so basic and familiar to us that its effects are taken for granted. It is in this area that our American sociologists have made their greatest contribution to culture study, yet the frame of reference which this provides has been used very little in actual relation to case diagnosis and treatment. Here, too, for brevity I must select but one aspect of urban life, that of its ecology. This concept, ecology, has been borrowed from botanists and zoölogists. It refers to the location and distribution of

plants and animals in groups in communities and areas over the face of the globe. Research has shown that such distribution is not accidental but has an essential orderliness and system based on laws of cause and effect, namely, the processes of competition and selection. Applied to human groupings, we find populations distributing themselves according to certain fundamental patterns. Studies of American cities have revealed a tendency of any town or city to expand radially from its central business district.¹

In this expansion of the city a process of distribution takes place which sifts and sorts and relocates individuals and groups by residence and occupation. Within the central business district or adjoining it is usually to be found a hobo-hemia of homeless, migratory men. Encircling this downtown area there is normally an area in transition, which is being invaded by business and light manufacture. Here are always to be found the so-called slums, rooming-house districts, immigrant colonies, and black belts, an area of cheap rents, of rapidly moving residents, submerged regions of poverty, degradation, disease, and crime. A third area or concentric zone is inhabited by workers in industries who have escaped from the area of deterioration but who desire to live within easy access of their work, a lower-middle-class section. Beyond this zone is the residential area of high-class apartment buildings or of exclusive restricted districts of single-family dwellings. Still farther out, beyond the city limits, is the commuter's zone, suburban areas or satellite cities. In the growth of the city there is a tendency for each inner zone to extend its area by the invasion of the next outer zone, and in the process of distribution there occurs a differentiation into economic and cultural groupings. Against this ecological pattern of the city can be measured the indices of organization and disorganization of personal and family life—desertion, nonsupport, illegitimacy, dependency, home ownership, occupational status, disease, insanity, etc. The individual finds his place, his role in the complex life of the city, his work, his home, his social contacts, the tenor and color of his own life-pattern; where he finds it depends, in our culture, largely on his abilities in economic competition; hence he is caught in the larger social process of competition, selection, and segregation into certain groups and areas.

Now let us examine two family situations in the light of this description of the patterns of city life. There is the Kane family. Mrs. K.'s father and mother, and the maternal grandparents

¹ I wish to acknowledge that the following discussion is taken from the publications of Drs. Park and Burgess of the University of Chicago.

before them, had lived in a tiny bandbox house on a small back or alley street near the center of the city. When first they located there this was a section of respectable, fairly prosperous skilled mechanics and small tradesmen, most of whom owned their homes. The houses were without plumbing, poorly lighted and ventilated according to modern standards, but fair for those days. The house of the Kanes was adequate for the family then, and it was a good lower-middle-class neighborhood, largely German and Irish. All the families knew one another, went to the same church, and maintained the same standard of living. When Mrs. K. first married, she was needed at home to care for her aging parents. Later, as children came, the house became overcrowded. But Mr. K. developed into a chronic alcoholic, and his uncertain wages made a move impossible. Meanwhile the encroachment of the city's factory and warehouse district, successive influxes of immigrants to the area, the deterioration of street and houses with age, changed the character of the neighborhood in general. The old families, as they were financially able, moved out, and finally the Kanes were left alone, the last survivors of a better area now in transition to becoming a slum. The Kanes, caught in the backwash, were unable to fight their way out economically because of Mr. K.'s inferior earning capacity.

Now contrast this family, caught in the process of ecological change in the city itself, with the Andrews family. Before the depression they owned a beautiful home in the suburbs, sent their children to private schools, maintained a social and occupational position of distinction. When they lost their employment, money, and possessions, and had to apply for public relief, they were reduced by economic necessity to select a home in an area of cheap rents, poor housing, mixed racial groups, where families moved frequently to avoid constables. I need not describe further to you how this one manifestation of a change in economic status and social life may affect other aspects of family life and the personalities of the members. But I trust this suggests to you the difference in problem, the different

diagnosis of the social situation in relation to the personalities and individual problems of these two families, that requires differential treatment for even one limited aspect of the social or cultural situation, namely, that of housing and choice of neighborhood.

A third characteristic of our culture, that of the prestige value of money, has been so ably discussed elsewhere by Dr. Kardiner² that I shall not take time to analyze it further. But I would like to present a case to illustrate how understanding of this cultural stress can be utilized in limited forms or levels of case-work treatment. Mr. and Mrs. D. are intelligent, educated people, ambitious, planful, and capable. Mr. D. had been a designer, earned a comfortable living, and found great satisfaction in his work. With the depression he lost his job, and for nearly two years the family lived on savings and odd jobs before applying for relief. As months went by, Mr. D. became discouraged and depressed, but this did not become acute until his wife secured a position as matron, which necessitated her living away from home. The fact that his wife was employed when he was not caused him to feel "inadequate and unmanly"; he became impotent, and worrying further over this failure to prove his masculinity, he attempted suicide three times. At the time of referral to a case-work agency he was under observation by a psychiatrist, who felt it was not advisable for a social worker to attempt to treat this kind of mental difficulty. However, it was felt we might be of help to Mrs. D., who was under great strain. Mrs. D. seemed to possess unusual insight into her husband's difficulties and unusual tolerance and sympathy for him. She realized her work had a bad effect on him, yet she felt forced to work. Here Mrs. D. was caught in an economic situation in which she had no choice. Mr. D's neurosis is an illustration of just such a psychic stress as Dr. Kardiner has described, resulting from the high prestige value attached to economic power and the equation of sexual power with money power, a

² Abram Kardiner, "The Role of Economic Security in the Adaptation of the Individual," *The Family*, October, 1936.

neurosis which by a psychiatrist's advice a case worker should not attempt to treat directly. There remains, however, very concrete and constructive treatment on a different level, based fundamentally on a diagnosis of the psychic and cultural stresses involved. The first step was a conference with the public relief agency in which this diagnosis, based on the case worker's study, was given, and a request made for a change or exception to the policy about eligibility when quitting jobs. This was obtained and Mrs. D. assured that she could make her own choice about giving up her job. This she did, with an immediate improvement in her husband's condition. A second service was to place Mr. D. on a W.P.A. project as soon as it was available. In a short time Mr. D. regained his potency and his will to live, and the family was able to manage independently and adequately as they preferred. Here we see the skilful use of a limited type of case-work treatment based on diagnosis of both psychological difficulties and cultural ones.

A fourth area in which culture orientation may have value to case work is in cases where discernment of the client's conflict with the mores of the culture may enable us to direct part of our treatment toward balancing the stresses which these mores created.

The way in which changes in culture affect family life is illustrated by the Jones case. Mrs. J. was brought up in a rural area, went to a teacher's training school, and taught grammar school in a small town, where she met and married Mr. J. He was a skilled mechanic, earned more than Mrs. J. did, and in this community had a social position similar to hers. A few years after their marriage, Mr. J. was transferred to a factory in Philadelphia, but during the depression his services were dispensed with. The only employment Mr. J. was able to secure was as a day laborer in a fertilizer factory, earning \$16 a week. He found this change in status difficult. Mrs. J. then secured work as a substitute teacher to help defray expenses, and some months earned as much as \$100. Her husband did not like to have her work, felt he should be able to provide for

his family, and was sensitive about her greater earning capacity. Mrs. J. met at the school a group of educated people with intellectual interests in literature and music, and she found great pleasure in their society. But when Mr. J. accompanied her to their homes, he felt awkward, inferior, and out of place. From her new friends Mrs. J. learned about the Birth Control Clinic, and feeling they could not afford more children, secured contraceptive information. When Mr. J. learned of this, he became very angry, insisted on his masculine rights as husband and head of the family, and said he was able to take care of his wife himself. Out of this difference considerable marital conflict developed. To the case worker to whom Mrs. J. comes for help with her domestic problems, it is of great importance to recognize and understand the etiology of their difficulties, but it is clear that the change in the cultural situation has been a precipitating cause.

These illustrations have been, I realize, too sketchy to be conclusive, but I trust they are suggestive of the value and richness and new depth which a cultural orientation permits. I would like, in conclusion, to sum up some of the concrete values of this orientation to case-work practice.

1. Cultural study has the value of any social science, of enlarging our knowledge and understanding of society. We need a science orientated to the larger social processes which are difficult to recognize and formulate from the details of the individual case. Culture study provides a group of concepts and laws, a frame of reference which enables us to analyze the dynamic factors in the social situations of our clients. These concepts are becoming fairly well articulated and substantiated by research, but we are only beginning to see how to integrate them with our conceptual framework about the growth of personality.

2. The case worker needs to develop a finer discernment in diagnosis to separate the reality factors of the social situation from the emotional or psychological factors of the client's personality, and to select and center her effort on those aspects of

the problem with which the client is willing and able to use help and which the case worker has time and skill to treat. We can only be sensitive and critical to the meaning of the real social situation when we are able to understand it as a part of our whole cultural fabric, and to sense where it changes, where it lags, where it can be made use of in a life-situation by the client, and where it places more strain upon him than he can bear.

3. The case worker's services and relief, based on such diagnosis, can be directed toward facilitating the client's participation in the culture, to restore status and prestige values or to help create new ones.

4. The case worker can planfully use the functions of her agency or help create new functions to meet needs or lacks in our culture which are revealed by culture study.

5. We can use our case-work relationships to provide some outlet, expression, and acceptance of feeling due to cultural conflicts or strains, and to ease a little the disproportionate stress when the individual is caught in the larger processes of change and conflict over which he has so little control.

HELPING THE CLIENT TO DEAL WITH HIS REACTIONS TO RESTRAINTS GOVERNING INTRAFAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

*Adeline Johnesse, Field-Work Instructor
School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago*

IN THIS paper we are considering the client as he is affected by intrafamily relationships. I hope to show something of the way in which the conflict between certain cultural concepts for the family as a unit or its individual members may originate, as well as the effect which an adherence to particular concepts may have upon the relationships and consequently the personality development of the persons involved together with their capacity to relate themselves constructively to each other or the outside group. Finally, I hope that we may see how, by a fuller appreciation of the meaning of these concepts for each particular person, we may be better able to assist our client in obtaining out of his life-experiences more positive values for himself and others.

With the understanding which we have gained from various sources in regard to the individual and his needs, and through the continued study and observation of behavior problems, personality deviations, and those illnesses of emotional origin, we have continually been impressed by the importance of childhood experiences in relation to later personality manifestations and our capacity to relate ourselves to our fellow-men as the strains coincident with maturity are imposed upon us. For most of us our childhood is that period when we are more completely dependent upon our families than at any other time. It is the formative period of our lives, physically, emotionally and intel-

lectually, and it is here that our social attitudes evolve and crystallize. Furthermore, so dependent are we at all times upon the satisfactions afforded by the intimate relationships which the family group provides that, in the broadly accepted sense of the average person, we see man's whole strivings directed toward encompassing himself with a reproduction of this experience in some form, as soon as he has achieved independence from that group which surrounded him originally. Instinctively our sympathy goes out to those who have no kin to whom to turn in times of stress.

We are, then, proceeding on the assumption that an individual's relationships within the family at any period are vitally related to his social adjustment or to that unadjustment which may become the concern of any one of us at any time. Since we are concerned here particularly with the reactions of the individual, we shall first review briefly and in a simplified form some of those emotional processes involved in his reactions.

Whatever our approach, whether professional or lay person, we will accept without question as universal to mankind the need to love and be loved. Ways in which love is expressed may vary but we must gain, through some of our associations, that response of understanding and acceptance, and upon this our positive feeling for others is dependent. In her recent book, *The Neurotic Personality of Our Time*, Dr. Karen Horney refers to that basic anxiety for all of us, as that feeling of loneliness or isolation in a hostile world, pointing out that as we are threatened by a realization of this state this anxiety manifests itself, precipitated, she believes by hostile impulses. At least to any of us the anxiety resulting from a lack of affection is apparent, nor are the effects obscure.

Those of us in case work are familiar with the reactions of the rejected or neglected child, such as his punitive or attention-getting devices, his compensatory measures, frequently so exaggerated that he is frustrated in all attempts to establish any kind of substitute relationship or satisfaction. We have seen

him directing his efforts to satisfy this need toward physical or intellectual achievements, or rushing headlong into emotional situations too fragilely constructed to be sustained. Often we have observed him striving beyond his power to achieve in any area and with each failure adding to his store of hostility and anxiety, always searching for and never finding a convincing reassurance of other's need for him. We speak of this person as emotionally unadjusted, always demanding and never giving, projecting his needs into every situation and only frustrating himself and others if he is thrust into a parental role.

Equally universal and equally evident to any of us is that drive which, perhaps, amounts to a secondary urge in the emotional development of each individual, the need for self-assertion or the gradual drawing away from those ties which were earlier of such import. But this achieving in one's own right involves establishing new relationships to supplant the old. No matter in what direction the achievement drive may extend, these new relationships are involved—but lacking the fundamental security which might be derived from these earlier associations, the anxiety, the fear of not being accepted, and the accumulated need to be, stands in the way of a satisfactory eventuation of this drive.

It is clear, therefore, that it is within the relationships within the family that a major portion of the responsibility rests for a proper development of that most intangible and perhaps most important of all human characteristics, the personality. Within this intimate configuration of personalities lie the potentialities for all those re-enforcements of the emotional structure which every individual must have in order to take part in the contest in the outer world. In so far as these relationships fall short of their obligations will the individual proceed under handicap. What, then, are the factors to be considered in seeking to understand more fully those situations and circumstances which constitute restraints on family intrarelationships whereby these fundamental emotional satisfactions are intercepted?

If we must accept the fact that our reactions are motivated

by certain basic needs, what part is played in this inevitable and universal process by those shifting reflections of our environment which we term cultural pressures?

In the complementary relationship of the family and the social structure, the functions of the family entail physical and social as well as emotional obligations. It is this triple responsibility for the welfare of its progeny from which has been evolved the relationship of mutual dependency between the family and the social order. A state of dependency is, then, unavoidable between the members of the primary group itself, and again between this collective entity and the secondary group. Out of this each of us must invariably meet, not necessarily conflicting but always opposing pressures, promoted on the one hand for the good of the whole and on the other for the peculiar requirements of the individual, our basic needs remaining the same and yet the satisfaction of them contingent upon our ability to effect a compromise. It is when the sharp conflict of these pressures finds us unprepared for this that we find relationships in either direction thwarted and the individual left as best he can to erect compensatory defenses.

Our interest in our client and his reactions is in terms of his adjustment. If he is well adjusted his reactions are of no particular concern to us. This adjustment of which we speak is essentially a cultural definition by which we mean the individual's capacity to conduct himself according to the particular mores of a given group. Our definition of adjustment is circumscribed by the concepts inherent in the cultural pattern with which we are identified, in so far as the culture of any group is that prescribed pattern of behavior found most effective for the discipline and welfare of the greatest number within that particular aggregation. One might say that a cultural pattern is the personality of a group which, like the personality of the individual, is at once cause and effect in every relationship, and it is inextricably a part of the physical, emotional, and social structure of group or individual. In this connection we see continually an analogy between the family and a given culture, so

that the latter in its superficial manifestations seems to be an extension of the former and the former a microcosm of the whole—each one a mirror for the other with their essential differences concealed beneath the surface imagery. We may never know which one determined the other, nor need we in case work particularly concern ourselves with this. We are dealing with the individual as he is, in relation to an environment as it exists, and it is the continual state of motion of both objects which introduces additional complications to the relationship. Out of our desperate efforts to survive we have paradoxically given birth to the compelling and restricting force of competition.

Competition is an inevitable concomitant to the social order with the increase and spread of population which various forms of social organization have made possible. There must, then, be movement, whether or not it is progress will not concern us, but there must be continual striving toward new achievements both for the individual and the group and on the part of one group as against another. This mass movement forward is possible only through concerted effort, and this is dependent upon the solidarity which the cultural pattern imposes.

In this process of social progress with the introduction of new devices and institutions sired by rivalry, cultural patterns have changed with changing needs. At any period in this evolution individual responses have been subject to interpretation by the group in terms of its prevailing standards, and in so far as he has been able to meet these demands the individual has been acceptable and eligible for participation in the group. But, just as the strength of the social order as a collective force is dependent upon its cultural pattern, so is the family in its relation to the individual and the social structure dependent upon unity among its members, a unity effected by an adherence to common concepts according to which it will conduct itself.

Because the primary functions of the family have undergone slight change, we see this group needing and clinging to traditional patterns of behavior. We see those concepts retained which have best served the needs of a particular family in per-

forming its functions. According to peculiar and varying requirements affected by race, geographical distribution, economic status, and a variety of factors these patterns are preserved and applied from one generation to another. These are the means by which certain needs have been met most satisfactorily in times past. Many times these are the only customs and habits of thought to which we have been exposed. But because of this, and in our isolation from other sources of enlightenment, these concepts assume the identity of those personalities with which they were associated in our experience. In so far as we have been dependent upon certain relationships, positive or negative, with one individual or another, certain concepts take on value and are retained or rejected in accordance with the values attached to the relationships from which they were derived. We may cling to a certain religion because it is tied to our entire experience with our parents, or we may reject that symbol of parental authority in our struggle for emancipation.

Eternally opposed to our personal needs in relation to these earlier associations is that undeniable urge to meet the standards of the outer group, that highly individualized composite organized on a competitive and also economic basis, where we must look and yet are afraid to look for that which we are seeking. Here converge the opposing forces of those two groups, the family and the social order.

How in this complex web of circumstance may our fundamental drives be dealt with to a constructive end?

Acknowledging the family as a vital force in social progress, restraints upon intrafamily relationships have long been recognized. We have seen the effects of sickness and death or physical separation and other strains exerted upon the family from a variety of sources. We have given pensions, administered relief, and cared for neglected and orphaned children. We are unceasing in our endeavors to improve industrial and living conditions and to remove whenever possible the unnecessary hardships from family life.

In all of this striving for social betterment we are dependent upon the cohesion of the group and its relationship with that parental hierarchy, our political and governmental structure. We have, however, come upon restraints obstructing a constructive realization of that relationship. Progress is impeded by individual unrest and the group integrity is threatened. Only as there exists a mutual understanding and tolerance for all concerned will this relationship react for the best interests of those involved. We may impose regulations with slight effect while the individual is unready to meet the challenge of his collective entity.

We must, then, seek to deal with the basic causes of the individual's inadequacy, which reacts destructively not on him alone, nor only on those immediately related to him, but upon that total aggregation of which he is a part. That those restraints which are of the greatest significance to all of us are constituted in the perpetual interdependency between individual and the group may be clearly demonstrated by a cursory review or some actual case material.

THE L CASE

This case is presented as it was revealed nine months ago at the time when Alex, the eleven-year-old boy, was referred to a psychiatric clinic as a nervous child and behavior problem.

The immediate family is composed of the mother, Mrs. L., and her two children, Alex, eleven, and Irene, four. They are at the present time supported by the public relief agency. Mrs. L. had complained of Alex' disobedience and temper-tantrums. He used profane language and often struck his mother. In all things he was exceedingly hyper-active; he talked and was restless in his sleep. Mother said that if she merely spoke to him he started to cry. His marks in school were good and he was no particular behavior problem there.

There was no significant health history and findings at the time of the physical examination were negative. Mother said that she had attempted to deal with him in every way, from extreme leniency to severe punishment, and to no avail. She believed that he was just like his father. She had made inquiry at several institutions and had for some time threatened the child with commitment to a reform school, which she was convinced was the only solution.

Alex enjoyed all forms of play, liked to be a leader in any group to which

he belonged, and because of his domineering ways had difficulty in keeping the friends which he made easily enough in the beginning. Toward his half-sister he was very affectionate, but frequently mentioned his awareness of mother's preference for her. He was very conscious of his Jewish blood and complained that other children called him a Jew.

The social history revealed the following facts: Mother, an attractive, high-strung, and intelligent woman was an illegitimate child, and nothing is known about her father. Her mother, American born of English descent, had married three times and was said to have carried on many illicit relationships. Alex' maternal grandmother is a rather youthful appearing woman, with somewhat nervous mannerisms. There is an enforced gaiety about her and she is conspicuous in her mode of dress. At the time of giving the history Mrs. L. described her mother as selfish and self-centered but qualified her comments by an elaboration of her generosity and the interest which she had always shown in her. It was obvious that she had always been very dependent upon her mother. Financially, these two had always managed fairly comfortably. Mrs. L. finished high school, took a business course, and passed civil service examinations for a clerical position, which she held until the time of her marriage. She had never made many friends, being dependent chiefly on her mother for companionship, and while working had little social life.

When she was nineteen she met and married Alex' father after a brief courtship. She knew little about him but was very much attracted to him. He was slightly older than she and a Jew. His parents had separated when he was very young and he had lived first with one relative and then another, finally remaining with an uncle who was sending him to college and intended to see him started on a professional career. This uncle withdrew his support when father left college to marry, as he was antagonistic to his marriage with a non-Jewish girl.

Mother's mother was also violently opposed to the marriage, basing her opposition on the fact that the man was a Jew. The young couple then had no support from either side, and in the course of their first year of marriage Alex was born. It was necessary for them during this time to seek help from a private relief agency, and mention is made in the record of this agency that Mrs. L.'s mother was doing everything possible to break up the marriage.

While mother was confined for the birth of this child, she was notified of the arrest of her husband for larceny. Apparently he had been indulging for some time in petty stealing. Following this he was convicted and sent to prison. When mother was ready to leave the hospital her mother told her that she would assist her only if she promised not to stand by her husband. At first mother refused and went with her child to a woman's shelter. This proved unendurable and she finally gave her mother the promise she demanded and returned to her, later securing a divorce. Six months later she married again,

an Irishman who was a Roman Catholic. This man, Mr. L., was one of a large and closely knit family and had always been very devout in his religion. Mrs. L.'s mother had found it difficult to care for her daughter and child and did not oppose this marriage, but mother was not in love with her husband and married only for a home. His ideas in regard to family life, religion, and woman's place in the home were in direct conflict with her own and there was friction from the beginning. Mr. L.'s earning capacity was not large and mother supplemented the income by keeping roomers, and said that it was therefore impossible for her to give a great deal of attention to Alex during this time.

For some time she successfully avoided having children. There were, however, several abortions and two induced miscarriages. After five years she gave birth to Irene. Following the birth of this child the difficulty with her husband increased. Two years later she divorced him on the grounds of mental cruelty, greatly exaggerating his behavior. Since then Mrs. L. is said to have had affairs with various men. The close relationship with her mother has continued, with Mrs. L. obviously resentful of it and yet fearful of losing it.

Mrs. L. definitely tried to impress the worker with her high standards in rearing her children. The home, though meagerly furnished, was immaculate and gave evidence of some refinement in taste. Mother stressed as well as she adhered to no Jewish customs and never spoke to Alex of his father. The psychological and psychiatric examinations revealed an attractive well-built child of above average intelligence. So keenly aware was he of his mother's rejection of him that the mere mention of her name resulted in a flood of tears and he plead that he not be taken from her.

The psychiatrist felt that his difficulties were on the basis of a regression to an infantile level of behavior in an attempt to gain the mother's attention, as evidenced in the crying, need for discipline, etc. Seeing his sister as more accepted he attempted to identify with her with considerable conflict resulting. The mother was felt to be an infantile narcissistic woman who in view of her dependency on and the identification with her mother, had a desire to punish and dominate all men and found it impossible to accept a male child.

It was felt that, while placement might eventually provide the best solution, it would constitute only a further traumatic experience for the child at this time, and it was recommended that attempts be made by the social worker to work with the mother in the hope that by relieving some of her anxiety she might be free to give the child some greater feeling of security, so that placement, if necessary, would hold less threat for him. It was also recommended that he be seen at regular intervals by a man psychiatrist. Although Alex offered no resistance to the interview when the psychiatrist first saw him he refused to return. Since it was known that she had used the clinic as a

threat to him it was felt advisable not to urge him to return, and instead it was agreed that the social worker continue contacts with the mother, working on a consultation basis with the psychiatrist.

We are interested at the moment in this child and those life-experiences which will influence his reactions. Under the circumstances the mother is undoubtedly the key person. Let us look for a moment at the significance of her cultural background. She is an illegitimate and only child. Her mother married three times and each marriage ended in divorce. There were in addition numerous illicit affairs. Economically the family did not suffer, certain appearances were maintained and it was felt important that mother should attend school, earn a respectable living, etc. In the contacts which this life involved, however, she was made conscious of their own social inferiority. Her opportunities for making friends were limited by her mother's demands for her companionship and also by the risk involved in exposing their true situation, and mother and daughter became increasingly dependent upon each other. For Mrs. L. the pattern of conduct within her home was in decided contrast to that of the outside group, in which it could not be tolerated, but in her insecurity she was dependent upon certain values which she derived in this relationship with her mother. Nevertheless, the realization that her mother's behavior was depriving her of certain opportunities fostered a feeling of hostility toward her, a feeling which must be repressed in accordance with prevailing and traditional social mores. One must respect and love one's mother.

When she was nineteen she married, after a brief acquaintance, her first husband, of whom her mother did not approve. The background of this first husband is of some significance. His scattered and interrupted relationships constituted no ties or reassurance for him. He exchanged his opportunities for achievement for the value which this relationship held for him. His choice was a non-Jewish girl, even though it meant the termination of any financial assistance for him. On both sides

the factor of race entered in, actually for quite different reasons and with differing emphasis but with the attitudes in regard to it destined as restraints upon the marriage.

The father was unprepared to earn a living and in his need to sustain his role as head of the family, on which the satisfaction of his emotional needs depended, resorted to antisocial behavior—apparently fearing to expose his inability to earn a living, which would be symbolic of his inadequacy. This brought his final downfall in ostracism from the group and the collapse of his marriage.

Mrs. L. was constantly exposed to the accusations and derogatory comments of her mother, who emphasized the racial factor in the relationship; and this, with her husband's conduct, which provoked on all sides the social censorship which she had always feared, created a greater need for her mother's approval. The experience also instilled in her a resentment against the race with which her husband was identified, because to this she related her increased feelings of inferiority and insecurity. Emotionally unready for motherhood her child was an added burden when she left her husband, and stood to her as a constant reminder of her failures and attendant conflicts. While she did not want the child, the attitude of the outside group was important to this woman, and one does not openly resent or renounce one's offspring.

Under the circumstances, those of her ambivalent dependency and hostility, life with her mother again could not be satisfying, and she quickly entered into another marriage contract with a man in direct contrast to her earlier choice. This time, however, not only the religious background differed from her own but that of social and moral standards as well. For this man, marriage held definite obligations, which in the light of his need for them and determination in meeting them aroused only greater anxiety for mother out of her fundamental inability to meet these demands. Now another child was born, a girl. Mother was more detached than formerly from her mother, because of her present conventional background and with no

substantial emotional relationships her security was less than ever before, so that this girl child fulfilled a definite need for her.

Again divorced and again financially and emotionally dependent, she was forced once more to look to her mother for help and reassurance. By attempting sexual promiscuity herself, she may have been competing with her mother, or this development may have symbolized a more complete return to and further identification with her, a final breakdown of all of her defenses. On the other hand, it was in the nature of this association that her emotional development was retarded and by which she was deprived of any satisfaction from her heterosexual relationships. Furthermore, by this conduct she exposed herself to the condemnation of that group with which she had, to some extent, identified herself.

Out of her conflict, then, it was inevitable that she should become only more disturbed. With two children her mother could do less for her materially, it was necessary for her to have assistance from a relief agency, and there were fewer compensations in any direction. She could suggest placement for Alex from the standpoint of the physical advantages which would be afforded him as well as on the basis of his behavior. The child's demands upon her, made out of his awareness of her true feelings, again imposed only greater emotional strain and hostility. To her he was also of her husband's race, and she increased the child's sensitivity to this by her indifference to any Jewish customs.

The treatment relationship may be reviewed here only superficially. Mother showed some resistance at first to the clinic referral because this was a Jewish agency, and in the light of the material obtained it seemed important that the worker undertaking treatment should not be Jewish. It appeared obvious in the treatment process that there could be no manipulation of this mother's reactions to this child with her anxiety at its present pitch. Therefore no suggestions were made for dealing with him, but the necessity for a more complete understanding of the entire situation was stressed. With the knowledge at

hand of her cultural and emotional background, it was apparent that a complete acceptance of this woman and her reactions was the most important factor in this stage of working with her. At first she was reluctant to place her confidence in the worker, who represented to her the group to which she had never been acceptable. Gradually, as she has become secure in this, she has elaborated on her experiences and feelings about them, with an increasing expression of hostility toward her mother. Coincident with this there has been a lessening of her hostility toward the child and his father. As this release and displacement of feeling has taken place she has been able, slowly, to face the needs of the child, and on her own initiative has made overtures toward him indicative of interest and affection. She has shown some concern about his interests, and with the help of the worker has encouraged his outside activities. As this has taken place she has inclined to become self-critical of her handling of him, which might have been destructive to her had not some interpretation been given regarding her reactions and responses.

At this point she seems able to accept her mother without depending upon her. Much of this change was at first, no doubt, on the basis of gaining the worker's approval, but it was essential that she should want this, and yet out of this relationship she has apparently gained some security. She is beginning to see herself succeeding where she failed before, and through a gradual feeling of acceptance by the group as well as by an individual, essential values have been substituted for earlier feelings of frustration. As her confidence has increased she has been encouraged in widening her social contacts and her dependence upon the worker has diminished.

The child is still demanding, still uncertain of the relationship, and yet much of the former tension has been dispelled. He wants to go to camp during the summer, when heretofore he would not leave the mother overnight, and in many ways one sees a greater freedom expression. That which is important to

us is the mother's growing confidence in dealing with him and the steady diminution of her anxiety.

This is not a spectacular situation, nor unusual. It is the quite commonplace characteristics of it which are of interest to us.

Here we have seen a family relationship robbed of its essential values for all concerned because out of their own experiences the individuals responsible were unready to assume their obligations, due to the fact that the emotional structure lacked those fundamental re-enforcements which are contained or not contained in the life-experiences of all of us.

As we view this sequence of events we cannot give precedence to any one set of factors, and is this not true in all of those situations which may confront us? Must we not, in helping the client at all times, be ready to consider the multiplicity of forces which compel him both from within and without in ever new and complex combinations?

BASIC CONCEPTS UPON WHICH CASE-WORK PRACTICE IS FORMULATED

*Gordon Hamilton, Faculty, New York School
of Social Work, New York City*

CASE work's great concepts involve, as they have always done, love of one's neighbor, sharing one another's burdens, and helping people to help themselves. Because the humanitarian movement has had so much identification with economic privilege, and relief is so easily allied with power or patronage, critics of case-work ideology would tend to substitute the concept of rights for the concept of needs, as if the two were opposed. We should not be misled by this. Human needs are no less important because we are clearer and more determined about the establishing of human rights. Human rights imply definition, classification, and common treatment; human needs imply individualization within the broader classifications and differential treatment. The case-work idea is, however, fortunately no longer circumscribed by the practices of relief giving, but may be utilized whenever people lack capacity to organize the ordinary affairs of life, or lack satisfactions in their ordinary social relationships. Anxiety, distress, and incapacity are always personal, and must be so understood.

I should place as central in our discussion the understanding that problems are both individual and social; that a case is for us always a complex of inner and outer factors. We know that there are unmanageable factors in the environment and that no case-work approach will make them more manageable. Broad-scale environmental reorganization alone will bring them to terms. On the other hand, the typical case situation is that of a person in conflict with environmental factors, or with a deficiency which must be compensated for by community re-

sources; or, again, the case-work situation is one in which the conflict has been to some degree internalized so that the client is in some conflict with himself as well as with society. Causal relations in social work are extremely complex; any understanding of the individual in a social setting is difficult and calls for steady growth in diagnostic ability by the practitioner

The idea that we are concerned with social reality and social adjustments is fundamental, although our sense of social and individual conflicts changes and, indeed, has, within the last few years, been changing with considerable rapidity. Society is inseparable from the individuals who compose it; the more an individual develops capacities, the more truly he tends to find social expression for these capacities. Both anthropology and psychiatry have recently thrown much light on the factors in adequate personal adjustment. As Benedict expresses it: "Just as those are favored whose congenial responses are closest to that behavior which characterizes their society, so those are disoriented whose congenial responses fall in that arc of behaviorism which is not capitalized by their culture."¹

The person whose "congenial drives" are not provided for in his culture is in a bad way, and if what he wants to do is strongly disapproved by society he may be in a very bad way indeed. Case work has always been concerned with the family as the primary social unit within which concepts are formed which, in our culture, have a profound bearing on social adjustment. This concern is still justified. We can hardly understand socially acceptable behavior without full understanding of parental roles. But neither can we really understand these parental roles themselves without a wider understanding of the world we live in, and this is insistent for anyone who undertakes case work.

One influence of psychiatry has been to help us comprehend the nature, not only of instinctual drives, but also something of the social or cultural pressure upon the individual. This is particularly necessary when conflicts have been internalized by

¹ Ruth Benedict, *Patterns of Culture* (1934).

the person, so that purely environmental shifts will probably not help in his adjustment or adaptation. Dr. Kardiner has recently made an interesting analysis of the kind of "stresses which move to economic action." They are those, he says, "which have to do largely with the command, control, or exploitation of external sources of instinct gratification. . . . These are external needs which cannot be vicariously gratified [and] require control of the external environment in a rational way. . . . Each culture has its own values, necessities and defenses."² Other stresses lead us to more personal search and action.

Case workers are, I believe, less defensive as they begin to see more clearly a differential approach to those economic needs which require control of the environment in a rational way, and those needs which in any economic system will require an individualized or so-called "case approach." In fact, social work is itself distinguishing techniques of social action, derived in part from the techniques of group or case work, and perhaps the more farsighted realize that the substitution of programs of social action for everything else we have learned or can learn about human needs will not advance our culture so surely as a program in which comprehensive planning, categorical solutions, and the homely wisdom of studying particular case situations will all find their place. Some of the leaders of our own time are still critical of case workers because of their interest in personal as well as environmental causes of distress. They are satisfied only with an explanation which finds all the causes of distress in the economic structure, and they think the case worker wishes to find all the explanation in the deficiencies of the individual. This is as if one should keep up a fruitless bickering as to which is the more important, heredity or environment, or self-determination or social control; or, as in the nursery discussion of causation, which comes first, the hen or the egg. At times the case worker has stressed internal causes of un-

² Abram Kardiner, "Influence of Culture on Behavior," *Social Work Today*, February, 1937.

adjustment, but he knows well enough that to understand a single set of relationships will take him not only very far afield but also very close home again. He knows well enough that growth depends first of all on securing the means of subsistence, then on opportunity, but finally on facing reality and working not only against limitations but with and within them.

Our next consideration, namely, that a client has a right to be himself, make his own decisions, and work out his own problems, is a dramatic extension of the deeply rooted case-work belief in self-help. Our earlier concepts of self-help were, however, almost wholly economic. We thought that the client should mobilize, in so far as he is able to do so, his own resources, his work capacity, and the resources of family and community and that our help was chiefly directed to eliciting this sort of activity from him. Better understanding of the use of a treatment relationship has refocused the same idea, but now also in the emotional sphere. Medicine has for years been teaching diabetics, for instance, to handle their own treatment, and the medical interpretation is directed to teaching patients how to live within their disability, not merely to follow medical orders.

People still tend to think that their internalized conflicts are very private, and that this is an area of self-determination to which they must not admit another person. They may ask for help fairly easily with objective, so-called "real" problems, and less easily with emotional problems, unless they can project their difficulties on some external factor like loss of job, or a problem child. Although this sort of projection is a common factor in application, the client is, perhaps, more ready to ask for help with his inner problems as he realizes that the case worker is not going to threaten, approve, rescue, or overwhelm him. Most of us have a constitutional dislike to being rescued. The parable of the ingratitude of the drowning man toward his rescuer has deep psychological truth. The case worker's reticence in interviewing (miscalled "passivity"—actually a greater control by the worker of his own curiosity and impulse to save) may permit a healing self-knowledge in the client to be activated.

Case workers frequently find it hard to believe that clients in an unjust economic order, or in depriving individual circumstances, can do anything to solve their own practical situations. Likewise, if they have a serious disability due to illness they may regard it as a completely frustrating experience and it is hardest of all to understand that a person to "make good" psychologically must be allowed not only to make good by his own efforts, but to make good in his own way. If we must resist impulses to threaten or punish, or to grant or withhold favors, how much harder it is to see that each individual must make his own solution, not in the sense that he is master of his fate and captain of his soul in a reckless defiance of external reality, but that his goals and life-objectives are unique for him. Hopefully, society itself will achieve a wider and deeper liberty based on more security, more co-operation, and less competition—so that the clients choices will be less determined by anxieties and frustrations, but the choices will remain his, not ours.

In working through to attitudes which are neither moralistic nor coercive, the worker must first be able to understand himself, his own emotional drives and impulses, before he can truly accept the bad feelings, aggression, and hostility in others. Case workers have moved from intolerance of certain forms of conduct to tolerance, and finally toward understanding, which is neither tolerance nor intolerance. This attitude of detachment is one of the products of the widespread scientific development of the nineteenth century and is not, as we sometimes imagine, wholly an innovation of psychiatry.

There has been an interesting development in the administration of public welfare in the degree to which the applicant is nowadays encouraged toward a frank participation in establishing his own eligibility and doing as much in the presentation of his claim as possible. Here, as in the most psychological area, the case work is less coercive and more businesslike; is both more reticent and more understanding. Whenever we have to act for people, and we do sometimes, this calls for wisdom, skill, and courage—but we do not usually have to act for people, we do

not often have to investigate without consent, or arrange things behind people's backs, or coax and persuade them into decisions which they can quite well make for themselves.

We must remind ourselves again that the kind and degree of authority, if used (and authority must sometimes be used, whether it be interference on behalf of a child, or the protection of the old or ill or helpless), must not only be related to the capacities of the client, to the realities of the given social situation, but also to the development within the worker of his own inner controls, so that he is less naïvely identified, less involved through his likes, dislikes, and pity, or his social philosophy—and this last concept leads to what the case worker means today by the older words of "rapport" and "contact." When the case workers are less involved they are in a better position to assist the client toward insights which will make him better able to handle his social problems.

The idea that the personal relationship of worker and client is important in helping the client to help himself is one of the oldest in case work. We were all brought up on Edward Denison's phrase, "not alms but a friend," and this is just as true as it always has been, the differences lying in what is believed to be involved in that relationship. What, in fact, is a professional friend? Miss Virginia Robinson, with her usual clarity of thought and creative touch, has in her latest book given a most interesting discussion of the development of the professional self to which I need only refer you.³ What is, I think, interesting, is the introduction of the theory and actuality of the professional self as an essential factor in the concept of self-determination and self-help in the case-work relationship.

The client's own story of his trouble we had always known to be important. Mary Richmond frequently pointed this out. Dr. Adolf Meyer re-emphasized it for us again and again—to put the "complaint in the center of our interest because it is the center of the interest of the patient." The depression precipitated the reality of the complaint situation when, over-

³ *Supervision in Social Case Work* (1936).

whelmed with cases, we could do little more than listen to the client's story of collapse and despair and offer him the necessary relief. What is new here is only the deepened appreciation of limiting and releasing factors around this story of the client's. We know that expression by the client will not be possible in an atmosphere of disapproval and, what was startling to many of us, even in an atmosphere of approval. We had always known that there was a kind of personality which seemed intuitively to be helpful to people. We were coming to ask why this was and why some kinds of things intended to be helpful proved dangerous or harmful to human relationships. Some of the things that we have come to recognize as affecting the worker-client relationship include: that insights and self-awareness are prerequisite in a professional use of relationship; that acceptance of one's self is important in being able to accept others; that an ability to live with one's self or one's feelings is important in being able to understand the feelings of others. Only if we understand to some extent our own motivation can we leave the client free to establish himself securely, first with us and thus again with others. Only so can the client, as Dr. Allen so beautifully says, "be friendly without being engulfed by my friendliness."

One of the most difficult concepts, and perhaps the hardest to define, is what we mean by learning to accept limitations. Involved as this is with the sense of reality already discussed, pressures and obstacles within the social environment, involved also in cultural factors, they are, nevertheless, fundamental in practice. People need ideals as a condition of growth, but idealism may, and frequently does, mean an incomplete reality sense. In the progress of medicine, doctors have taught constructive attitudes to take toward handicaps. The patient must first accept the fact of handicap and disability, but then his second task is to learn to live within it, and not to exploit it or beat against it. Neither defiance nor resignation will be helpful. Such reactions suggest a basic anxiety, of recklessness on the one hand, or of emotional dependency on the other.

The client who has been accepted in a nonjudgmental way by the case worker may find it easier to accept himself, and beyond that there is an educational possibility by which the case worker may help him make the most of what he has, but only if both can see with reasonable clarity what is impracticable or impossible within a given situation.

Out of increased discrimination as to emotional and external factors in the total construction; out of a deepened awareness of the client and worker roles; out of a sobering sense of limitations, the case worker builds his concepts of differential diagnosis and treatment. A decade or so ago, social workers elicited all the problems they could possibly find in a situation and then tried one by one to resolve them. In our quixotic enthusiasm we tilted at pretty much everything we could find, and when the client managed finally to elude us we wrote him down as unco-operative. It would be not natural for a young profession to act in any other way. Confronted with inevitable difficulties, some case workers then swung into social action as the path of salvation, and some case workers retreated into an almost mystical use of the worker-client relationship. We are just recovering from what one of my friends calls a "silly season." What we have learned about relationship is pure gain, but the more particularly if we have rediscovered our social function. We are no less interested in the office interview because we are again doing our "home work," and although family relationships can be partially understood through repeated office interviews with the client or patient, they can be understood by participant observation of family life in its natural setting. The important thing is that we should not be pushed into an "either/or" position, but develop a range or flexibility of approach in which the knowledge which may have been derived from psychiatry, psychoanalysis, and other disciplines, can be utilized within social situations and in the community.

One important area of rediscovery has to do with history and its uses. During the last ten years case workers had turned away from dealing with history in the psychogenetic sense, and

had focused attention instead on the current situation. This was a healthy period for social workers, since it brought them closer to the reality of the client's own experience, particularly his emotional experience, but at the same time it tended to restrict our diagnostic efforts to the material of the interview, thus emphasizing more the meaning of the experiences to the individual than the meaning of the case to us. Now, after all, it is true that our differential diagnosis should be of a social character, and social adjustment is the objective of case work, so that it is not surprising that recently there has been a renewed interest in history—not so much in reconstructing the whole life-history, but in getting enough appropriate material to assist in the social diagnosis. If it is true that awareness of the nature of feeling in ourselves and the client is essential, so it is also true that awareness of history is still frequently the best guide as to the general course of treatment to be adopted—although the more normal the person and the simpler the problem, the less need there is for history. Case workers have not as yet, and perhaps never will have, in the ordinary case-work situation, any appropriate technique for dealing with deep-rooted unconscious material, so that we see history taking, whether gained from the client's own story or supported by outside study, as a selective, controlled process, pointing itself not toward understanding and handling everything, but only toward social diagnosis and appropriate social treatment. To consider the meaning of the case as a whole is the meaning of the case for us as practitioners, and since by our initial hypothesis we are dealing with social and economic conditions interwoven with emotional reactions, we have to have a pretty clear understanding of the social factors as well as of the emotional concern of the client, expressed in his use of the treatment situation.

Perhaps the severest test of professional aims and competence is to be able to be careful and attentive in, as one might say, "easy cases"—in routine assignments, and when we find that people are well enough to deal with most of their own problems.

Simplicity is the great gift of true understanding. It is natural that it should be more interesting when the client wants us to help him with complicated matters than when he wants nothing from us except a little practical assistance, but the case worker, like the educator, learns at long last to take satisfaction in what the person can arrange and manage for himself. In so far as we may have strengthened his capacity to grow, this is the greatest professional satisfaction which can come to us—but by no means all our cases will give us this satisfaction, and we will continue with a daily grist of relief and shelter and arrangement for convalescent care.

When Mrs. A., a fairly self-directing person with a deprived, unhappy childhood behind her, but now a good mother, conscientious, independent about money, with a load of guilt about her own illegitimacy, a repressed aggression directed continuously against herself, shows a great need to use the worker to talk over her problems, it is a temptation to use what we know of "therapy." We may want to help her to express her hostility and try to handle it, yet understanding something of the nature of neurotic adjustment, a cooler and more mature diagnostic sense may make us content to relieve pressures here by granting a small allowance, by finding opportunities for the children, or other familiar social programs, realizing that "therapy" may prove disturbing to a delicate equilibrium of guilt and punishment in her compulsive behavior.

Corresponding in some degree with growth in differential diagnosis and treatment has been the development in the so-called case-work fields. Earlier, there was a tendency to division by fields; agencies were bound by a single technique, such as relief giving, or child placing, or child guidance. It is true that these are separate disciplines, but they are not based on separate sets of case-work ideas. Fundamental case-work concepts are always subject to adaptation, whether for rural case work, for medical social work, for family case work, or for relief administration in the public field. We no longer speak as though private and public case work were different nationalities, or as-

sume that rural case work cannot be learned. Recent experiments in rural social work have shown very clearly that urban case workers with a capacity for adaptation can be just as successful as those born or brought up on the farm. Just as social case work is modified by cultural factors in its approach, so case work, in turn, must modify its own approach in terms of cultural and administrative conditions.

We are taking rapid strides toward integration of case-work concepts and methodology which will permit of sounder differential uses. We see clearly that the technique in all forms of public assistance is similar; that the objectives of family and child-caring work are practically identical. But we also know that case work cannot apply new ideas wholesale. We should follow the progress of experiment and research in case work without being irritated or confused or imitative. It is only the amateur who thinks that unless he is doing "the latest thing" that he is not doing case work. The latest thing may be quite wrong and the creative professional worker will be the first to admit it. Tested and sifted knowledge is a slow and painful result, neither lightly achieved nor easily assimilated.

In many ways the world appears sicker and more disturbed than ever before; in some few ways, as the prospects of economic democracy widen, more promising. We are all enheartened by the Supreme Court decision. Now, as always, there are two fundamental approaches to social problems, through profound structural reorganization, and through the socializing of the individual and the group by educational processes. It is encouraging that case and group work, developing the same concepts as to the interdependence of the individual and society, and the importance of self-motivated activity of the person and the group, are at last drawing together to affect the dynamics of social action. Social work, like case work itself, needs more unification. It is not only clients who must be active on their own problems if they are to grow. As social workers, we must develop the sort of democratic technique which releases activity in ourselves and our fellows. Professional social action must rest

solidly on knowledge of subject matter, on professional training which makes us more competent and enables us to see the relation of certain objectives to other objectives, and, finally, it should mean the release of disciplined energies less complicated with hostility and aggression, and so more susceptible to co-operative processes.

I believe that the swing in human society is again toward a less wholly materialistic explanation and control of social forces. Motivation is being better understood in the governmental arena as well as by the case worker and group worker. Emotional experiences are everywhere being accepted as a great dynamic force; the case approach which is experimental, flexible, and informed with deep research interest and concern seems more significant than it has for years.

For the issues just ahead lie not so much in the mastery of physical resources, although much still must be done, as in the management of human relations so that people may not only have true economic security, but may work and rest and play and be at peace with themselves and with one another.

INTERPLAY OF THE INSIGHTS OF CASE WORK AND GROUP WORK

*Gertrude Wilson, Field Instructor in Group Work, School of
Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University
Cleveland, Ohio*

THE title of this paper implies circumstances in which both case workers and group workers have an opportunity for simultaneous use of each other's insights in an active situation. With social work as it is now organized, this particular circumstance is not often found and is far from typical, for case-work and group-work agencies may occupy the same buildings, deal with the same families, and serve the same communities, and yet be as far apart in understanding as they are near in physical proximity. For several decades these two kinds of social workers have worked side by side in states of mutual exclusiveness based on indifferences, latent antagonism, or intermittent co-operation. The crust of exclusiveness began to break several years ago when groups of case workers or group workers in various cities over the country initiated joint committees for the study of case-work—group-work relations. During the last four years these committees have greatly increased. From the casual contacts which the writer has had with some of these committees, it would seem that certain similarities of procedures can be observed.

First of all, each group found satisfaction in knowing the other group; after all, they said, we are all the same under the skin and all working for the same purpose—the welfare of the individual and the general social good. They said, further, that their difference lay in that one kind of social worker worked through the group to the individual and the other worked through the individual to the group. On this assumption, inter-

est in each other's field developed and produced the desire of each to use the other—the group worker wishing to consult and use the case worker in his work with individuals and the case worker wishing to have the opportunity of group membership for his clients. Case-work—group-work committees thus became interested in working out referral procedures, and various groups set up co-operative experiments. This interchange of thinking and co-operative work has not only given opportunity for better understanding between the fields but also created opportunity for new thinking. The first impression of general similarity has given way to ideas of differentnesses. Even the limited amount of experimental practice of co-operative work has shown that the two fields do not have the goal of integration formerly sought, but that of more clearly defining the contribution of each field, and consequently of working in a complementary relationship to each other in serving the common purpose of social work.

During these recent years of mutual exploration certain barriers to understanding have stood out rather prominently. Vocabulary differences, difference in conceptual knowledge and prejudices, even differences in fundamental philosophies, have frequently blocked progress toward complete and easy co-operation.

One committee attempted to meet the vocabulary difference by making a glossary of terms used by each group. It seems somewhat doubtful how helpful this may be in view of the tendency of each member to interpret what he hears in light of the meaning, to him, of the vocabulary of his own field. Back of this difference in vocabulary and meaning of words lies a difference in actual concepts. For example, "the group as an entity"¹ has a particular meaning to group workers which is not shared by most case workers. The group worker does work with the individual and is concerned with his growth and develop-

¹ Earle F. Eubank, *The Concepts of Sociology*. "Two or more individuals in a relationship of psychic-interaction whose relationship with one another may be abstracted and distinguished from their relationship with all others so that they must be thought of as an entity."

ment, but also with the group, which, while composed of individuals, is in itself an entity and as such is an essential to the development of the individual. The individual not only uses the group to meet his personal need but also to obtain objectives which he could not have reached alone. The realism of the concept of the group as an entity is difficult to maintain except through the medium of experience—and then words are unnecessary, for the feeling of “belonging to a group” carries its own reality. To the inexperienced this may sound mystical or at best on a deeper level than objective definition; it is doubtful however, whether any phenomenon which involves human experience can be adequately described without the help of the empirical.

Perhaps prejudice is an even greater factor in the barrier between case worker and group worker than vocabulary and conceptual differences. Free association of group workers to the words “case worker,” or vice versa, produces interesting material. Such reactions have been secured from students of case work and group work at Western Reserve University. The writer has also been making a collection of chance remarks made by one group about the other over a period of several years. From an array of these two sources of information, the following classification of unfavorable reactions can be made: those which seem to be caused by (1) resistance to jargon or vocabulary, (2) failure to understand the processes of work, and (3) differences in philosophy.

Comments such as the following will be recognized as typical of many workers' reactions to those in the other field: “Case workers use words insecure, defensive, hostile, etc.—these words appear in every sentence they use. We get so sick and tired of it, we reject all case work.” Another group-work student, reporting on her experience in a medical case-work demonstration, remarked: “The case workers seemed so separated from the social scene, and they are so critical of us for interesting our groups in social action.”

On the other hand, case-work students referring to group

workers said they cannot accept negatives and they will only see the positives in a situation. Another said that group workers chose their line of work because of their desire to escape—the group gives them an outlet in which they need not face the realities of their own problems—they lose themselves in the group.

Group workers in the field at large have many differing ideas about case work. For example, some think of case work as concerned largely with relief and therefore necessary to the existence of many people. Others have the impression that case work provides a listener to people in trouble and that, through the process of catharsis, it relieves the clients' feelings sufficiently to enable him to meet his own problems. Group workers have frequently been heard to remark that case work is concerned with individuals and sees them in a vacuum, concentrating attention upon the client, oblivious to his social relationships, and furthermore that its emphasis upon records, investigation, and its use of the social service exchange violates the sacredness of individual privacy, an essential of democracy. Recently, some group workers have felt that case work has become so engrossed with underlying causes of human behavior that some of its workers aspire to become pseudo-analysts, concentrating attention upon the client's unconscious to the exclusion of his obvious external needs.

Case workers, on the other hand, have been as partially misinformed about group work, though they have granted that group work may be worth while because it keeps children off the streets, providing for them and for adults recreational programs which allow no time for remembering troubles. Through these, they say the members let off steam by yelling, playing games, or participating in discussion; but that group work has unscientific work habits, such as omitting records and registration of its membership. Other case workers see group work as concerned only with groups and not with the individuals who compose them.

Examination of these samples of opinion reveals at first glance

a large amount of error, many elements of truth, and whole areas of omission of the essential processes of both case work and group work. Yet these latter ideas were gathered from practicing professional workers and, ridiculous as some of them may appear to many, they vitally affect day-to-day working relationships. If such misunderstandings are typical, it is apparent that one of the first steps in developing case-work—group-work relations is interpretation. Undoubtedly such committees have found this to be true, and, whatever the method of approach, better understanding has surely been the result. Such has been the experience in Cleveland where the Joint Committee on Case Work—Group Work Relations has been in existence for four years.

Four groups in Cleveland group-work agencies were chosen for special study. Four case-work agencies assigned a case worker to each group to participate in this experimental project. The executive of each agency became a member of an advisory committee for each group. A member of the faculty of the school of applied social sciences of Western Reserve University chaired each committee. The writer directed the study and correlated the co-operating groups. The groups included were chosen because their variety—one group because its members all possess major behavior difficulties and are from broken homes (they live in an institution); the others all from typical group-work agencies. The age range of two groups is from nine to thirteen, one from fifteen to seventeen, and the fourth from nineteen to twenty-nine. Three are groups of girls and one a group of boys. There are fifty-one individuals in the four groups.

The project was set up to discover how needs of the individual can be met in the group-work process, what limitations it presents, and how these limitations may be overcome through supplementary services of the case-work process. Note that these objectives do not include the social-action aspect of group work—its omission does not indicate lack of interest but need for limitation and isolation of one part for analysis in order that

the whole process be better understood. The group worker was requested to work with his group as was his custom, and as much as possible as if the case worker were not there. The case worker was requested to observe and record the behavior of the individuals in the group in accordance with his usual method of recording. He was also asked to have individual contacts with any members of the group who gave him the opportunity. The case worker, however, was an extra person without a role accepted by the group, and in each project he found it necessary to make a place for himself. Developments in each group have been very different. In the case of the group in the institution, both the case worker and the group worker were regular members of the staff, known to the children as such. However, the children were not accustomed to the case worker coming to their group meeting and the case worker found herself being pushed by the children into the role of an assistant leader. In the group of older girls, the case worker was lost in the group and was forced to go through the long process of an unknown girl, struggling for status for herself in a group where most of the members already knew each other. The case worker assigned to the boys' group was a woman, and the records do not indicate that the case worker was ever really accepted by the group. It is difficult to tell how much of the exceedingly aggressive behavior which extended over the entire period of the project was caused by their failure to accept the case worker or by other reasons inherent in the situation and in the personalities of the individuals involved. In the fourth group, the case worker and the group worker worked together in a relationship which approximates the supporting parent relationship. Very early in the project they worked out their own relationship to each other and that which each would try to maintain with the children.

Work with individuals on the part of case workers was exceedingly slow in developing. It was a new situation. The case worker was used to having his client ask for help by at least coming to the office; in the group situation, the member rarely

asks for help directly. The need must be felt by the worker and even help offered. This proved to be an exceedingly difficult concept for the case worker to grasp—it violates a feeling of the need to wait for the client to be ready for treatment. However, an even greater difficulty which the case worker encountered was his lack of status. This was particularly true in the adult group. Although the members of the group knew the occupation of the case worker, not one of them turned to her for help for four months. During this time her status in the group had been gradually rising, but it was not until the occasion of a valentine party that she actually felt that she was an accepted person. This party was held in one of the member's homes and Miss N. records that, during the refreshment period, someone remarked that she did not have any coffee. Another member responded "Well Miss N. is a big girl, and she knows where the coffee pot is." "This," remarked the case worker, "was the great moment of the project for I knew that at last I belonged." It is interesting to notice that the following week one of the girls came to her and asked if she would come to her office because she had some personal problems she would like to discuss with her. The next week two more girls came, and now the case worker has a place in her own professional capacity in the group life of that club.

The case worker in the boys' club did not succeed in establishing an individual relationship with any member of the group, although she made a valuable contribution to the group worker's understanding of the boys through the information she passed on to him from the records of the families of the boys who were clients in the agency where the case worker was employed. In the institutional group, the case worker already had individual relations with each member. In some ways this was a disrupting influence in the group. The case worker's presence reminded the children of their individual problems. One and then another would frequently leave the group activity to take this opportunity to ask the case worker when she could "go home." The group worker felt that it was difficult for her to

keep the role of leader because of the two kinds of relationships which the group worker and case worker presented to the group. However, this was not always the situation. The case worker's records reveal characteristics of the children which were discovered in the informal group situation which the case worker had only suspected through her face-to-face relationships. She further noted with great interest that as the children became more at home in the group, the more frequently they "forgot" their interviews with her.

In the group where the group and the case worker worked out the supporting parent relationship, the case worker has not had an individual relationship with any member outside of the club period. Within the group, however, she has worked with each member according to the opportunity afforded. The following summary of this group is presented with the hope that it will be possible to catch the group worker and case worker in simultaneous action in work with individuals in groups.

SUMMARY OF PLAYTIME CLUB—ALTA SOCIAL SETTLEMENT

When the project opened the Playtime Club had an enrolment of five girls. Four members attended the first meeting. Both the group worker and the case worker were new to the children, although they had known the group worker in the capacity of girls' worker at the settlement. The group worker explained that their former leader could not come on Wednesdays and that she would be their leader. The case worker was introduced as a person who was going to be at Alta House for awhile and was interested in children and would visit the club. During the first month the enrolment increased to eight, since that time one old member has returned and one member has been dropped. There have been no visitors. The age range is nine to thirteen. The club has proven to be relatively stable one with a group attendance index of .705. The individual attendance indices are 100, .95, .94, .93, .90, .77, .7, .6., and .35.

The activity of the group has consisted of making pin cushions, parties, clay modeling, and the development of an

Indian play project, in which the children made their costumes and scenery and improvised their lines. The mothers and the project committee were invited to see the final production and to be the guests of the children following the play. Business meetings have taken place whenever there was need or desire on the part of the members of the group. A trip to the art museum was the only meeting of the group away from the settlement house.

While it has been impossible to discover a definite subgroup within this club, there has been a cleavage clustered around age. Annie and Stella are both younger and resent the authority which the older girls, particularly Mary, Frances, and Florence, attempt to wield over them. The younger girls insist on doing everything equally. Conflict within the group has been very frequent and necessitated much guidance from the group worker. As much as possible the situations were left in the hands of the indigeneous leader, the president. When the problem became too complicated or the hostility too great for a thirteen-year-old girl, the group worker assumed control, sometimes using authority but often able to direct the interest into other channels until the heat of the moment had abated and attention could be returned to the controversial issue.

The group is a "natural" group, hence its unity is derived from lifelong acquaintance, some blood relationships, and a common nationality. In spite of these natural bonds, there was no material evidence of club loyalty, such as insignia or other forms of distinction. The interaction was exceedingly strong, going rapidly from cordiality to conflict. It is a closed group; the only contact with other groups within the settlement was through the congress representative. It is significant that the one new member who had not belonged to the club in previous years dropped out after the first three months.

The records are full of situations in which the children use the case worker as freely as they use the group worker, although it is exceedingly difficult to discriminate between the uses they make of each. The group worker is concerned with the move-

ment of the group activity throughout the whole period. Her attention is focused upon the group. The case worker does not have this responsibility and is available for those who are on the fringe of the group activity. She sees reactions of some of the individuals which escape the group-occupied group worker.

There has been a great deal of discussion of how individualized group work can become. Is it possible for a group worker whose attention is focused upon the group also to focus attention upon the individual needs of each member of the group? Experience in this project as well as that within the field at large would indicate that she cannot. There are times when the progress of the group is blocked by the behavior of an individual in this situation. The leader must either work with the individual within the group process, giving him the advantage of reactions of the other members of the group as well as that of the leader, or give him individual attention outside of the group. If the needs of the individual are sufficiently serious to demand long-time individual treatment, the group worker will, in fairness to the other members of the group, need to call upon a case worker or some other kind of specialized service. The success of this differential approach to the needs of individuals in groups is dependent upon the diagnostic ability of the group worker and requires a thorough understanding of human beings. Both case workers and group workers need the benefit of all that can be learned about people, but each makes a different use of the knowledge, depending upon her function. Thus we see that individualizing the needs of those in groups does not mean that group workers take on the function of case workers.

If time and space permitted a detailed analysis of each of these four groups, it would be possible to present a picture which would reflect not only the interplay of the activities of the case worker and group worker, but great variety of methods, techniques, and concepts of both fields. Analysis of this material is difficult, not only because of the complexity of organized groups but also because of the great unevenness of the thinking in both fields.

At this particular stage in this project, it is impossible to estimate what contribution, if any, it has made to group work and case work. There are, however, certain individual values which members of the project claim which may have more than personal significance. The group workers point out that frequent conferences of case workers and group workers brought to them additional information about the individual which has been useful in understanding the behavior of individuals in groups. For example, a group worker is more comfortable in a group when she recognizes the feelings which the children are projecting upon her. Another group worker reports that she has learned to accept hostilities and be less disturbed by the attacks of the children, and that now she knows through actual experience that when these feelings are expressed and accepted, the children are able to come through with friendly co-operative feeling. These concepts and many others commonly known to case work are valuable to the group worker in her function as a group leader in the swiftly moving and rapidly changing interplay of group action, commonly spoken of as "group-work process." The group worker who can successfully function as leader of a group is one who is a keen observer, who feels sensitively the reactions of the members and has a depth of background against which to interpret these observations and feelings, and who is able to quickly let her interpretations affect her own reactions. Appreciation of knowledge of individuals in groups affects the activity offered, the methods used, and in short the whole process. Thus we see that the group worker's first opportunity to use this knowledge is within the group-work process.

The case workers connected with this project have all indicated that it has offered them a group experience through which they have learned the dynamic qualities of organized group life. One case worker explained that she had always been impatient with group workers because of their hesitancy to accept her clients for group membership and had thought that they encouraged clannishness and were uninterested in behavior prob-

lems. Now that she understands the meaning of the concept of "group acceptance" and the interaction which takes place within the group on a democratic basis she is able to understand that a client must be prepared to put forth his own struggles for acceptance. The records of this project provide excellent material on this whole problem of the process of entering a group, which is of equal value to both case workers and group workers and gives particular light upon the practice of referral. Referral from a group-work agency to a case-work agency or vice versa is very apt to be just a form of "passing the buck" unless it is accompanied by a period of close co-operative work. The first step is an establishment of a relationship of confidence between the case worker and group worker; the second, frequent conferences between the two with both workers having contact with the client. It seems to us that these periods of consultation ought to be continued until the client has become an accepted member of the group and has accepted the group. During this period of preparing the client for group membership, it is often possible to interest him in enrolling in a class or hobby group where he has less responsibility and need for co-operative effort.

Earlier in this paper it was stated that this project was set up to determine: (a) how needs of individuals can be met in the group-work process, (b) what limitations the group process presents to meeting needs, and (c) how these limitations can be overcome.

The group-work process, which includes all interaction of all the members of the group, including the leader, during the period known as a group meeting, has served the members as a medium through which feelings of hostility and love as well as all intermediate stages of feelings have been expressed. The leaders, as parent substitutes, have been the recipient of the ambivalent feelings of childhood, adolescence, and early maturity. Various members have used leaders and other members according to their need. However, within each group there have been members whose needs were greater than the interacting group could meet. In other words, the group-work process can

meet the needs of those individuals who can use the members of the group and the leader to this end. In this project, where case workers were within the groups, some work could be done with such individuals, but even in these situations the case workers were hampered by the difficulty of separating the individual from the group for individual attention, and there were constant interruptions from other members. Does this situation suggest, then, the need for a consulting relationship of the case worker with the group worker worked out something like the visiting-teacher relationship in the schools?

This project has not found any final answers to any of the problems it set for itself but it has, we believe, helped to clarify the problems and direct trends in the thinking of the participants. While it is probably true that this project has not produced any really new ideas, it has made a contribution in interpretation and understanding. Case workers and group workers have learned each other's vocabularies, shared concepts, and grasped the meaning of differing philosophies. Both the group worker and the case worker have been helped to see the whole individual, not only as a person, but as a member of many groups who needs to be able to function in co-operation with his fellows for socially desirable ends for himself and for society.

PUBLIC RELIEF—ITS RELATION TO HIGHER LABOR STANDARDS AND SOCIAL SECURITY

*Charlotte E. Carr, Executive Director
Emergency Relief Bureau, New York City*

THE paramount task confronting public relief today is that of finding its proper place in a permanent program of social-security administration. As it has been flexible in expanding to meet the emergent needs of the depression, so must relief remain flexible in contracting to fit into its proper position in the new and permanent program. "Change" has been synonymous with the public relief program since the depression. "Change" must be synonymous with the program as it enters into this new phase; but "planning," too long impossible in the emergency phase, must now become its keynote.

We cannot plan, however, without attempting to forecast the extent of the problem to be faced by home relief administration. Furthermore, we cannot plan without considering the part to be played by home relief in a world in which social-security legislation has become a permanent part of the social fabric. And, in formulating this plan, we must make provision for the maintenance of relief standards.

In the transition to social security, great care must be taken lest some individuals lose that minimum of social security heretofore provided by emergency relief. When planning, it is essential to remember that the program must seek to prevent and correct those bad economic conditions which have caused dependency.

What effect will unemployment insurance, old age assistance, widows' pensions, and health insurance legislation, if it comes, have upon the relief rolls as we know them today? Heretofore,

emergency relief has been in large part an American substitute for these forms of social security which have long been known to the advanced industrial nations of Europe. In short, can we look forward to closing the doors of the home relief bureaus of the nation and the termination of the federal work relief program because of social-security legislation and economic recovery?

The outstanding paradox that confronts us is the fact that, with the volume of business activity almost back to 1929 levels, the number of persons dependent for support either upon direct relief or upon W.P.A. is tremendous. A vast army of workers has been apparently squeezed out of private industry and forced to turn to the government for support because of technological forces. But part of this army is due to the fact that society today will not permit the suffering, the hunger, and the substandard condition of living that even in the days of prosperity was taken for granted for a large section of the population.

Let me cite the figures for New York City as an illustration. I assume from reports I have received from other parts of the country that conditions are not substantially different from those in New York City, except in those communities where relief has been arbitrarily cut off without regard for the needs of the people.

In March of this year there were over 171,000 cases on work relief in New York City, and over 175,000 cases on direct relief—a combined total of approximately 347,000 cases. Between August, 1935, when W.P.A. was started, and March of 1937 there has been only a 5 per cent decline in the number of persons on both work and direct relief. However, from February, 1936, which represented for New York City the peak of the combined load, to March, 1937, there has been a decline of nearly 19 per cent. The lower rate of decline for the longer period is due to the fact that the relief rolls rose very rapidly for some months after the establishment of the W.P.A.

However encouraging the later decline may be, it will take long at this rate to reduce the case load in New York City to 10,000

cases; so long that there is always the possibility—and, indeed, economists will accept the probability—of other business recessions which will arrest the downward decline of the relief rolls.

Our reactionary critics of relief cite the large numbers on relief rolls as evidence of large-scale fraud on the part of recipients. These charges are nonsensical when applied to New York City, and I assume the same is true in other localities. The technique in administering relief has improved with experience to such an extent that the amount of chiseling is negligible. For example, in New York City we have a system of obtaining industrial pay rolls and comparing these with relief rolls to check the possibility of persons maintaining themselves on relief when they have found employment. Less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of 1 per cent of the names on these industrial pay rolls is identified as relief cases which can have relief withdrawn or reduced. We also clear all newly accepted applications with every savings bank in the city. Less than $\frac{1}{3}$ of 1 per cent is found to have bank accounts in excess of \$100. These critics put the cart before the horse. The relief system has not failed; it is the economic system that has failed by its inability to provide regular employment at a living wage to all who are able and willing to work.

There are measures that can be taken, however, by relief administrators to accelerate the return of the relief population to self-support in private industry. First, we must improve our methods for maintaining the work skills and work habits of the employables on relief, so that when an opportunity does come in private industry the relief recipient shall not be found wanting. The Emergency Relief Bureau in New York City is launching upon a program whereby every resource for vocational training and guidance available throughout the city shall be opened to relief recipients who shall be encouraged to take advantage of these services.

The household-training work of the W.P.A. has been of inestimable value in training clients for domestic service, which is one occupation where there is apparently a real opportunity for

employment. The clients attending these household-training courses are encouraged to look upon domestic service as a permanent skilled vocation rather than a form of temporary unskilled work until something better comes along. Upon the completion of the course, the client is referred only to jobs which meet decent standards of hours, wages, and working conditions set up by the Women's Trade Union League and the Y.W.C.A.

Training courses in all forms of clerical work, such as typing, shorthand, and business English, are being given for the younger people on relief. This work, now carried on by the Adult Education Division of the Board of Education and the W.P.A., will be considerably expanded in New York City in the coming months. Although only a minimum staff will be provided from relief funds to co-ordinate the activities of the various adult educational training groups throughout the city, the Relief Bureau will have to assume the responsibility of stimulating this work and the task of referring relief clients for training in occupations for which there is a demand. No more worth-while enterprise for the expenditure of public funds can be found than this. The work will pay for itself in the end by increasing the number leaving the relief rolls for industry, and by increasing the earnings and skills of these persons re-entering industry.

Second, methods and techniques must be developed to increase the number of placements in private industry from among the unemployed on relief. This does not mean that the Relief Bureau should take the place of the public employment office. As in the program for apprenticeship and training work, the relief agency can stimulate and direct the work, but it should not do the work of the employment office. In New York City last summer a co-operative experiment with the New York State Employment Service was started which has proved very successful and which within the next six months will further justify its program.

The New York State Employment Service has placed a representative in each of our field offices. In co-operation with our own workers, the case load has been analyzed occupational-

ly so that requisitions for labor can be swiftly met. When this occupational file is completed, and it is almost finished now, we will have no difficulty in finding relief recipients to fit the job, except for the unusual or the specially skilled positions or for those rare occupations in which there is a real labor shortage. More than 102,000 persons on relief have been classified in 810 occupations.

The New York State Employment Service has been making available to the Relief Bureau a steadily increasing number of job openings. Six months ago only 193 relief recipients were being placed monthly in private industry and hospitals through this machinery. Today these placements total more than 1,258 monthly, or an increase of 552 per cent. At a recent conference with the state employment officials, it was estimated that the number of placements would be doubled in the next six months. This increase will take place because the State Employment Service now recognizes that our files are in such a shape that the persons referred from our offices will be fully qualified in the occupations for which they are listed.

By this close contact with the State Employment Service, New York City has avoided the pitfall of permitting the relief rolls to become a reservoir for cheap labor. The rule has been laid down and resolutely followed that relief recipients shall not be referred to "sweatshop jobs," and that under no circumstances shall a case be closed because of refusal to accept a position at substandard wages and hours of work. Such standards are determined not by the relief office but by the State Labor Department.

We have reviewed the New York City Emergency Relief Bureau's program for a reduction of the relief rolls by the stimulation of opportunities for employment and retraining. Our next consideration is the probable effect of the Federal Social Security Law upon the relief load. In New York City important benefits have already been derived from the security program. More than 9,000 persons between the ages of sixty-five and seventy years have been transferred to the old age assistance

rolls to take their places with those persons seventy years of age and over supported by the state old age assistance system. This has resulted, however, in a reduction of less than 2 per cent in the number of persons on home relief. In the near future the provisions of the Federal Social Security Act, which liberalize the conditions under which the "widows' pension" can be granted, will go into effect. A study by the Emergency Relief Bureau shows that nearly 13,000 adults and nearly 25,000 children under sixteen years of age will be eligible for this type of assistance. But this will mean a reduction of less than 7 per cent in the total number of persons on home relief. There are more than 400 blind persons now on relief who also shortly will be covered by blind provisions in the Social Security Act.

These new measures, therefore, however important and encouraging, will mean a reduction of not even 9 per cent in the total number of persons on relief. It cannot mean a corresponding reduction in the case load or in administrative costs, because many of the persons eligible for these forms of assistance belong to family groups in which there are needy persons eligible only for home relief. Although the budgets will be reduced, the cases will have to be carried at the same administrative expense until such time as there is an amalgamation of the relief program with the entire social-security program of the state.

The form of social security which has been planned to meet such cases as were rushed onto public relief at the beginning of the depression is that of unemployment insurance. In New York State, beginning with January 1, 1938, the benefits under the unemployment insurance provision of the Social Security Act will begin to be paid out in New York City. There is no doubt that this system of payments will reduce the need for relief. Furthermore, there is no doubt that such a system is highly preferable to public relief. However, we must face in our planning the fact that this new form of insurance will not make the impressive reduction in the present relief load that would be desirable.

The Emergency Relief Bureau has recently undertaken and

not yet completed a sample study of 20 per cent of the present case load. The complete history of approximately 30,000 cases, since the case was first known to relief, is being analyzed and tabulated. One of the purposes of this study is to determine the effect of unemployment insurance on the relief rolls. Questions such as these will, upon the completion of the study, be adequately answered in New York City for the first time. What percentage of the present case load stays continuously on relief? What proportion of the case load comes on and off relief? What proportion depends upon relief for support during seasonal periods of unemployment? What percentage of the case load has had no work experience, either in private industry or on work relief, since the first acceptance for assistance? Although these questions cannot today be fully answered, some significant information can be acquired from a completed analysis of a sample of nearly 5,000 of the total of 30,000 cases being studied. This information is presented in the belief that however small the sample, the findings may throw some light on the extent to which unemployment insurance is likely to reduce the relief load. In the sample of nearly 5,000 cases, less than 1 per cent came on relief in 1930, $3\frac{1}{3}$ per cent came on relief in 1931, 15 per cent in 1932, 17 per cent in 1933, 22 per cent in 1934, 21 per cent in 1935, 19 per cent in 1936, and $1\frac{1}{3}$ per cent in 1937.

In short, more than one-half of these cases, or 64 per cent, applied for public relief in 1934 or later. The depth of the depression had been reached in 1933 and the years since have been, relatively speaking, recovery years. This group stayed off relief during the worst period of the depression and were finally forced to come on relief because of the exhaustion of their resources and the failure of recovery to find employment for them. More than 20 per cent came on relief for the first time in 1936 or 1937, six to seven years after the beginning of the depression.

Bear this in mind, however—while all of the cases in the sample were on relief in January, 1937, not all of the cases have been continuously on relief. It is too commonly thought that going on relief means staying on relief. While this is true for a

substantial proportion of the case load, there is also a very substantial percentage that goes on and off relief into either private industry or work relief. Of this sample of 5,000 cases, 57 per cent have had no opportunity for employment, either in the W.P.A. or in private industry, since they have been on relief; 21 per cent have had experience on work relief, but none in private industry; 12 per cent have worked in private industry during the off relief period; $9\frac{1}{2}$ per cent have had work experience in both private industry and work relief since their relief histories began. Of this sample, 51 per cent have not been off relief since their first acceptance, but 29 per cent have been off relief and back once, 13 per cent have been off relief and back twice, and 7 per cent have been on and off relief three or more times. The highest number of cases on and off relief in the sample was six times for seven people.

In an estimate of what proportion of the case load will be eligible for unemployment insurance, it is important to exclude from the computation those persons who came on relief for the first time in 1936 and 1937. The percentage in this later group with private-industry experience since the first acceptance for relief is small. This is due not to a lower percentage of employability but to the shorter relief history. Their inclusion would distort the estimates by decreasing the percentage that is likely to be eligible for unemployment insurance benefits. The figures indicate that a very large number of persons on relief are not likely to acquire the necessary amount of employment to entitle them to unemployment insurance benefits.

A group that has been on one form of relief or another continuously since their relief history began is hardly likely to earn, in private industry annually, a sum equal to eighteen times the weekly unemployment insurance benefits which is the legal condition precedent to obtaining unemployment insurance benefits. This group, which makes up three-fifths of the relief load, assuming that the sample is typical, will depend upon public relief for a long time to come. Some 1,487 cases, or 40 per cent of these 3,708 cases, were not on relief continuously. This group

spent approximately 74 per cent of their time on relief since the first acceptance and 26 per cent off relief. The average amount of time for the "off-relief" periods was seven months and the average amount of time for the "on-relief" period was twelve months. The "on-and-off-again" group will probably earn enough to qualify for unemployment insurance the next time employment is obtained and lost. The period of benefits will not be long enough, however, to sustain them during the complete period of unemployment. They will be entitled to sixteen weeks' benefits after a three-week waiting period. This period is 7.5 months shorter than the average "on-relief" periods. While the improved business conditions may shorten the "on-relief" period by lengthening the "off-relief" period, it is not likely to reduce it to the period covered by the unemployment insurance benefits. The gap is too great to be completely closed. Therefore, again assuming the sample is to be typical, 40 per cent of relief cases will, upon the conclusion of the insurance period, have to turn to the Relief Bureau for assistance to cover part of the unemployment period. The percentage of those likely to benefit from unemployment insurance will increase with improved business conditions.

The possibility of employment of other members of the family with improved industrial conditions must also be considered. With increases in the wage level, there is also present the possibility of greater savings to tide over the unemployment period. But a realistic picture of the situation must accept the fact that, this group coming from the relief rolls, the wage levels are probably such and the seasonal nature of their employment such that the experience of long periods of need will be repeated.

An additional factor to be given consideration is that the unemployment insurance benefits are likely to be inadequate to cover the family budget for many cases. These insurance payments are limited to one-half of the weekly salary, but in no event may they pay less than \$7.00 or more than \$14.00 per week. Where this benefit falls below the minimum relief budget, and there is no other means of support, the benefit itself will

have to be supplemented from public relief until such time as the benefit rate has been increased. Estimates as to the number of such supplementary cases are highly speculative. The following figures, perhaps, serve as some measure of its probable extent. The need for supplementation will increase inversely with the earned wage and directly with the size of the family. Let us take as our illustration the worker who earns \$20.00, the one who earns \$25.00, and the one who earns \$30.00 or more a week. The weekly unemployment insurance benefits will be \$10.00, \$12.50, and \$15.00, respectively. Workers in each group with two or more dependents, and with no other means of support than the insurance benefit, must receive supplementation if the family budget is not to fall below the minimum relief budget of the Emergency Relief Bureau. In our planning ahead for public relief, we must therefore, face the fact that the present relief load will only be reduced moderately by unemployment insurance, and that even with this reduction the maintenance of the minimum relief standards will require in many cases continued supplementation from public relief.

Our conclusions are these: The public relief program must focus upon ways and means of training and of maintaining the skills of its clients, must play an aggressive leadership role in the placement of its clients in private industry, and must do this fully aware of the importance of preventing the flooding of the labor market with persons forced to accept substandard, sweatshop wages. The public relief program, to the extent that it has met a need brought about by unemployment, cannot at once dissolve itself with the arrival of unemployment insurance. This is true not only because it has on its rolls persons, however employable, who will not have had an opportunity to work previous to the year 1938 when the benefits of unemployment insurance begin, but also because these benefits are so low and the length of time for which they are available so short that supplementation from public relief will be necessary for many unless we are to reduce, which is unthinkable, our minimum standards of relief.

In short, for a long time to come public relief is to be the cushion for other forms of social security. It must be alert to point out the extent to which it is performing functions that belong in the permanent social-security program. It should make the public fully aware of the extent to which it is supplementing the social-security program. Its best job is done as it reduces its responsibilities and places them in the other forms of security. But it has the responsibility of standing by until this transfer has been fully accomplished.

The great problem of the security of those persons who are ill (again not a subject for the scope of this paper) is one, however, that cannot be ignored, because until and unless we have sickness insurance all of the cases falling within this category must be cared for by the public relief agencies. The administrator of public stands in a position in no sense discouraging or in no sense unimportant. His is, in fact, one of the most exciting and significant places to be at this period, because his is the position from which one can best see the approach of the new day of permanent social security. Finally, his is the responsibility of pointing out the grim truth that social security for all has yet to be accomplished.

A LAYMAN TAKES STOCK OF PUBLIC AND PRIVATE AGENCY FUNCTIONS

Sidney Hollander, Member Board of State Aid and Charities of Maryland, and Board of Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, Maryland

A LAYMAN Looks at Public and Private Agencies." And what does he see? On the one side, a long vista of boards and officers and committees; on the other side, a long vista of executives and subexecutives and staff; and then, if he has a very acute vision or uses binoculars, he may see—a client. And believe it or not, it is that client that supports all this vast machinery. If it was not for him, it would all topple.

"Public and Private Agencies!" How do they differ? Why do we need both? Well, I am told that the public agency carries the heavy burden of support, and the private agency does the refinement. That sounds fair enough. The public agency supports the client and the private agency refines him. Then logically we should expect to find this benefactor of ours both supported and refined; but when we go about we find that very often he has not enough food, is miserably housed, and wears clothes that would embarrass a scarecrow—and as for refinement, he lacks even the minimum decencies of life. Something must be wrong, then, with my definition, or else somebody is falling down on the job. Let us ask the public agency first.

"Tell me, why are all these families living in this wretched state?"

"What do you mean—wretched state?"

"Well, for example, whole families living in one dilapidated room, sick people without doctors, children home from school

because they haven't shoes. You know what I mean! Is it true?"

"Well, yes! But it's because our funds are so short. We try to give them enough to eat. We'd like them to have rent and clothing, too—but we have to cut the coat to match the cloth, you know."

"Surely, but what's the use of a coat at all if it's too small to wear? Why not make it larger? What do you allow them for food?"

"Oh, we're all right there! We follow the Children's Bureau diet list, and employ a home economist to teach them about the calories."

"That's very good! Let's hope they do right by the calories. What's your policy on rent?"

"Now that's a bit embarrassing. Our rent allowances aren't very good. As a matter of fact some of the clients have to use part of the food money for rent."

"But doesn't that leave them short on calories? And if so, what's the use of the diet list? Why not save the salary of that home economist until they have something to economize on? How about clothes?"

"Well, we get some things from the W.P.A. sewing projects—not always just what they need, but they make out somehow; and if the things we give them don't fit, they can always make them over for the children."

"But doesn't that leave the parents without clothes?"

"Probably, but they don't need a great deal. People on relief don't go around much."

"Well, how about all the other things a family needs? Brooms, pots and pans, soap, blankets, shoe repairs, a bit for tobacco and the movies once in a while?"

"Well, we do give them an allowance for other things. Every family gets 25 cents a week for incidentals."

"Really! And will the home economist divide that up for them, too, so they don't get too extravagant? Why do you call this relief? It hardly seems you're relieving them from anything

—except possibly pickpockets. Perhaps, though, it's some satisfaction that all those in need are getting help, even though it does seem a bit thin."

"Now wait a minute! I haven't said that. We are not giving help to all; only to those that meet our eligibility tests."

"Are there many who don't?"

"Yes, a lot."

"What's the trouble? Is something wrong with them—or with the eligibility tests?"

"Well, they're 'employables' or think they are, but the W.P.A. is trying to cut down."

"Well, if they're employable, why don't they register with the employment service?"

"They do, but these men are no good at private jobs."

"I see! Private industry has eligibility tests, too! So what happens to them?"

"Well, to tell the truth, we don't exactly know. Perhaps the private agencies. . . ."

"But you take care of others, too. The A.D.C. Why is it that in some places the allowance for a child is only about \$3 a month? You can't even feed a child decently on that, can you? I thought the law allowed \$18 and \$12!"

"It does. That \$3 is in places where they're mostly Negroes."

"But don't Negro children eat as much as white children?"

"They should—but you have to consider local attitudes."

"Yes, I suppose you do! I suppose that explains, too, why families on relief in those sections get only \$5 a month."

"Sure! They keep it down so the farmers can be sure of help next summer."

"Oh, so relief is for the employers. I thought it was for the unemployed."

"It is, but you can't go faster than your community, you know. Anyway our figures all go to Washington, and they must be all right for nobody complains. By the way, have you seen our statistical charts? We're very proud of them. We have a swell statistician. A graduate of Columbia."

I pass up the charts. The figures I'm thinking about are those pathetic ones that line the benches of the interviewing rooms. Perhaps I started my inquiry at the wrong end. They said something about private agencies. I'll go over there! The "Family Agency."

"Well—I guess you don't have much of a relief problem since the W.P.A. came in?"

"Oh, don't we? Do you think those people can live on the W.P.A. wage? those with large families?"

"I suppose not. And what allowance do you give them?"

"We don't give them any. It isn't sound practice for a private agency to subsidize public agencies."

"I'm afraid you didn't get me! I wasn't asking about subsidies for the public agencies. I meant the clients! If they need help, what to you do?"

"We give service!"

"What kind of service?"

"Well, first we get a case history. That's essential! Sound practice you know. If we find any signs of emotional disturbance, we refer them to our psychiatrist. He's quite wonderful, really."

"But is that what they ask for?"

"No! They ask for food and clothes, but the trained case worker looks to more fundamental interpretations of their needs. We are great believers in training. We employ only graduates of professional schools."

"Yes, of course, but about the client? Suppose he still complains after the psychiatrist?"

"Then we refer him to the medical clinic; but it's usually nothing more than malnutrition or anemia so we have to close the case."

Well, I'll have one more try. Maybe it is different at the children's agency.

"I suppose your intake is way down since the A.D.C. started."

"On the contrary, we're so crowded we're refusing further applications. The A.D.C. has very strict regulations; we're sup-

posed to take everything! And families are breaking up fast these days."

"Why?"

"General disintegration! Loss of job, resources all gone, overcrowding, slow decay. You know! The usual story."

"But I thought children were not removed any more because of poverty."

"That's true!"

"But isn't this disintegration due to poverty?"

"Yes, in a way—but it's too late to do much about that when the children get to us. But let me tell you we do a good job with the children. We have supervised recreation, vocational training, child guidance, Boy Scout clubs, a summer camp—everything. We're very proud of our program."

"But about those other children that you're refusing? What happens to them?"

"Well, the juvenile court places some in the reformatories. Not all though, because they're full, too."

"And the rest?"

"Oh, they just stay at home. Some of them get along, I guess, somehow. . . ."

Now that, boys and girls, is the story. Frankly, it does leave one a bit confused as to the difference between social security and social insecurity. It seems that despite all our conferences we have not done such an awful good job. Perhaps we are not the right ones to be here. Perhaps if the clients were here and we in their places, it might be better. On second thought, though, that might make them even more unpopular. Somebody must be to blame. We must have a whipping-boy, for of course it is not our fault. Let us say it is the community's fault. We can use that good old wheeze that we cannot go any farther or faster than the community wants. And, really, that is a good alibi. We cannot go faster than the community wants, but I think we might have done a lot more than we have to make the community want to go faster. We are always too willing to defer to those who want to put on the brakes when really the

engine needs speeding up. We accept too cheerfully the "half a loaf" philosophy, forgetting that there is really plenty of bread available; it only needs to be sliced more evenly and passed around a bit oftener.

Another good stooge for us is the "Great White Father" in Washington. We have been quite willing to switch the blame for everything sour to him; it helps divert attention from our own inadequacies. Certainly the unpredictable vaccillation of Washington has made all our jobs more complicated. It has been difficult to develop sound programs when we did not know from month to month what part of the load we were expected to bear. Moreover, Mr. Roosevelt's fine humanitarianism was hampered by the fact that he never let his left Hopkins know what his right Farley was doing. I am not blaming him for that. He had his troubles, too, though we know they were slight compared to ours. Despite the general maledictions heaped on Washington by social workers, and even more by board members, I keep remembering that it was Roosevelt's vision and high courage that saved twenty millions of our people from starving during those dark years when the rest of us stood helpless on the sidelines. The impulses broadcast from Washington vibrated aērals from one end of the land to the other and induced responses undreamed of a few years ago. Few now remain unaware of their ill-fed, ill-clothed, and ill-housed neighbors. Few remain in ignorance of unbefriended children, helpless old age, and the bleak despair of unemployment. Such measure of social protection as we have we owe to the inspiration of his leadership, and I for one am grateful to him, even though some of his economic and political theories make my conservative blood pressure rise. And if the orders that came out of the federal bureaus seemed at times less than wise, the leaders there, too, were facing the task of charting a course, vast and unmarked, with untried and not always adequate personnel—facing a future no less uncertain than ours, and bedeviled more than we by intruding pressures.

But the emergency is over; future gains will be more difficult

to achieve, and more than ever it is for us to keep pushing forward so that the impetus gained shall not be lost. While the machine is still running, the engine begins to miss on several cylinders, and certainly it doesn't accelerate properly. It must be those damned brakes again!

In our form of government, any sound program of social assistance becomes an interwoven pattern of private services, state agencies, and federal support. Perhaps in the longer view the latter is the most important, since it cuts athwart both private and community programs. Therefore, we must use every means at our command to help Washington to plan wisely and to support generously its share of the general program. Our continuing responsibility must be to keep before our communities constantly the unmet needs that still exist and the danger to all our services through a failure to meet them. If a country cannot survive half slave and half free, neither can it progress part sound and part diseased, nor can human welfare be greatly advanced while communities continue to drag behind them social cadavers that daily menace them with infection.

But our hopes for a better future is no excuse for failing to do our immediate jobs as well as can be. There would be greater assurance of our preparedness for next steps were we to carry on effectively the daily services for which we are presently responsible. How many of us think we are doing that now? Is it not true that many of us are really a bit grateful for public inertia and Washington's uncertainties, since they serve so well as "beloved obstacles" to screen our own shortcomings?

Let us consider the private agencies. Here we are in an old-established field, with decades of experience to guide us. Here we have a right to look for bold leadership, with services clearly charted, effectively integrated, properly staffed—all in accord with the best modern practices. Yes, we have a right to expect this, but don't hold your breath! Instead of bold leadership we find timidity and indecision; in place of clearly charted services, there is uncertainty and confusion; where we expected integration, we find overlapping of functions and duplication of per-

formance, agencies assuming responsibilities calling for the utmost in experience and skill from staffs quite untrained; and when skilled staffs are employed, they are often burdened with case loads that doom their efforts to futility. Certainly all this suggests that we might restrain our criticism of others until we do a bit more housecleaning of our own. The time lag in social progress is surely discouraging. One need only remember the White House Conference of 1909 (twenty-eight years ago) to realize how great is the gap between principle and performance. Using that as a measuring stick, many of our agencies have not yet emerged from the subcellars. Yet I would be willing to wager that the executives of agencies still adhering to hoary practices of forgotten generations can be found at this very conference, applauding ideas even more advanced than those to which they gave ear service three decades ago. On second thought, they are probably only the same ideas dressed up in 1937 lingo. Principles persist; it is only the pattern that changes.

Now, mind you, I am not decrying conferences. They are useful, if only to soften the humiliation of our own failures by learning those of others. Still, I sometimes think that if not another conference were held for the next ten years and the interval used in missionary work with backward agencies it would be a major contribution to the cause.

Private social work has not made the progress hoped for. What it has gained on some fronts it has lost on others. It will have to rouse itself if it is to hold its own. Sufficient diagnoses have been made to suggest what is wrong—hardening of the arteries, creeping paralysis, premature senility, heart failure (especially heart failure), sleeping sickness—almost everything except growing pains. There is no dearth of reasons (convincing reasons) to understand the aimlessness of this group during the past few years. Depression emergencies and the rapid growth of public services certainly disrupted programs and confused thinking.

Private agencies are still floundering around trying to find into which part of the jig saw puzzle their little pieces will fit.

But it will not serve any more to be told that this is a period of transition, and that the private agencies will make great strides as soon as things settle down. Things are not going to settle down—and, anyway, we do not want to wait until the world stops moving before we begin. It is not that the public agencies will push the private agencies out—with all that the public agencies can do and all that the private agencies can add there will still remain large areas of unmet needs, larger now than ever before, and destined to grow ever greater as problems of maladjustment mount. There will be plenty of place for the private agencies, but they will have to find it and fit it—and “Time marches on!”

How are these adjustments to come? As soon as we attempt a re-examination of private agencies we run head on against boards and executives. Boards and executives—the most difficult of all problems facing social work today! Boards and executives—with biases so deep they border on obsessions. Talk to any honest director of a community chest and in all likelihood he will tell you of agencies in his group that are outmoded, inadequate, or obsolete—and of his hopelessness in trying to get rid of them. I have them in my community; you have them in yours. Frequently there are not funds enough for both the quick and the dead, but how to get rid of the corpses? Which is easier—burial or resurrection? Administrators generally know what should be done and boards, too—but they are palsied by the fear of losing contributors or offending wealthy partisans. The risk must be faced, though, if we are ever to put an end to the survival of the unfittest.

Perhaps one cause of trouble is that board membership is entered upon too casually. Too often we use the measuring stick of wealth as the criterion for selection, and it is a very faulty one. If we must select our board members from bankers and trust officers, we might at any rate apply the same penalties they face there—double assessment for mismanagement. It is largely a matter of education. It is absurd to think that because a man runs a good department store or has made a success

selling hardware he qualifies *ipso facto* as an authority on community needs or human behavior. One of these days we will wake up to the fact that training is as desirable for board members as for staff members.

There are certain definite responsibilities that must be impressed upon boards, whether they direct agencies, or federations, or community chests. The primary one is to estimate services in relation to total community needs. Before any particular agency is accepted or maintained it should have to pass the test: "Does this service meet an outstanding need, now? Has it a present importance, not one that existed ten or twenty years ago? Does it do things that nobody else is doing? Must some other need of greater value be sacrificed if we select this one?" Only if it can acceptably pass such scrutiny should a service be supplied.

And, after that, there is a further challenge. "If this service is needed, it is being provided efficiently and in accord with the best modern practices?" When we ask a community for money there is an implied obligation to see that the money is effectively used. To do less is dishonest. No agency has the right to expect support for ineffective or obsolete services. To assure adequacy of performance, each agency and each service should be reviewed periodically, preferably in conjunction with some disinterested group which would have no defensive resistances to overcome. When such examinations are effectively made, and when boards have courage to act upon them, great benefits are sure to accrue. Duplicating agencies can be eliminated, mergers can be effected, monetary savings can be made, and the client is better served. Moreover, as a straight business proposition, community stock-taking pays. It releases necessary funds through which new and important services can be undertaken. Certainly the financial future of private agencies is none too rosy at present. It is going to be ever more difficult for them to get money. The cards are stacked against them for they're competing with the tax collector. It is, therefore, essential that

resources be utilized to provide only services that are vital. Dead stock can bankrupt a federation as well as a business.

I know that this business of stock-taking is easier to talk about than to do. When you start on it you had better button on your bullet-proof vest and don a lightning rod. Some of our existing agencies have practically become vested interests in which the staffs, executives, and board members are apparently life-beneficiaries; we subscribers hold only nonvoting but assessable stock. A mother bear protecting her cubs is sweetness and light compared to the directors of some agencies you may want to merge—or submerge. You would think board members got the salaries of movie stars the way they fight to hold their jobs. It can be done, though. Generally their bark is worse than their bite; and some tact, a little flattery, and a few testimonial dinners may work miracles on board members. Executives require a different technique. Perhaps a pension, perhaps a leave of absence; perhaps another job; perhaps—chloroform.

Now let us take a peep at the other camp. The public agencies have had their troubles, too. Though they held the spotlight these past few years and did the spectacular things, they have had no bed of roses. The inflationary period through which they passed swelled them up so fast it is a wonder they did not burst. Some of them did, as soon as a pin was stuck in them. Though not newcomers in social work they were nobody's spoiled darlings—just one more mouth for the taxpayer to feed. But along comes the depression with its flood of federal funds, and suddenly the public services find themselves the Good Samaritans. Their shortcomings were sympathetically viewed as inevitable results of the scope of their problems and the pressures under which they worked. It took them a little while to get over their own surprise at their new popularity.

And, as their stock rose, that of their rivals fell. The private agencies on whose toes they trod tried to assume a spirit of Christian forbearance not usual in social work and not sufficiently natural to enable them to conceal their jealousies and

deep resentments. The lavishness of the public purse compared to the penny-pinching of private funds increased the bitterness, and the disruption of private staffs through the defection of workers lured away by the siren call of the *nouveau riche* served only to pour more oil on the troubled fires.

But, as the months rolled by, the scales again reversed. The mistakes and inadequacies inseparable from such rapid expansion brought the inevitable protests. The business interests rose in their wrath, and demanded that the administration of the programs be taken from social workers and given to practical people. So, under the bland influence of chambers of commerce and real estate boards, the pattern of relief changed from one dedicated to the service of people in trouble and took on the color of big business, with staffs acting as robots in a stretch-out system of mass feeding. Human needs surrendered to the tax rate. Adequacy of budgets was sacrificed to the needs of keeping a supply of cheap labor. It was a season of gloom.

The private agencies secretly enjoyed the growing discomfiture of their rivals. Becoming bolder as their confidence returned, the case workers assumed a lofty snootiness and denounced the inadequate standards, the untrained personnel, and the general inhumanity of the public services. The public staffs, now on the defensive, came back with sneering references to the breakdown of the private services and their inability to comprehend problems beyond their individualized approach. Social workers split into the "community minded" and "client minded," as though it were assumed that the two were mutually incompatible.

As the country emerges farther from the depression, popular enthusiasm for the less fortunate brother continues to diminish. There is a feeling of resentment that needs should persist in the face of expanding operations and mounting dividends. Increasing taxes dampen Christian charity, and the clients become "dole seekers," "parasites," "chiselers," and "boondogglers." The clamor for reduced expenditures and balanced budgets beats on the high places in Washington with such vehemence

that courage has again given way to timidity, order to confusion.

Gradually the shaking-up and shaking-down process has brought the public agencies measurably nearer a permanent status. Their objectives have been set, their organizations are tightening, their staffs have acquired training and experience; and though their budgets are shrunk, they are now accepted as inescapable. This is progress, but there is still rough going ahead. The extent of their organizations and the great amounts they distribute make them too attractive for politicians to resist. Some departments have already succumbed to the pressures and have become mere party catchalls; in others, resistance still continues; only a few have successfully weathered the assault. This is the danger from without. No less to be feared are the threats from within. One that gives constant concern is the inefficient organization which makes satisfactory and economical administration almost impossible. Instead of integrated services, one finds an amorphous mass of categorical departments, no better co-ordinated than those in the private field, and no more capable of giving effective service. Until we can reduce administrative waste by eliminating these autonomous services, it will be difficult to convince appropriating bodies of the soundness of any program we support.

What does the future hold for both public and private agencies? And what part in it will social workers play?

Despite the temporary swingback of the pendulum, we cannot doubt the increasing public acceptance of social responsibility. Though some legislatures still resist and a few public officials continue to bemoan the doom of rugged Americanism—unfortunately too often synonymous with ragged Americanism—social welfare is here to stay. The smashing victories of last November convinced many doubting Thomases of the votes behind it. I foresee that future political platforms will declare in ringing platitudes for an increasing measure of social protection. Before long the band wagon will be overcrowded. The influence of manufacturers' associations and chambers of commerce is on

the wane. Too long have these beneficiaries of the system controlled the destinies of its victims.

In the future division of services it seems inevitable that the public agencies must carry the heavy burden of mass support and mass protection. Only the public purse is equal to that strain, and though at times it is grudgingly opened, still it is more dependable than private support, no less grudgingly bestowed. The public services will thus provide the broad foundation from which all others will rise, but their size and statutory limitations will impose on them a rigidity that will restrict their mobility and handicap them in meeting new needs that arise. It is here that the private services can function most effectively. Once they break the bonds of tradition and accept their new role they will become the vanguard, advancing on many fronts. Their great usefulness will be as the specialists, the explorers, the pacemakers, always some laps ahead, breaking the ground that the public services will later occupy. Some fields in which the private agencies have been the pioneers will gradually be withdrawn as the public services expand—for example, in relief, in medical care, in children's services, and in recreation, where the community is steadily assuming the larger role. The time may come when they may decide to merge completely certain of their services into the community program and divert the resources thus conserved to meet new needs; but certainly it would mean that their usefulness was ended because the direction of their work had changed. They should be ready for that and look upon it when it comes as a day of victory, to be celebrated with rejoicing.

As one who has seen many years of service in the private field, I welcome the help that the public services bring. We are not jealous, but proud and grateful that they now share the burden that was wholly ours. We were the pioneers, and the paths we blazed they now follow. They have taken the leaders we trained and have lightened the load too heavy for us to bear longer alone. Our dependence on them is great, indeed, and we should be ever ready to assist them in their difficult task.

Perhaps the most important function of private charity will be ever to remind the public agencies that their sole basis for existence is to serve people in need. Sometimes I think they forget that, and get so lost in their world of charts and statistics and graphs and reports that they forget their real purpose.

As the areas of both services become more sharply defined, we can look for closer and more friendly relationships between them. They are not enemies—not even friendly enemies. Neither should we call them “sister-services,” for sisters fight too. Rather they are both workers in the same field, whose successes and failures will be achieved together. They must work shoulder to shoulder for the advances yet to be made—advances essential to insure the progress of each. The fight for more security for more people must go on—security in health, security in jobs, security in a greater share of the opportunities that life in a rich country should insure. Social security still is but a bitter jest for thousands whose need grows ever more desperate. Protection no less than that accorded workers in industry must cover the toilers in the field and the servants in our homes. Nor should we longer discriminate against those who serve in social work, education, philanthropy, or any other form of community service. Here is irony indeed, that those who toil for others should themselves be left without protection. If charity begins at home it might stay there long enough to cover its own nakedness before it starts throwing a mantle over the rest of mankind.

Problems of health remain a constant challenge. Here we face that vicious circle, the poor become sick, the sick become poor. The great advances in medical science still mean little to those lacking bank balances. Our inadequate organization of medical care too often proves an unsurmountable barrier to effective effort. Both the private and public social agencies must be prepared to join forces with the advance guards in the medical group to carry forward the message that the poor must not continue to suffer because they are poor. Rich as this country is, it cannot continue indefinitely to pay the terrible price of sick-

ness that could be prevented and deaths that need not have come. Russia and Scandinavia have pointed the way to making medicine available to all. It is a challenge that America must soon meet. If private medicine cannot face that challenge, state medicine must come—the American Medical Association to the contrary notwithstanding.

Both private and public agencies must battle for better housing and better living conditions so that those of lower incomes can share more fully in the good things of life. As long as present maladjustments exist, all that the social workers can do is mere patchwork—a slapping-on of a bandage here, a plaster there, never adequate enough to cover the festering sores that continue to break through.

Up to this point I have considered the social worker primarily in his capacity as administrator of a program. No less important is his role as interpreter. Unless there is acceptance of a program by the community its effectiveness will obviously be limited. Here is where the wise social worker can make an asset of his board. It is through them he can make best known the meaning and purpose of his program. The difference between an apathetic board and an enthusiastic one often spells the differences between grudging community acceptance and wholehearted community support, so it is up to the executive to see that his board understands, accepts, and supports his program wholeheartedly.

Social workers who fail to realize—and utilize—the great potential strength of their boards in supporting and advancing their programs need some other alibi to explain their lack of results. I know that some executives are afraid of boards, believing the less they know and the less they participate in the work, the less harm they can do. Such an attitude reflects only the worker's doubts of his own adequacy. Admittedly some boards are indifferent, uninformed, and political minded, and it may be no easy task to educate or remold them, but that is the worker's job. Why not use case work? I never can understand why social workers reserve their case-work skills only for

clients, when the same techniques that alter attitudes there would be no less effective with boards. Surprising results can come from skilful and well-timed efforts. I have seen boards whose main concern had been with politics become so imbued with the human side of their program they are not only ready to fight for it but to fight with even greater determination to keep politics out.

You social workers have been called the scavengers of the social order—and so you are. But scavengers are necessary! Doctors must be scavengers too. Both you and they must deal with the wreckage that a blind and unheeding social order creates. But, though medicine must care for the waste products of a faulty system, as tuberculosis and malnutrition, and must still be concerned with ameliorating the diseases it has not yet learned to cure, its greater goal is in the field of prevention. So is yours! As you minister to the cripples of the present order and strive—not unsuccessfully—for amelioration, you must ever remember that such efforts lack meaning if divorced from the broader purposes of correcting the basic maladjustments to which this wreckage bears witness. Your continuing emphasis that the future of our institutions and the integrity of our economic life depend less on increasing the resources of those who already have enough than in bringing some measure of adequacy to those who have too little reflects, I think, not only the considered judgment of our people but a sound and constructive philosophy.

The real leaders in social work will always be those who fearlessly battle to lift the heavy burdens from those who suffer and know not how to speak for themselves. They are people, they are citizens, they are voters, they are our neighbors. It is our responsibility either to provide them with work or, failing that, with such measure of assistance as will insure decency and security to them and their children. It is not enough to keep people from starving. They have the right to live—not simply to be kept alive.

CASE WORK WITH BOYS IN A TRAINING SCHOOL

*Herbert D. Williams, Superintendent
New York State Training School for Boys
East Warwick, New York*

RICHMOND says that case work consists "of those processes which develop personality through adjustments consciously effected, individual by individual, between men and their social environment." She subdivides its processes into four divisions:

1. Insight into individuality and personal characteristics.
2. Insight into the resources, dangers, and influence of the social environment.
3. Direct action of mind upon mind.
4. Indirect action through the social environment.

The 1925 Milford Conference report says "it deals with the human being whose capacity to organize his own normal social activities may be impaired by one or more deviations from accepted standards of normal social life."

This same report holds that social case work embodies:

1. Knowledge of typical deviations from accepted standards of social life.
2. The use of norms of human life and human relationships.
3. The significance of social history as the basis of particularizing the human being in need.
4. Established methods of study and treatment of human beings in need.
5. The use of established community resources in social treatment.
6. The adaptation of scientific knowledge and formulations of experience to the requisites of social case work.

7. The consciousness of a philosophy which determines the purposes, ethics, and obligations of social case work.

8. The blending of the foregoing into social treatment.

Apparently the recent trend is toward emphasizing the ultimate aim of the social worker, which is that of influencing human behavior. Social work has no monopoly on this field. The teacher, doctor, psychologist, and even the advertiser and salesman are also interested in doing the same thing. The difference is that the social worker is supposed to think of the whole personality in relation to social adjustment, while other persons frequently have more restricted aims in view. Case work deals with the entire process and uses many other persons and resources in addition to the social worker.

In thinking of the institution for delinquent children in relation to case work we must see the case as a whole with many participants in the adjustment process. The social worker, perhaps, plays a minor part in the direct and indirect action. He it is who should contribute to the insight into individuality and the environment as described by Richmond. He must also attempt to modify the social environment to which the child is to return.

Virginia P. Robinson, in her book *A Changing Psychology in Social Case Work*, emphasizes the problem of relationship in social case work and stresses the ability of the case worker to approximate the psychoanalytic technique in case work. For Robinson the individual client and his attitudes, inner motivations, and conflicts are important. She sees a trend in the direction of less emphasis upon objective historical facts in the life of the client and more emphasis upon the individual's reaction to his present situation. This is in line with Healy's emphasis upon the client's own story and his attempt to discover the individual's reactions to situations. You will remember that he indicates that poverty, immorality, drunkenness, illegitimacy, etc., are not important per se. Their importance lies in the individual's reaction to their presence.

Miss Robinson leans toward a psychological approach to case

work and sees an increasing trend in this direction. This recognition of the psychological nature of case work tends to obliterate the distinction between various fields of case work, emphasizing as it does human nature and its adjustments. Human nature, in so far as the case worker is concerned, consists of attitudes, emotions, and motivations. These are more or less the same whether we are working in the court, the family agency, or in an institution.

This new emphasis implies, first of all, an understanding of personality and behavior. The question arises whether this understanding must be attained by the social worker alone, if it is to constitute social work, or whether there may be joint co-operation of many people in securing this understanding, with the process still being considered case work. For example, in the training school we have a group of experts, all of whom contribute to this understanding. Among these may be mentioned the psychologist, the psychiatrist, the endocrinologist, and other medical specialists. With the aid of these experts much better understanding of the boy emerges than would be possible for the case worker working alone. Each of these specialists proceeds from understanding to treatment of the child according to his individual needs in the specialist's field. Does this constitute case work?

Recently I spent an entire evening with our psychiatrist and the director of our social service department discussing this question. There seems to be some conflict in the point of view of these two persons. The psychiatrist contends that whether the process is carried on by one person (the case worker) or by several acting in a co-operative relationship makes no difference. The fact that the process is directed toward the social adjustment of one boy and is centered around this one boy brings it within the category of case work. This unity of effort is the important element in case work, he insists. The director of social service feels that the process to be case work must be unified through the worker who brings in all these various aids to assist in the case-work process. The psychiatrist insists that the

pooling of the various segments of understanding as arrived at by the various departments in the case conference committee at frequent intervals furnishes the unification of approach commonly supplied by the case worker. He admits that there may be gaps as this information filters down through the ranks of teachers, cottage parents, supervisors, etc., but he contends that this is the fault of organization rather than of fundamental philosophy. The social service director insists that case work to be properly classified as case work must be done by a qualified case worker. The psychiatrist would consider the process more important than the person performing it. If it is well done by a cottage parent, or a teacher, or a psychiatrist, it becomes a part of the case-work process. As he pointed out in a paper before the New York Conference of Social Work, entitled "Mental Hygiene and the Juvenile Delinquent: Recent Developments in the Schools, Courts, and Institutions," various experts in the field of human behavior describe the same thing in different terms. He says that what Kirkpatrick calls "good education" Woodworth would call "good psychology" and Cheney would call "good mental hygiene."

I find myself torn between various loyalties in this conflict. As a psychologist and director of a child guidance clinic I was under the impression that I was doing case work in my clinic. Not only that but I felt that some of the physicians on my staff also contributed to the case-work process when they removed unsightly growths, alleviated fears resulting from auto-eroticism, etc. As director of social service in an institution, I emphasized the need for trained social workers both in and out of the institution. However, my sympathies are definitely with the point of view expressed by the psychiatrist. I believe that the unifying thread of social adjustment running through the various approaches toward understanding and treating the child constitutes the essential element of case work.

Having clarified our thinking in regard to what constitutes case work and who may perform it, let us become more concrete and realistic in our approach and think of case work in a

training school for boys. Perhaps there are two assumptions in the foregoing with which you may disagree. You may not accept our premise as to which constitutes case work and you may not agree as to who can perform it. Perhaps, too, you will discount our assumption that we have clarified our thinking on the subject. Those three points should be helpful in stimulating discussion later.

PLACE OF CASE WORKER

Let us hasten to add that we do not discount the importance of the case worker in a training-school setup. We consider his place is second only to that of the superintendent. But the same is true of any number of other workers. It is not a matter of relative importance, but rather a matter of the integration of various essentials. Which, for example, is more important to the proper functioning of an automobile, the ignition, the fuel, the driver, the fuel pump, the tires, the points in the distributor, the battery, or the steering? The automobile will not operate if any of these are lacking. It is in this light that we regard the functional work in the training school.

We think of the case worker's functions in the light of his work outside and inside of the institution.

Getting history information is one of the first duties of the social worker. We are inclined to agree with Miss Robinson that too much emphasis has been placed upon objective environmental and situational facts and not enough on attitudes and interfamilial relationships. One seldom sees a social history of a delinquent child which contains the essentials to a psychological understanding of the child. Without a series of interviews with the child himself this information cannot, in our opinion, be obtained. No amount of investigation of outside sources can obviate the necessity for these personal interviews if the history is to be complete. In the training-school setup these intensive personal interviews are given by other specialists and will be described later. Their results are available to the social worker for treatment.

The training-school social worker carries the primary re-

sponsibility for maintaining a proper relationship between the family and the school, although the cottage parents and other members of the institutional personnel contribute to a better understanding of the institution on the occasion of the family's visits to the institution. Letters from the institution to inform the parents of a child's progress, need for medical attention, etc., aid in maintaining this proper relationship, we believe. But the social worker, through visits to the home for the purpose of discussing progress of and plans for the child, becomes the liaison officer between the institution and the home. We have found that contact with the home by the social worker, following the boy's week-end visit, furnishes an opportunity for constructive discussion of the boy's needs. Checking up on these visits gives the social worker information very pertinent and helpful in relation to the boy's institutional program.

The child comes to the institution from a family which, according to the findings of Healy and others, fails to furnish those emotional satisfactions conducive to a satisfactory social adjustment. Thwartings, conflicts, and emotional deprivations in the home have contributed to the maladjustments which have resulted in his being sent to the institution. The social worker must prepare the family for the return of the child. The institution can do its part by immunizing the child to some extent against the emotional deprivations of the home and family, but the success of the child on placement depends to a large degree upon the successful preparation of the home and family for his return. The father with overpowering and unrealizable plans for the child must be brought to a realization of the child's limitations and possibilities. This must be the task of the social worker. It cannot be quickly achieved. That is why we emphasize the early beginning of contact with the home by the social worker. Frequent, patient, understanding, and skilful contacts are necessary. Breaking down antagonisms, jealousies, conflicts, takes time, and good social work requires that this be accomplished. The more material changes in economic and socio-

logical situations also require time and attention. We are inclined to consider these of less significance in many cases than the more psychological phenomena.

Still another phase of the social worker's outside responsibility is that of organizing community resources for the better social adjustment of the child. To meet his educational needs, for example, requires an understanding of his special needs and of the facilities which are available. Not only must the social worker know both phases of this problem but the child must be brought into contact with the school, principal, and teacher able to provide for these needs. We all know this to be no mean task. Case work frequently finds itself almost impotent here.

The Gluecks and others have shown conclusively the overwhelming importance of providing for wholesome recreational and spare-time outlets if our efforts are to be met with success. The social worker must survey the facilities available in or near the child's home and arrange for these to be placed at the child's disposal. This is not enough. The child must be guided to and assimilated into them. He cannot be told about them and left to become preoccupied with old and less wholesome outlets. He must be definitely tied up with them—and immediately. Delay is dangerous. This is the social worker's job.

Suppose the boy is not returning to school but is going to work: I am not proud of the progress we in training schools have made in this sphere. The social worker seems not too proficient in finding suitable jobs and placing boys in them. We incline to the view that this is a specialized field and requires specialized techniques and personnel. The most successful attempt in this direction about which we are informed is to be found in one institution where a full-time, expert employment counselor and job finder placed hundreds of boys even during the depression.

Religion should and may play a much larger part in successful placement than we have sometimes assumed. The social worker plays a part in assuring proper contacts and follow-up.

But those of us fortunate enough to have chaplains with knowledge of community religious and social centers and resources have learned to lean heavily upon them for this type of service.

In addition to the mobilization of the various family, school, recreational, and other community resources in preparation for the child's return the social worker must take over the responsibility for supervising the child when he is placed. Here the social worker reigns supreme and has almost undivided responsibility in so far as the institution is concerned. While the child is in the institution many other members of the staff share in his guidance. When he is placed, the social worker becomes the sole connecting link between the child and the institution.

We should not forget that the social worker has, or should have, an important function inside the institution while the child is there. What is this function? The social worker is the institutional link between the individual child and the home and community. He brings to the institution information concerning the immunizational needs of the child to enable him to withstand the detrimental influences of home or community. He brings to the individual supervisors a knowledge of the home conditions about which they should know. He sees the child in the institution, tells him about his family, listens to his problems, discusses them with him. He checks up on the child's progress, brings his needs to the attention of the proper persons in the institution, discusses with him plans for return to the home and community. His relationship with the child begins at or even before commitment, if the proper co-operation exists between the court and the institution. This relationship continues throughout the child's stay in the institution. It becomes even closer upon his return to his home and community. Opportunities for understanding, interpretation, guidance, and help both to the child and the family are continually present. Good institutional case work requires that these opportunities be seized as they occur.

PLACE OF OTHER INSTITUTIONAL PERSONNEL IN
THE CASE-WORK PROCESS

Earlier in our paper we indicated that many members of the institutional staff contributed to the case-work process. We are reminded of the saying attributed to Emerson which goes something like this, "A little child went out through the gate one day and everything the child saw became a part of the child." We have seen the constructive efforts of earnest workers brought to naught by the unwise treatment of one worker on too many occasions to discount the importance of any contact which the child may have.

The person who receives the child into the institution can and does contribute to the success or failure of the child's institutional adjustment. The reception period and the personnel contacting the child during this period are exceedingly important. The personality, understanding, training, and experience of these people need to be given careful consideration. They contribute materially to the case-work process. We look upon them as occupying points of focal importance and select them carefully with due regard to their significance in the case-work process.

The first step in case work is to understand the client. We look to the psychiatrist and the psychologist to furnish us with a knowledge of the child's inner springs of motivation. They must furnish us with an understanding of the real etiology of the child's maladjustment. They must get down to where the child lives, moves, and feels. His reactions are the result of emotional thwartings and frustrations. The psychiatrist is charged with the duty of discovering these. Not only must he learn how the child has felt about the conditions under which he has lived, he must also trace the pattern of his emotions and behavior and predict his future reactions to situations. The psychiatrist prescribes the kind of institutional program which will help to change unfortunate attitudes leading to social maladjustment. He studies the child's emotional assets and liabilities.

The psychologist strives to give us an understanding of the child's intellectual, educational, and vocational abilities or disabilities. All of this helps to complete a picture of the kind of material with which the institution must deal.

Both the psychiatrist and the psychologist contribute to the treatment process of their respective fields. The child suffering from emotional conflicts and distortions becomes the proper concern of the psychiatrist. The child laboring under educational or intellectual handicaps, speech defect, etc., receives treatment from the psychologist. Both types of treatment enter, we contend, into the case-work process.

While we feel that some of our predecessors overemphasized the part which physical handicaps played in causing social maladjustment, we must remember that these do exert a tremendous influence in certain cases. I remember "cockeyed Charlie" whose attitude and behavior improved markedly as the result of a corrective operation. Other cases come to mind in sufficient number to lead us to avoid ignoring this phase of the problem. When medicine and surgery co-operate in bringing about better social adjustment, I contend this is a part of the case-work process.

In overcoming the irritating habits, attitudes, and personality problems which contribute so greatly to social maladjustment of many children, we have learned to depend upon cottage parents to a much greater extent than formerly. Given a cottage parent who understands, likes, and can be patient with such problems we find our trust well placed. Add to this a careful explanation of the needs of the child as discovered by the specialists and we frequently find what we consider the most remarkable results in the direction of social adjustment.

Needless to say, careful selection of the children assigned to the cottage parent contributes to the end we have in view. In other words, we must insist upon proper classification and assignment as a part of the case-work process. Some cottage parents succeed best with slow, inoffensive, and suggestible boys. Others do well with aggressive youngsters. Still others

can only work well with intelligent, high-strung, and unstable boys. Do these considerations weigh in the case-work process? We think so.

So many of our boys are antagonistic toward teachers and school. Many of them must be returned to school when released. To eliminate truancy and delinquent sequelae becomes a part of the case-work process—or does it? The educational director and his teachers must meet the educational needs of the child if he is to become socially adjusted. To do this we must first discover his needs. His educational program must utilize the findings of the psychiatrist and other specialists. The teacher must capitalize upon present interests as a point of departure. Flexibility and the individual approach are the keynotes to constructive work here. We think of our educational program as academic, socialized, and creative. These are geared to the special needs of the individual child. Activities of all kinds and of different levels furnish the approach to ultimate social adjustment. Is the teacher who discovers an interest in art or an aptitude for dramatics and who utilizes this to build up patiently and successfully a changed attitude contributing to the case-work process? Is this case work when the teacher strives for better social adjustment, not in terms of the classroom, but in terms of ultimate adjustment?

Most of the children received in training schools have had little interest in or experience with wholesome recreational activities. They do not know how to play. They are poor sports. They are individualistic and participate poorly in group games or activities. Their success or failure on placement depends very greatly upon the degree to which the training school is able to develop wholesome recreational interests which may carry over to community placement. The child suffering from marked feelings of inferiority who, prior to commitment, compensated for these by engaging in theft and other antisocial activities may be treated in various ways. Suppose we find that he has good motor co-ordination, then teach him to box with such success that he wins the school championship, overcomes

his feelings of inferiority, and becomes socially adjusted. Is this a part of the case-work process? Is it case work? The social worker brings us a picture of a boy, inadequate in school, unfavorably compared with siblings at home, reacting by running away from school and home, and engaging in thefts. The psychiatrist gives us a picture of a boy, obsessed by inferiority feelings, emotional conflicts, feelings of rejection, etc. The psychologist gives us a picture of a boy, retarded in abstract intelligence, disliking and retarded in school. The recreational director works patiently at discovering some ability which will give the boy recognition and status with the other boys. He finally develops him into the boxing champion. The boy returns home with a changed attitude toward himself and toward life. Meantime the social worker has succeeded in giving the parents and siblings an appreciation of the boy's limitations and possibilities. The social worker finds the task of supervising the boy in his home a pleasant and simple one. Who has done the case work? Where did the case-work process begin and end? Who has contributed to it?

An understanding, progressive recreational department with a well-trained, carefully selected staff can, we feel, contribute greatly to the case-work process. We frequently find boys going to our recreational director or his assistants for advice and counsel to a much greater degree than to their social workers. Assuming that the recreational director is informed about the boy's total adjustment needs and advises him accordingly, does this constitute case work? Is it case work if his social worker tells him exactly the same thing?

We feel that our chaplains contribute greatly to the case-work process. In many cases they achieve a relationship difficult for the social worker to attain. In influencing human behavior in the direction of social adjustment they may succeed when the rest of us fail. They begin their contact from the moment the child arrives and continue it, in many instances, for years after he leaves. They participate in case conferences, suggest changes in program, and do intensive, individual fol-

low-up on a sponsorship basis. This may be a much closer relationship than that of the social worker.

I can conceive of a work supervisor contributing to the case-work process. We have one man who is particularly good with homosexually inclined boys. Marked improvement in certain boys was lacking under intensive psychiatric and case worker's efforts, but followed upon assignment to this work supervisor. Other work supervisors are successful with other types of cases. What differentiates this type of effort from case work?

We are quite willing to concede that case work is rather poorly done in most of our institutions. Limitations of budgetary appropriations and qualified personnel exist in all institutions. Some few have facilities which are lacking in others. We find, for example, that only a few of our institutional teachers, cottage parents, and supervisors have the rather unusual combination of personality, interest, training, and ability which makes it possible for them to see the child's problems in perspective and to utilize the information secured by experts as an aid to constructive treatment. However, it does happen that individual staff members are successful. This leads us to hope that it may be possible to ultimately secure a sufficient number of inspired and competent personnel to carry through a successful case-work process with the great majority of our boys.

Just a word about the authoritative setting of the institution in relation to case work. We think we see that an approach to the child and his problems through authority is rapidly giving way to an attitude of helpfulness, with authority rapidly fading into the background. To the extent that we are successful in fostering this point of view in our institutions, and to this extent only, can we produce lasting relationships and results with our clients. Dependence upon authority has the same psychological weakness as the dependence upon fear, to which it is inseparably related. We have long since learned that fear weakens with time. Exposure to a fear-inciting stimulus of a concrete sort dulls the fear reaction. Adaptation sets in. We become accustomed to it. To retain the same level of fear the

stimulus must be increased. The same applies to authority relationships. Members of our institutional staffs successful in the case-work process do not rely upon the authoritative setting of the institution. We must strive to imbue them with the spirit of understanding helpfulness in bringing out the child's potentialities for social adjustment. This, as we see it, is the essence of case work.

In conclusion: We have attempted to apply various concepts of case work to the institutional situation, more particularly to a training school for boys. We have pointed out the conflict between two points of view, that of the psychiatrist and that of the director of social service. We have adopted the premise that case work becomes such when unified around the social adjustment of the individual. We have sketched briefly the part which various members of the institutional staff play in the case-work process. If this is not case work, it is, nevertheless, what we want in the institution.

MODERN USE OF OLDER TREATMENT METHODS

*Margaret Millar, Case Supervisor
Family Welfare Association
Baltimore, Maryland*

SOCIAL work rests on the belief that the "fulness of life" is the right of each human being, and that if it cannot be attained by the individual himself unaided it is the obligation and privilege of others to offer him the assistance whereby he can create it. This belief has seemed at times less than an ideal, almost a mirage, and because of its difficulty of achievement social workers are constantly seeking new ways of securing it. For many generations we have seen men seizing upon new methods of achieving this result. St. Francis sought to bring about the realization of this dream by the giving of his own self in love to his fellow-men and taking on himself the sharing of the other's burden of poverty.

This recognition of man's responsibility for his fellow-man was certainly not new with St. Francis. On the contrary, we might see in him the flowering of a whole epoch, with its origins in the dim unknown beginnings of history. As it reached its full expression in him, however, we find this sense of responsibility gradually merging into a different attitude. From the passive giving of love and sharing of misery there was a movement, apparently beginning with St. Vincent de Paul, toward a more active effort to alter conditions and provide for the needs of the weaker man. The love and fraternalism of Francis merges into a kind of authoritarian attitude, assuming not only the duty to help but the right to improve his state. Practical efforts were made to improve conditions of the environment and to offer opportunities. The assumption was that in the lack of opportunities and in ignorance lay the secret of man's misery. The build-

ing of asylums, hospitals, settlements, schools took place; step by step we see the social workers moving through the years, Chalmers, Shaftesbury, Toynbee, Jane Addams, and so many others, offering mankind the means with which to attain the fulness of life.

It was believed that most people were in difficulty and unhappy through lack of opportunity and ignorance. The social workers attempted to meet these lacks. They felt their responsibility not merely for offering opportunities but for seeing that people utilized them; they became responsible for the behavior of their fellow-man. Still believing that unhappiness and dissatisfaction had their sources in an environment which could be altered to suit the individual needs, and that the individual could control his behavior if he could only be helped to see where the difficulty lay, the case worker moved with confidence and expectation into the full development of this authoritarian epoch. I do not use the word "authority" here to denote tyranny. Sometimes it did degenerate into a dictatorial, "do as I say or I will not help you," attitude on the part of the case worker, but in its finest aspect and beauty it represented a belief that the case worker could study a situation and offer a solution because of her detachment and her capacity for seeing each different aspect, which was not possible for the individual centrally placed in the problem. Objectivity became the keynote. Therefore, if the individual was in difficulty he put himself in the hands of the case worker, who studied his situation, making careful use of all sources of information, of all people who had had natural contacts with him—his family, his neighbors, his employers or school, etc. The assumption was that these people all knew him better than he knew himself, and that when the case worker had gathered all this knowledge into her own head she would be omniscient as far as he was concerned. She then studied his needs, based on this knowledge, and recommended a course of action to him.

At first there was some tendency to discriminate between the worthy and the unworthy, but gradually this dropped away,

lost in that generally accepted attitude of objectivity. When the client was not behaving acceptably, the case worker sought the cause in his environment; it must be that something was making him unhappy or uncomfortable, and if that could be removed his behavior would adjust itself. So she offered health care, better housing and home conditions, institutional care, education, employment, money sufficient for adequate living, and, most of all, advice and counsel.

Sometimes these things worked, and then the case worker was pleased and felt her techniques were sound. Very often, none of them worked, and then the case worker began to seek the cause of her failure. An engineer once said "to every problem there is a solution." If this is true of the engineer's approach to his work, it is equally true of the social worker's. It accounts for our restless seeking and seizing upon new ideas, new theories. As social workers, we accuse ourselves so often of being too ready to rush into a new theory, only to drop it and pick up another. If this is true, it seems to me, the fault lies not in the impulse which urges us on to seek a solution, but in our habit of believing that the newest knowledge is the complete answer, forgetting that many of the skills already learned have repeatedly proven their value.

So case workers looked more attentively at their problem. They found that the individual often was not suffering from the lack of opportunity or knowledge. The good advice they gave he knew himself as well as the case worker could tell him. They saw the individual often behaving in a socially unacceptable fashion against his own interest, apparently against his own wish.

Gradually, during these years from St. Vincent's time up to our own era of the 1920's, social conditions were improving and social workers naturally were less absorbed in trying to create better facilities for living, so they had time to be more interested in the phenomena of individual behavior. Social workers have always felt free to borrow from other fields of knowledge—sociology, biology, economics, education, medicine, these and

others have each contributed their important part to the building up of the case-work field. Now, as the case worker began to be concerned with the cause of her client's behavior, the psychiatrist was moving from his absorption in the realm of abnormal mental disorders to an explanation of the behavior of the troubled but not mentally sick individual. The role of the unconscious in influencing behavior, the conflict between the various parts of the personality, the fact that the behavior was symptomatic of this conflict and often really satisfying to the individual—these were but a few of the theories which now came to the case worker from the psychiatrist and explained the apparent contradictions in her client's behavior. The case worker was quick to seize upon this material, finding here the answer to much that had baffled her and beginning now to build a new set of techniques, based on her understanding of emotional conflicts.

Then case work entered into another phase, no longer fraternalistic, no longer authoritarian; the case worker now would help the client not with her love, or objective planning, but through her understanding, which he would be enabled to utilize through his relationship with her. Now she believed she did not need her former skill in investigating, because the client alone could tell her his difficulties. He knew himself better than any other possibly could. Now she thought she did not need to offer a practical solution to his complaints, for she understood that they were but symptoms of an emotional need. She was taught to recognize that the woman who asked for more money constantly, who could never manage on what she had, did not necessarily need money given her, nor training in household economy, but probably was expressing her need for love and attention.

From 1922 on, case workers were having increasing difficulty adjusting the environment to the client, and so it was natural that their interest should center, not on whether he had a job, but on how he felt about not having a job. If he felt inferior, inadequate, was it perhaps that this present situation was re-

activating an old experience? Perhaps he needed to fail, feared success, or needed punishment. If the case worker could help him to comprehend these repressed fears and desires, and enable his ego to perform its integrating functions so that he would be freed from the enervating effect of this emotional conflict, he might be able to secure a job for himself.

So for the past eight or ten years we have found an increasing emphasis on this kind of case work—direct treatment, therapy, relationship, we seem not to have found a name for it. This, in itself, has been all to the good. We have learned during this period much that is and will be of great value to us. Its weakness lies in any tendency to be absorbed in this or any one technique.

It seems to me important for case workers to think, not in terms of new and old treatment methods, but rather of different kinds of treatment—involving, perhaps, different skills but existing concurrently with each other and gaining value from each other. Perhaps this is an indication that we are now moving into another phase. We saw that case workers could not find the way of helping every individual who came to them during their authoritarian phase; so now we can see that the complete answer does not lie in the intensive treatment of emotional problems. Having learned that the sole cause of an individual's problems did not lie in the environment, the case worker has now come back to a realization that the individual lives in a real world, and is, therefore, being affected by circumstances of his reality as well as the conflict engendered in the unconscious. Thus, the case worker has a choice of treatment, because she can now ask herself whether the greater emphasis of the client's problem lies within himself or in his environment, recognizing that usually there is a combination, the one reactivating or acting upon the other. Then, in making this choice of treatment, she may find herself selecting not the recent emphasis on the treatment of the inner problem, but something which is similar to an older type of treatment.

Because of what we have gained in understanding of per-

sonality, however, we can never go back to exactly the same technique. This is the value of our constant search into new fields. As the stream of our knowledge sweeps on it is fed by new springs and grows deeper and wider. Not only are more things possible for us to do, but we will do them in different ways, because of our increased knowledge and wisdom. We select from each new knowledge we attain that which is permanently good and go back to pick up all that we have had, adding this new skill to the best of the old, always creating out of this harmonious blending something really new, yet closely related to the old and the more recent.

Case workers have accustomed themselves recently to think in terms of different kinds of case work and, therefore, have often failed to see the interrelationship between the individual and his environment. If they think in terms of understanding of the unconscious they believe their case work must be something very deep, intricate, and esoteric. If they think they have an opportunity to do only a kind of manipulative treatment of the environment, they think this involves them in no need for understanding the profundities of the individual's conflicts in himself. They fail to realize that in the simplest environmental situation there is a relationship between the individual and his environment created by the total personality structure of the individual, and that to manipulate the environment without understanding this relationship is like groping in a dark room to put in order the furniture without having any conception of the total plan of the room. Perhaps this conception of a total situation is the keynote of our present-day thinking. This is what is lost sight of when we tend to oversimplify case work into intensive or environmental types of treatment or speak too easily of new and old. A case worker must have the skill to comprehend and evaluate the psychic structure before she is justified in offering environmental manipulation as planned treatment.

I believe that when we use an older treatment form there is this qualitative difference. Even while retaining the same name

and form, the content, use, and meaning of the treatment technique will be found to be altered if proper integration of the newer knowledge has taken place. The fundamental quality, permeating all our present-day thinking of case-work technique, is the greater understanding of the individual and a realization that he and his environment are not unrelated or adjacent factors, but that the environment as he uses or creates it is very often the outgrowth or the externalization of the individual's inner conflict. Therefore, we are not going merely to manipulate the environment before we know what the individual's need is.

We are picking up once again and revitalizing with this new understanding certain definite treatment forms or tools in treatment. Formerly we believed we could learn all we needed to know about the individual from consultation with relatives, friends, etc. Then, as we learned from the psychiatrist that the individual could himself best disclose his own tensions and conflicts, we thought it poor work if we needed to consult outside sources. Now we are realizing that a complete understanding of the total situation may involve both methods of study.

We have learned to adjust our goal to the aim, the desire, and especially the capacity of the individual himself. A careful study of the individual may reveal the advisability of leaving untouched the inner conflict and that the case worker's most helpful role will be to offer possibilities in the environment which will play a relaxing or stimulating role, even if not deeply therapeutic. Recreation, job, clubs—these again are finding their places in the case worker's scheme of helpfulness. We are now moving from the conception that the case worker must be all things to the individual, to a realization that various resources of the community have their constructive role to play.

How does this differ from the way that they have been used in the past? The difference lies in the knowledge the case worker now has of the individual's needs. There may come a period of unusual stress in a person's life which will increase the tension of an inner conflict past the endurance point. The ego may lose

its capacity to adjust the conflicting unconscious needs. Yet that individual has shown all along ability to make a reasonably comfortable adjustment, and this new strain may be temporary and caused by an alteration of an environmental factor. It may seem possible to the case worker to readjust the environment so that the strain is lessened and the individual can function as before. Or better knowledge of personality makeup enables the case worker to recognize that for some individuals no attempt at alteration of the psychic pattern is advisable, except, perhaps, in an analysis. Such a person's ego may be too weak to cope with the conflicting requirements of his unconscious infantile demands and those ideals of conduct which he has incorporated into his own mind from his early training, briefly referred to as his superego standards. For such a one it is better that the case worker accept his symptoms as his least uncomfortable means of adjustment and merely try to offer him what comfort there may be in his environment. It is the skill to recognize these conditions of the personality which alters the content and use of these older treatment methods, so that they are really adjusted to the individual's needs.

One of the favorite and most abused techniques of the past was to analyze a situation for the client, clarifying for him his part in it and showing him how he should behave. Sometimes this method worked, but it was not until our more recent understanding of personality came to our aid that we could know why it worked, when it was constructive or when it was destructive. As we have come to comprehend the psychic needs and the role of the case worker this now has significance for us. With the childlike person this assumption of a parental role on the case worker's part was a comfortable one, and he would play his part—sometimes even to the point of a recurrence of the behavior—so as to get this attention. Perhaps the masochistic individual found satisfaction in the punishing element that was in it. Only too often the individual was really helpless, caught in a conflict of which he had no comprehension. The adjuration of the case worker to be good only strengthened the

already intolerant demands of his superego standards, and the weakening ego could but permit renewed expressions of the behavior which was symptomatic and a relief from the pain and stress of the struggle, so the man continued to drink or the woman took to her bed. Now that we have learned the danger in it, we are slower to fit into the role of counselor. However, here again is an old tool of treatment which, used with an infusion of new knowledge and skill, may be very useful.

Further consideration of older treatment methods now in use shows us also the case worker studying the relative strengths of the client's conflicting personality and identifying herself with the more mature aspect, able to give him encouragement in a line of behavior which leads to growth. Persuasion becomes a tool with which the client is enabled to overcome the obstacles which stand in the way of reaching his own goal, rather than bait by which the case worker leads the client on to her goal.

For a long while now we have recognized the emotional significance of relief and have spoken of it as a tool in treatment. Our new ability to analyze the inner conflict may enable us to use relief as a means of meeting the emotional need. In the following case we find the case worker using relief consciously in place of a deeper treatment.

Mrs. R. applied to the public relief agency for her parents, who were incapacitated for work and were living with her and her husband. Assistance was refused on the basis that the son-in-law's earnings were sufficient to support the household. The son-in-law was resentful and unwilling to support the parents. On the basis of the marital difficulty this caused, the family was referred to the family case-work agency. An interview with Mrs. R. and with her parents disclosed a very close relationship between them. Mrs. R. had been an only child, and evidently very close to both father and mother all her life, so that even marriage had failed to free her from a strong sense of responsibility for them. Yet she seemed to have made a satisfactory marital adjustment and was happy with her husband until this recent financial difficulty. Until his recent illness the father had

worked and he and Mr. R. had divided expenses between them. They all described this as having been a satisfactory arrangement. Now that the father-in-law could contribute nothing, Mr. R. was resentful and quarrelsome. Friction between him and his wife was increasing. As the case worker talked with Mrs. R. she saw behind her devotion to her parents some irritation with them and resentment over her own feeling of responsibility which made her more bitter toward Mr. R. because he was able to avoid it.

In planning treatment the case worker had two possible lines open to her. She might have entered into a treatment of Mrs. R., helping her first to see that the root of the difficulty lay within herself, her own inability to choose between parents and husband, and that back of this inability probably lay a denied hostility or resentment toward the parents for which she was compensating by her overintensive care and responsibility for them. Contra-indicating this plan of treatment was the fact that Mrs. R. had worked out a good adjustment of this conflict until the financial need of her parents made it too acute, and the important fact that Mrs. R. stressed the point that she was not asking any help for herself. She said if her parents' financial needs were met she could handle the situation. Relief in its objective, economic value, was not absolutely essential here. The husband's income was sufficient to support the household if care were used. Yet here was an opportunity to meet an emotional problem with relief as a tool. The case worker's ability to recognize the inherent conflict in Mrs. R. made it possible for her to use this old tool, relief, with a new significance. She gave an allowance sufficient to cover the itemized expenses of Mr. and Mrs. L. After two months, seeing that the strain had lessened she interpreted, to Mrs. R. her purpose in giving the relief.

Relief was continued for two months more and discontinued when Mr. L. secured work. In the meanwhile the tension between Mr. R. and Mrs. R. lessened. When she did not have the full pressure of her parents' need on her, it was easier for her to

repress her resentment toward them. The guilt engendered by this near breaking through of her real feelings for the parents was allayed and there was less need to compensate by the over-devotion which had caused her to resent her husband's attitude. Thus she and her husband could establish a more friendly relationship. The conflict in her unconscious has not been fundamentally altered, but the strain was lessened to a point where Mrs. R.'s own ego could once more control the adjustment and balance of her personality. The case worker had wisely interpreted this situation as a reactivation of an old conflict to which Mrs. R. had pretty well adjusted, and for which she needed only some outside help to lessen the undue tension caused by the shift in external conditions.

We can thus see that the new and old knowledge is and should be constantly blended, that each new knowledge we acquire illuminates and gives added value to old techniques. The restless movement of case work, seeking the acquisition of new skills, is valuable provided these are integrated into one smoothly moving, even development of a technique in the art of helping people. Its danger lies in the possible creation of still pools around which little groups may collect. We need to keep the stream moving; to say to ourselves, "this new knowledge I have attained must be used to increase the skilful use of the tools I already have," so that we have in our case-work field a continuity of development, not a splitting off or loss of all that is good from the past.

THE GROWTH OF CHILD WELFARE SERVICES IN RURAL AREAS

*Mildred Arnold, Director Children's Division
Indiana State Department of Public Welfare
Indianapolis, Indiana*

IN DISCUSSING the growth of child welfare services in rural areas I would like to present the subject from two points of view: first, what are some of the basic factors involved in the development of these services to children in rural areas; and, second, what are some of the particular problems that are coming to light as the services are being developed, the solution of which we must find in the next few years if these services are to have real meaning for the rural child. These two subjects, of course, cannot be treated exhaustively.

One of the basic factors involved in the development of child welfare services in rural areas is the necessity for an awareness of the needs of children. Those of us who are working in these areas are confounded with the fact that in many communities there has apparently been a total unawareness that children, as individuals, exist, and that they have certain needs the community has a responsibility to provide. This realization is now coming for the first time, and the impact of this is so startling that some communities are afraid to face it. Recently, in a meeting with a board of public welfare of a small rural county in Indiana, where the director was anxious that his county be considered for special child welfare services, the program for children was fully discussed. It opened such a vast and entirely new field to the board that the members were not even able to discuss it, and the only expression they made at the time was that this whole public welfare program was so immense they could not comprehend it. It soon became apparent that they

were afraid that, if their county developed special services for children in addition to their public assistance program, the child welfare worker would go into the highways and byways and bring to light problems that otherwise would lie dormant. It took several weeks before the members of the board could finally bring themselves to face the situation of the needs of the children in their county. When they were able to do this, formal application for child welfare services was made to the State Department of Public Welfare.

Recently in our state a director of one of the most rural and backward counties of the state said, "Until this welfare program was started, there was not a single person in our county who was thinking in terms of the child and his needs." When this awareness of need comes, services will follow, and then we have the problem of developing the framework around which the services in the rural area can be developed.

The first thing to be considered is the law which sets up the service. Many public welfare acts have been passed and there is still much to be learned concerning sound legislation. There is a difference of opinion as to whether the act should be very broad, leaving the details to be worked out by the administrative agency, or whether it should be quite specific and detailed. It is my feeling that the law should be broadly written, making possible a wide interpretation of functions and powers and should not, so far as possible, deal with mechanics. It should not be restrictive, but should carry the fundamental concept that human need must be met where that need is found. Many of us are having sad experiences in attempting to carry out laws which are too restrictive—such as naming amounts to be granted for assistance, residence requirements, and bonds to be posted. If the law is broadly written those responsible for the development of the program can place a much more liberal interpretation on their functions.

The type of local unit that will develop and supervise child welfare services is the next thing to be considered. In most of the small rural areas there will probably be no other social

agency interested primarily in children, outside of the local public welfare unit, except an occasional children's institution. The kind of local unit to be developed and the functions it will have are, therefore, of the greatest importance. The county seems to be the unit that is in greatest favor at the present time. However, a great deal more thought and study needs to go into the consideration of what the area for the local unit should be. Many of the rural counties are much too small to make a well-rounded public welfare program feasible. Indiana, for instance, has ninety-two counties; one having a population of only three thousand and others of only five and six thousand. There has been a tendency to make many decisions on the basis of the population—such as the salaries of directors, supervisors, and case workers, the number of employees in the county, and the types of positions—with the result that often the weakest staff and the poorest program has been developed in the counties having the largest proportion of problems and the greatest lack of facilities.

While the Public Welfare Act of Indiana allows the program to be developed on a district basis, the district to be comprised of several counties, no one has ventured to suggest that this be attempted. The Children's Division, in submitting its plan for child welfare services to the Children's Bureau, outlined a district of three counties to be developed and, although the plan was accepted ten months ago, no headway has been made to date in the development of such a district. As long as states remain as "county minded" as they are at the present time, we will probably see the public welfare program continue to be developed on the county basis, but we will have to make up our minds that many of the small rural counties will never have the kind of a program that we would like to see.

In the small rural area the local unit must have very comprehensive functions. It must be able to serve children regardless of what the specific need happens to be and must be able to develop facilities to meet those needs. I am convinced that a public welfare service in rural areas can never be very success-

ful if the relief functions are administered by one agency and the other functions by the local public welfare unit. In Indiana relief is administered by the township trustees, and there is constant conflict between their program and that of the county departments of public welfare. It is difficult for most of us to reconcile ourselves to a child having to live on a dollar or two a week because his father happens to be without a job when, if one of his parents has died or become totally incapacitated or been continually absent from the home, he might have as much as twenty dollars a month.

The local unit that is receiving federal and state reimbursement can now do a great deal in keeping families together, safeguarding family ties, and providing for children with relatives when separation is necessary. The local unit must also be able to safeguard those same family ties even when placement in foster-care is necessary. Indiana has been in a very sad plight with regard to the last function. Until recent legislation was passed, no child could be cared for away from his own home, in either an institution or a foster-home, without having the guardianship first removed from the parents and having the child made either a ward of the court or the county department of public welfare. The Children's Division is now struggling with many serious and tragic situations, some of which can never be remedied, because guardianship has been removed from parents in order to be able to care for children away from their own homes. The recent passage of an amendment to the Public Welfare Act has helped the situation to a certain degree, but Indiana is still in need of child welfare legislation which will allow the county departments of public welfare broad powers in relation to children, but safeguarding these children and their parents by allowing guardianship to remain with the parents wherever possible.

The child in the rural area needs the services of the specialist, the physician, the psychologist, and the psychiatrist quite as much as the child in the urban areas, and the local unit should be able to make those services available to him. It is interesting

to see how, when insight into problems begins to come, and with resourcefulness on the part of child welfare workers, plus a small amount of money, hidden resources for special services can be brought to light. A small rural county recently has been able to make psychological services available to all its children in need of them by using a small amount of money in its welfare budget for child welfare services, and by making part-time use of a psychologist who is on the staff of one of the state institutions. Another county has made both psychological and psychiatric service available to its wards by using a psychologist who is on the faculty of a near-by university and a psychiatrist who has a private sanitarium. Many of these specialists, who will receive only a meager payment, are eager to start the services as they see this growing awareness of the needs of children in the local communities. They are stimulated by the possibilities of what can be done for these children in rural areas and are anxious that their limited services be the beginnings of a state-wide child guidance program.

The local public welfare unit must be equipped to develop an all-around program in child welfare, which will provide protective service as well as assistance and will give the care and protection every child needs.

The type of supervision to be given to the local public welfare unit is of the utmost importance. There is still much to be learned concerning this state supervision, but recent experiences have pointed out certain fundamentals. The state must be equipped to give intensive supervision to the local units, and this supervision must include detailed controls. The state must be liberal in its interpretations and must recognize the value of long-time educational processes. It is the state's responsibility to establish reasonable minimum standards below which the local unit will not be allowed to fall. It must provide an intensive program for in-service training. It must, above all, equip its staff with qualified persons selected solely on the basis of merit. These workers must be patient and long-suffering and must be able to adjust to varying conditions in the local units.

The type of supervision given to one local unit, particularly in these early stages of development, might be quite different from that given to another. In many of the smaller areas, where the plan for local supervisors on the county staff is not feasible, the state worker inevitably assumes local supervisory functions. She must often do case work, herself, as the first step in showing others how to do it.

Support for the development of this program is a real and persistent problem. It is best that a public welfare fund be set up in every local unit and that all costs for the program be paid for out of this fund. In many communities the problem has not yet been solved as to what to do with the county which is too poor to pay its share of the proportional part of the cost. It is too often the practice that every county must pay the same proportional share regardless of its economic condition. A well-planned system of grants-in-aid would seem to be one solution to this problem.

Having dealt rather briefly with some of the basic factors involved in the development of child welfare services in rural areas, I would like to devote the remainder of this paper to a discussion of problems peculiar to many of the small rural areas, with particular reference to case-work treatment and interpretation of the program to the community.

In surveying small rural areas to see what are the possibilities for the adaptation of some of the more modern concepts in case-work treatment many interesting problems come to light. We often feel that we are suddenly taken back long before the time of Mary E. Richmond, and we realize what a slow process it will be before many of these modern concepts are recognized and accepted. While the child welfare worker will have a tendency to place greater emphasis on the psychological values in case-work treatment, the community will continue to place the greatest emphasis on the economic and moral values. There is still a strong feeling, in many places, that relief of poverty will contribute to its increase. A probation officer, in commenting upon the new public assistance program, recently said that it

was "just a Roman holiday for everybody." There is often found, also, a strong feeling that in helping those who have transgressed the moral codes of the community, an invitation is being extended to others for further transgressions. The attitudes of the community are closely tied up with its own social standards, its moral code, and its feeling that human behavior can best be controlled by "setting an example," by discipline, punishment, and isolation. This feeling on the part of the public toward the group we serve is expressed forcibly by Gibran when he says, " Oftentimes have I heard you speak of one who commits a wrong as though he were not one of you, but a stranger unto you and an intruder upon your world."¹ This feeling is often found not only among lay groups and individuals but is shared by members of the county welfare board, who control the policies and often the actual services given. Thus, we found recently that the need for punishing a parent by the members of a rural board was so great that, despite efforts to work out a constructive plan for a father and his six motherless children, with the children in boarding homes in the community where the father could visit them frequently, he was sent to the state penal farm and all the children were placed in an institution in a far-off county.

Often personal feelings and prejudices with regard to certain cases prevent the worker from developing a constructive plan. Recently, in one of our child welfare service counties, a case was referred of a fifteen-year-old girl who had developed serious behavior problems as the result of a poor foster-home placement. The worker reported, after spending a good deal of time getting to know Helen, that it was interesting to watch her defiance and her attempt to shock the worker change to an almost childlike dependence when she found that she was accepted without criticism. The worker felt that the problem then was one of gradual rebuilding, but her opportunity to help Helen was very nearly lost when some of the board members, who had been active under the old program, were resentful that

¹ Kahlil Gibran, *The Prophet* (1936), p. 46.

Helen had left her foster-home and felt that she should have no further help or supervision. The child welfare workers often report the difficulty of securing an objective discussion regarding the merits of a prospective foster-home, as the family is frequently known to some of the board members, and when the name is given (which is usually asked for first) the family is at once considered either good or bad in the eyes of the board. One worker recently reported that, in the cases of unmarried mothers referred to her, the mothers view the approach of the case worker with fear because of the precedent that had been established in the community of always planning for children, born out of wedlock, away from their mothers. The mothers can only think of her as the person who comes to take their children away from them. She added that she could not always assure the mothers this would not happen, because of the personal feelings and prejudices on the part of some of the board members and because she was never able to tell what action the board might take.

The picture is not completely black, however, as a few of some of the basic principles of sound case work begin to permeate into the community. I think that, perhaps, the group we serve will be the one that will give the most help in securing an acceptance of the program. It is interesting to note how some clients who have suffered from poor service quickly show an understanding of what good service is; this understanding being mingled with surprise that it is now available to them. One foster-father, who for years had been the victim of misunderstanding and poor case-work treatment, recently said to the child welfare worker, "I have been visited by state workers for years and this is the first time that anyone has shown the slightest understanding and appreciation of my problem. I think, together, we can work this thing out." In another case, where the worker helped in making plans for an illegitimate child to be placed with a maternal aunt, a letter was received from the aunt saying, "We want you to know how much we appreciate all you have done in my sister's behalf. We really were not

aware that such helpful and sympathetic service was available in such cases."

It seems to me that, before some of these problems can be solved, we must find a way to make the public feel some organic relation to the client group and to have a realization that the problems we are dealing with and are attempting to solve do not apply to a specific group but are inherent in life itself. How that is to be done I do not know—but one thing the child welfare worker can do is to develop the program on a sound basis and then translate the work into convincing, simple, and familiar language, and make her case so clear-cut and understandable that she will secure not only the acceptance of the correct treatment of the case but a security for the program as well. And it is necessary always to keep in mind that, while we may often be resentful of the attitudes of these lay groups, our own attitudes and objectiveness have been the outgrowth of special training and experience, which the lay group has not had an opportunity to have.

What are some of the characteristics which this child welfare worker, who has the tremendous responsibility for the development of this program and the solution of many of these problems, must possess? She must have a pioneer spirit, which makes her love the conquest of difficulties, but at the same time have the patience to build upon a solid foundation. She must have the ability to see the total program but not lose sight of specific objectives. She must be flexible and versatile, as the needs she is to meet will be many and varied. She must have the ability to make herself a part of the community life, as she will often go there as an alien. She must be sensitive to the feelings of the lay people with whom she works. She must have the ability to transmit to the community her own attitude of tolerance—her understanding for the individual in his failures and her faith in his possibilities for development. Her services must be placed on a broad base and she must be able to focus her attention to the entire field of human needs. Above all, she must be willing to forfeit any need for individual gratification.

I have made no pretense of being able to formulate a well-defined program for the development of child welfare services in rural areas. But I have, instead, merely set down some of the conclusions which have been partially drawn from experiences in attempting to develop the program in Indiana over a period of less than a year, and to set forth some of the problems which have been concretely observed, the recognition and understanding of which may help to accelerate the development of the program here and elsewhere, and the solution of which will help us to reach the high goals for children that lie ahead.

FAMILY CASE WORK WITH MARITAL DIFFICULTIES

*Jeanette Hanford, Field-Work Instructor
School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago*

THE problem of family disintegration through the incompatibility of parents is not new to case work. In one form or another we have always recognized it as the core of the largest number of social and emotional problems which have confronted us. The alcoholic or deserting husband, the nagging wife, the problem child, the disorganized, poorly managed household have been recognized as symptoms in which the complex causal factors have not always been clearly defined nor wholly understood. Yet we have been forced to deal with them, and out of our practice has come the conviction that in the wide and varied range of family problems coming to a case-work agency, a preponderance of them arise because people are unable to function happily and effectively in the intimate and complex relationship with another person which society sanctions under the name of marriage.

Perhaps because we have seen this disfunctioning in so many gross and baffling forms, and perhaps because we were going through a period of groping for some diagnostic labels, we have frequently isolated these phenomena into a category which we called "domestic discord," "marital difficulty," and the like. Like many other such categories, this has served a focalizing purpose in directing our thinking toward the problem. But, as we have advanced in our understanding of the dynamics of human behavior, we have found categories to be shackles, both as to ways of expressing ourselves and as to our actual approach to the problem. If we are to be helpful to the client we can no

longer call a situation "domestic discord" and then proceed to look for the same old factors of nagging, cruelty, nonsupport, or in-law troubles, nor can we be satisfied with the self-sufficient terminology of a decade ago in which we put down mother fixation, sexual inhibition, etc., to explain but not necessarily to help the client. Instead we must begin to see him as a human being, disturbed in one very important area of his life adjustment, and bringing to the situation a life-pattern of complex satisfactions and frustrations. Moreover, his disturbance is in relation both to another person similarly made up of complex life-experiences and to the social ideology which surrounds the concept of marriage in our day. In this picture our old categories, with their implication of static, all-or-nothing response, seem out of place and futile. But in giving them up we are faced with the necessity of thinking about complex problems very flexibly and individually, of building our approach on the psychological realities of the client rather than on the moral aspirations of society, and of accepting the limitations of our services and skills.

Basically, we are up against the general case-work problem of seeing the person whole and of working with him in the areas where he can use us profitably. Perhaps in the primary relationship of marriage we see, more clearly than in others, the instinctual drives and the modifying reality pressures interacting between two people, and are striving to achieve an equilibrium of forces. Perhaps it is the clarity with which we see this that makes us so aware of our inadequacy in effecting fundamental change and therefore so baffled in looking for areas where we might be helpful. But perhaps, also, it is only as we do see the situation whole that we can be aware of where we fit into the picture and accept that fitting-in as a useful function.

We might look at any human adjustment in terms of two major strivings—the striving for love and the striving for power—and this may be as useful a way as any to look at a marriage situation. We see the need for love expressed in many ways,

perhaps primarily in the sexual relationship. In this day of psychiatric and psychoanalytical orientation, not only case workers but often clients are well informed as to the basic importance of adequate sexual adjustment. It almost goes without saying that the gross manifestations of difficulty are productive of tension and disharmony, and that satisfying sexual relationships are both indicative of a certain degree of adjustment and a solvent of more superficial differences. To set any norm of sexual response, however, as a criterion of successful marriage seems questionable, and two people's needs may vary within a wide range to meet or to frustrate each other. We might say that the sex response is one symptom of the capacity of an individual to relate himself to another and as such is subject to all of the distortions and variations that lie within the range of human reaction.

In our understanding of libidinal needs, therefore, we cannot confine ourselves to consideration of specific sexual response. We need to look at the total affectional life of the individual, at his ability to relate himself freely to other people, to give up something of himself in a deep and continuing relationship, and to accept another into his life without submitting himself entirely or dominating the other completely. We cannot understand these capacities without understanding the emotional development of the individual, and we must see his response in marriage as something basic in the personality, formed out of a continuity of former relationships and probably determined in early childhood. Thus we see in many unsuccessful marriages the continuance of infantile attitudes and conflicts. We are all familiar with the client who is seeking a parent person in the wife or husband and who has either failed to find this or has so deep or complicated a need that it could never be satisfied. We have all seen clients whose early love relationships with their parents have been so distorted that they are not able to express their adult love needs in an acceptable way. But we are aware that these primary difficulties are overlaid with the life-experiences by which the individuals have met their conflicts up to

now, and that we must understand the ramifications of this as we meet them in a case-work relationship, if we are to be helpful.

The striving for power and dominance is closely intermingled with the striving for love in the personality. It may be useful, however, to see this as a dynamic intermingling in which a balance is set up between the striving to be at one with another and the striving to preserve and enhance the self. In our unsuccessful marriages the equilibrium is precariously tilted in one direction or another, and the preservation of the self may become a destructive factor which brings the relationship to downfall.

Mrs. A. is never satisfied with the money her husband brings home and continually reproaches him for a period of unemployment which used up their savings. She pays the bills, manages the money, and actively resents the occasional companionship he has with other men. Mr. B. is depressed and irritable when his wife finds work to supplement his low wages. The C.'s are each continually trying to ally the children with themselves against the other. When we know these people, we become aware of fundamental needs to dominate which become particularly threatening in a relationship which means any giving up of the self.

These attitudes become more complex in relation to the roles of the different sexes. Thus a woman with dominant drives of a masculine character and with little identification with a feminine role may be threatened by a relationship which she cannot control, and is further involved in marriage by the sexual role she has to play and the concepts of society which regard housekeeping and motherhood as her natural arena. Small wonder that she proceeds to depreciate her husband in every possible way. Similarly, a husband with precarious masculine strivings is easily disturbed by a wife who enters into vocational competition with him, and often finds other channels for voicing the protest he feels. Parents who make the children an extension of their own needs in a conflict situation have found a relatively easy way to strengthen their position at the expense of the other person and the children themselves. These basic patterns have

many ramifications for the case worker in her understanding of the strivings of each individual, and his ways and capacities for adjustment. To some extent, at least, it will be our skill in determining and using these strivings and capacities that will be the vital factor in our case-work treatment.

In pointing up these two basic drives as determining factors in a marriage relationship, it may seem that we have neglected many of the very real obstacles that are apparent in the majority of our clients' difficulties. Differences of culture, religion, or family background appear to be the fruitful seed of many a family quarrel. Differences of temperament, social interests, or cultural and economic strivings appear again and again in our records and in the family arguments. We cannot ignore these factors, and we know that as case workers much of our discussion with the client may deal with just these matters. When we examine these quarrels more clearly, however, we realize that other basic factors are the real seeds of difficulty and that conflict might have arisen organized around other cultural factors had these not existed to explain the quarrel.

As case workers we came to know sometime back that much of our dealing with present realities will have to be in terms of the psychological needs of the client. We are back to the old assumption that every bit of human behavior serves some purpose for the individual. The fact of marriage, the choice of a partner, and the use made of the relationship are of value in meeting individual personality needs. So also is the use we make of our cultural setting and family ties. In this sense, we will see that some couples use their cultural, religious, or familial differences as the main artillery in the battleground they make of marriage, while others will find little difficulty in adjusting these differences if they do not need to make of marriage a battleground. In some we will be able to see plainly that the response is part of a larger need to bolster up a precarious security by rigid adherence to family ties and former culture patterns. For the case worker, it seems important not to be content to say that a religious or cultural difference is the

problem and that we cannot change this, but to see that a cultural pattern is a relatively static factor against which the client is reacting dynamically, and that movement and reorganization of attitudes may be possible providing we understand what values they have for him.

In another sense, of course, a culture pattern is not something outside or behind an individual, but a way of life which has to some extent determined what he is and how he reacts. From this point of view it seems important to know what different cultural impacts might be, but it also seems feasible to regard a given cultural pattern as the environmental force which shapes and determines the content of psychological reactions but which is essentially only the medium in which the instinctual drives and forces operate.

We often see that the client tends to consider his culture as something extraneous to himself, and as such it may become a part of his projection of the real difficulty. Too frequently case workers fall into the same pattern and thus reinforce the projection. It seems important, therefore, to clarify our thinking on this point and to see in our treatment approach that a culture pattern has these two aspects: one, that which is incorporated in the individual personality, and the other a larger something to which he is reacting and which may serve a purpose in expressing his fundamental psychological needs.

We return to this description of marriage in its complex psychological basis because it seems most useful in recognizing some of the limitations and possibilities of a case-work job. We see marriage as meeting certain needs in each individual. These needs may be continuing and deep, and are productive of both happy and unhappy relationships. It is the unhappy ones which concern us and which we often see going on despite every evidence of dissatisfaction, and sometimes despite active efforts toward separation. It seems as if these people are bound by some tie in which they must suffer with and through each other.

Dr. Horney, in her recent book, has described very adequately the self-frustrating strivings of the neurotic individual. It

seems to me that this clarification has value for the case worker in seeing more clearly the diffuse and deep-seated neurotic needs which some of our clients put into the marriage relationship. Such a person is Mrs. J., who married to escape a home situation in which she had remained a dependent but much criticized child person, and also to be a good stepmother to Mr. J.'s children by a former marriage. Now we see her still a very dependent and demanding child, but trying to exercise an authority over her husband and stepchildren, which only serves to alienate the affection which she craves. Perhaps it was her conflicting needs which determined her choice of a husband in Mr. J. who is a passive, dependent person who suffers from a functional gastric condition. At any rate their mutual needs to be dependent are unsatisfactorily met and Mrs. J.'s needs to dominate and to be loved continue in a crescendo of conflict which neither interpretation, reassurance, or the listening ear of the case worker can help. Perhaps if we were more aware of the fundamental nature and symptoms of the so-called "character neurosis" we would less often be led astray into trying to effect shifts of attitudes or rearrangement of the environment in situations where every effort is only sucked into the maelstrom of fundamental conflict and where the individual must have in his husband, wife, or children a medium in which he can externalize his conflict.

We might begin to define our case-work practice with marital difficulties by defining the attitudes of those who come to us for help. A large proportion of those coming to a family agency, at least, will come wanting to have the other person punished or changed. Of these, some will maintain their projections and go away dissatisfied when the case worker does not reinforce their attitudes. We need not be too disturbed that they do not return, for they are usually those whose destructive ties are such that they neither wish to escape or change in the situation. Another part of this group may be freed to talk about their situation in such a way that they may begin to see themselves as a part of it, and through the relationship be enabled to

experience a change in feeling. Some of these may go farther and yield themselves to treatment which will effect real personality change.

Others may come to the agency seeking escape from their marriage. In some agencies where there are legal aid or court connections there may be many of these. Of this group some have arrived at a decision and need help in carrying it out. Others are ambivalent, with so much vacillation that our case-work service may consist of helping them to clarify their thinking and emotion around the conflict. Here there may be a whole range of need, from discussion of the practical aspects down through the exploration and clarification of complex basic attitudes.

A third group, smaller, perhaps, than either of the other two, come with some awareness that the problem lies at least partially within themselves and with a conscious desire for help in this area. With these last we may have the easiest access of either helping them directly with their problem or helping them to a point of getting deeper psychotherapy. We may, however, also have unconscious blocking factors which will frustrate them in getting such help.

Our differential thinking on these cases is similar to any group or cross-section of cases; it is differential on the basis of human responses to life-problems. It might be more complex because it involves two individuals, but no one operates in a vacuum and it is difficult to imagine any situation in which individuals or an individual and a situation are not interacting in somewhat the same way.

Special factors may lie in the social pressures which surround the institution of marriage. While everyone must react within certain social pressures, those pertaining to marriage may be somewhat more rigidly and generally upheld than some others, and therefore one person's deviation from the standard may serve as a projection of the other's difficulties, and this will be reinforced by the ideology of our culture. For instance, society says that a man shall be faithful, kind to his wife and children,

and shall support them. A wife may come to us with complaints of her husband's defections, and have been so reinforced in her feeling by her family, her neighbors, and the church that the real difficulty arising out of her failure to give anything in the marriage is obscured. Her escape from facing her own part in it is bulwarked by the standards of society, and the chances of dealing with the situation in any but executive terms is lessened.

It might be well also to speculate on our own part in these pressures. The family agency is predicated on the values of family life, and we as well as society as a whole tend to bring our weight to bear in the direction of keeping the family together. This is the way our culture is set up and criticism or speculation as to other forms of society is beyond the scope of this paper. I mention it only to point out that, if we are to see the situation whole, we must differentiate and see the interplay of social and emotional factors and must not let our predispositions loom so large that they obscure the client's conflict and obstruct our dealing with it.

We must also recognize that any worker's attitudes about sex, marriage, and family life enter more or less into her approach to the situation. Attitudes toward these matters are fundamental in our own adjustments and consciously or unconsciously influence our response to the material the client brings us. Our own patterns of family life predispose us to assume norms which are in no way related to the culture pattern or the emotional needs of the client. It is, perhaps, easier in this kind of case than in others to fall into identification with one person or the other—sometimes so unconsciously and to such an extent that we fail to help our client to see his part in the problem and instead join with him in his projections of blame on the other person. Needless to say, the conscious discipline of those tendencies is part of the training and development of a worker, and much of our skill will depend on how free we can be to understand and face the real meaning of the client's behavior.

Perhaps a general formulation of our function as case workers will be our most valid guide to this special group of cases. Ten-

tative as this is, we might say that our area of service is that in which the client is troubled about a reality situation and shows some desire and ability to work out the problem within the limits of his social situation and of his capacity to utilize the relationship in such a way as to experience change of feeling. To these people we can offer our knowledge of and access to social and community resources, an understanding and free medium in which they can express conflict and begin to reorganize their attitudes about it, and, to some clients by some skilled workers, a more directly therapeutic experience in which they might reorganize fundamental attitudes toward a more satisfying adjustment. Some we cannot help because they do not want what we can offer, and some are so deeply involved that case-work service can only ease some of the superficial pressures or offer a supportive kind of service that will carry them through crisis situations.

Of primary importance in this case-work situation, as in most others, is the handling of the interview in which the client begins to state his problem and to ask for help. In this interview may be set the pattern of how the client is to think and feel about his problem and whether we can be of help to him. He usually comes with some degree of projection of blame onto his marriage partner; he may or he may not have any conscious awareness of his part in it. If we are to be helpful to him we must be able to see and accept the fact that his feeling of hostility and blame is only part of the picture, and that there may be strong ties of conscious or unconscious need which hold him to the other person. If these are not brought to the surface and recognized the client may feel that the case worker knows only one part of him, or that he himself is giving free rein to only one of his feelings, so that he may become baffled and guilty when the opposing one comes into play. Such a case is the woman who periodically threatens to leave her husband but who, when it comes to a point of action and help by the case worker, cannot carry it through. It is very easy and it sometimes appears to be necessary to identify closely with the client in the first

interview. It is a truism to say, however, that the client needs not someone who will reinforce the self-defeating circle of blame and hostility in which he is operating, but someone who can break through from the outside to help him find more constructive ways of dealing with the situation.

The first interview, then, can be baffling and guilt producing because it proceeds on half-truths of the client's situation, or it can release him to begin to see and feel—or, perhaps, even begin to act out—a more constructive solution to the problem. Such an interview would be diverted toward understanding the client and his feeling rather than the other person's undesirable behavior of which the client is complaining. If a client has poured into our sympathetic ears the entire story of her husband's unspeakable cruelty she is justified in following it up by asking what we are going to do about it. In the last analysis, however, she is the one who has to do something about it, and in our interest in the husband's behavior we have failed to make even a start at knowing how she might handle it and of offering our help in it.

In this discussion so far we have made little mention of a point which has often been discussed in relation to domestic discord—namely, whether both partners are to be helped in working out their problems. While this might seem to be the ideal treatment situation, in reality it is fraught with many difficulties and is seldom feasible in more directly therapeutic efforts. The difficulties center around the complexity of a situation in which both people are undergoing change, and the question of whether one worker can keep herself free enough to be useful to both people. As it works out we may have both people making different uses of the case worker, with one in a more direct focus of treatment. Both people may need help, but, if this marriage has any stability or capacity for stability, it is more than likely that one of the partners will have some capacity for adjustment which will either serve as a focus for treatment or a stabilizing force against which the other can be helped to adjust.

In this apparently one-sided situation we may see one person relatively static in his position and the other actively seeking case-work service to bring himself into more satisfactory relation to the other. Here the case worker might offer some minor service to the static one without any hope of changing his fundamental attitudes, but our therapeutic problem would lie with the person seeking help. We might explore with him what his desire and capacity for adjustment is to the other person. If there is enough of this, he might, with the help of the case worker be able to realize his attitudes and responses clearly enough to modify them. He might be relieved of whatever guilt is built up around his responses, and he might in a period of close relationship with the case worker grow to achieve a more stable equilibrium of his own conflicting drives.

We often see this picture where one person in a marriage is considerably less mature than the other. We can see why these two people chose each other, and in some cases we can see that it might be a workable relationship provided the strains in it are not too great. Such a family is the S. family.

Mr. S. is a very immature person, still closely tied to his own mother and more interested in fulfilling his own needs than in supporting his family. Under pressure he drinks and uses up his wages, but does not mistreat the family. Mrs. S. is energetic, capable, and, except for periods of discouragement, is fairly accepting of Mr. S. in a rather maternal managerial way. A long period of insufficient income with resultant psychological strain and physical hardship had preceded our contact. It soon became apparent that Mrs. S.'s threats to leave her husband represented only part of her feeling toward him, and that she was both unwilling to do this and guilty because she felt no one would condone her living with a husband who appeared so worthless.

Our approach with Mrs. S. has been to help her accept her ambivalence of feeling about Mr. S. and to see that her positive feeling about him could be a steadying factor in their relationship. Some easing of her feeling of frustration in him has been

afforded through the relationship with the worker, and through encouragement of her own achievement in making an attractive home and being an adequate wife and mother. To date Mrs. S. is handling the situation to her own satisfaction and evidently to Mr. S.'s, as his drinking is decreasing and he is showing more interest in his home and family.

Here we have not made any fundamental change in either person, but recognizing the comparative weakness of one we have built upon and strengthened the capacity of the other to handle it in a way that fits her needs and affords a more mutually satisfying relationship.

The opposite of this situation might be one in which we attempt to help the more involved person—using, however, the understanding and stability of the other to fortify the situation. This may or may not be in the area of fundamental change. The G.'s may illustrate here.

Mr. G. was a patient, slow-going, lethargic man who had endured his wife's temper outbursts and hysterical illnesses for years. Mrs. G.'s own neurotic symptoms and her difficulty with an adolescent child brought her to a clinic. Mr. G.'s co-operation and understanding were used here, but the main focus of treatment was Mrs. G. who, in a long intensive contact with the case worker working under psychiatric direction, achieved some modification of her emotions and attitudes and came to feel some security in her improved family relationships.

Elsewhere we have mentioned that some marriages might succeed provided that the strains were not too great. Obviously the strains had been too great by the time most of these situations get to us, but that is probably the area of operation of case work anyway and the assumption is that with some help over a period of stress many of these people can resume some kind of normal adjustment. These strains may be both psychological and environmental. Unemployment, unwanted pregnancies, too many children, living with relatives are common situations which put a strain on a marriage relationship, and which might be eased over a period of stress. The strains resulting

from these problems are not superficial for they often bring to light and precipitate a reaction arising from deep-seated conflict. The fact that the client has been able to handle this previously, however, in some relatively satisfying way suggests that he might do so again, providing he can have some help and the strain has not been too gross or prolonged.

Some of the more intangible strains may also fall in the group which might be eased into relatively adequate adjustment. Such tensions are often found in the early marital adjustment of young couples. We might need to deal with guilt, anxiety, or ignorance centering around the sexual question. These are sometimes relieved rather easily by free discussion, or they might lead into an intensive therapeutic situation. The conflicts they represent are not superficial, but the way we handle them depends on how accessible the client is, how deeply his problem would have to be opened up to help him, how disturbing this might be to the adjustment he already has, and what skilled service is available.

Another kind of problem which confronts us is the couple whose continued family ties are an obstacle to their marriage. Some of these are neurotic, deep, and serve so much purpose in the emotional life of the client that ordinary case-work service will not affect them. In others however, particularly young people just leaving their homes for marriage, a supportive case-work interest during this time may provide the intermediate relationship by which they can free themselves enough to take over the marriage relationship. Such a couple are the T.'s, both of whom have strong and continuing ties to their own families, and who have lived with Mrs. T.'s family for the past two years during a period of unemployment. The couple separated following Mr. T.'s demand that they go to live with his brother, which Mrs. T. refused to do. They showed a strong desire to establish a home together but continued their quarreling about their families whenever they saw each other.

The case worker saw here many deep-seated problems, such as somewhat distorted sex responses, Mr. T.'s need for attention

and sulky small-boy attitudes, Mrs. T.'s occasional need to punish him and her greater response to her brother, her lack of housekeeping skills, etc. But the case worker felt also that they had some capacity and desire to try to make a further adjustment. Her interviews were largely with Mrs. T., who sought a discussion of her attitudes and behavior toward her family and her husband and who made a conscious effort to face her problems and shift her behavior. Mr. T. seemed rather set in his attitudes but was somewhat released by the case worker's interest and support in the plan of re-establishing the home. This was finally accomplished and over a period of time Mrs. T. seemed to solidify her rather precarious attempts to meet Mr. T.'s needs more adequately. To date this adjustment has shown growing stability and mutual satisfaction for both individuals.

It might be well to point out here that as case workers we, hopefully, have given up some time back the chimera of "perfect adjustment." If we are facing our jobs clearly we will know that easing, palliative work is probably our main function; and that if, in handling a marital difficulty, we see the interplay of forces moving more comfortably and in more socially acceptable patterns we have probably achieved as much as can be done without radical reorganization of the personalities of the people involved.

With this preliminary we might dare to formulate some philosophy as to our function in the so-called "hopeless cases." These, as I have previously suggested, probably consist of the people with involved neurotic tendencies who are meeting each other's needs in such a destructive way that there is no entree into the situation, or the extremely immature and inadequate individuals who alone or together are a burden on society. We might offer a socially pragmatic solution. In those cases where our relationship only reinforces the destructive attitudes and activities of the parents we might better stay out. If our contact either periodically or continuously affords some relief of accumulated pressures, or if the individuals can function better with the security and supportive treatment of a case worker and

if there are social values (such as the children's development, a man's employment possibilities, the prevention of actual mental breakdown), it would seem well within the realm of the case-working agency to continue a supportive kind of treatment.

At the other end of the scale, of course, there are a small number of cases which might be considered accessible to deep therapy, carried either by a case worker or psychiatrist. Which of these cases will lend themselves to this and how far we shall take them in a directly therapeutic effort calls for discrimination and diagnostic ability on the part of the case worker. We might also question whether they should not be carried under the direction of a competent psychiatrist, particularly since we may be immediately up against basic sexual attitudes which involve repressed unconscious material. If we are really discriminating we will probably see that many of these cases can benefit only by psychoanalytic treatment and that our efforts will be centered around determining how much modification of the reality problem the client can accept.

So much service to cases of domestic difficulty has centered in the family agency that some mention might be made to the part that relief may play in them. In any family situation the earning, spending, and control of money is a large area for the interplay of emotional factors. On this question may hang much of the conflict of a marital situation, with money symbolizing love, power, status, means of aggression, etc. In a family relief agency we cannot afford to ignore these values either in the client's normal life-pattern or in his relationship to the agency. It is especially important in these cases where there is a normal wage-earner and where our relief policy may, therefore, assume greater values. It seems important, therefore, to weigh carefully what these values may be before we embark on a relief plan, and to keep ourselves as free as possible from using money as the client may use it, to force a situation which is not psychologically tenable to him or to reinforce attitudes of hostility and aggression, or of escape and projection.

In conclusion, let us restate the point of view which we be-

lieve must be embodied in any effective case-work approach to the problem of marital discord. We cannot see this problem as a categorical one but must, instead, see the individuals involved, in all their strivings and conflicts. We will understand that marriage serves some purpose to them and that the conflicts centering around marriage may also have psychological value. In a conflict situation we will see many environmental and cultural forces drawn in and used to further the fundamental purpose of the personality. These may be our medium of treatment, as they are the medium of conflict, and we must understand them clearly enough to see both how they are being utilized and how they enter into the total life-picture of the individual. If we can be free enough to look beyond the projections and see the needs people are fulfilling in their struggles, we are then in a position to find ways in which they can be eased if not cured of the discomfort they are expressing in their behavior. If we are able to do this we should have made some progress toward accepting and formulating our function in relation to this special group of cases, and may, perhaps, have expressed an approach that is applicable in other case-work situations.

CASE WORK IN PROTECTIVE AGENCIES

*E. Marguerite Gane, Executive Secretary
Erie County Children's Aid Society
Buffalo, New York*

LEGAL authority in the protective field has an ancient and important historical basis. The psychological use of authority may or may not have been implied in the statutes but is very much involved with the needs of the clients as they are found in the protective service of today.

First, let us consider the historical background. The rights of children to protection from the community have been recognized by the state through the ages. Four thousand years ago the practice of transferring children from their own to adoptive homes was surrounded by governmental safeguards. The forms which this protection took are illustrated by the following quotations from the Code of Hammurabi.

If a man do not reckon among his sons the young child whom he has taken for a son and reared, that adopted son may return to his father's house.

If a man, who has taken a young child as a son to rear him, establish his own house and acquire children, and set his face to cut off the adopted son, that son shall not go his way. The father who reared him shall give him of his goods one-third the portion of a son and he shall go. He shall not give to him of the fields, garden or house.

The extent to which the community carried its protection of children is again shown in the Code, when a widow with minor children was forbidden to marry again without the consent of the judges who were appointed guardians to protect the house and goods which belonged to the children and could not be sold. Even the kidnapping problem appeared in this Code: "If a man steal a man's son who is a minor, he shall be put to death."

In Peru in the time of the Incas, a public relief system was worked out to protect the children of widows and of soldiers,

a forerunner of mothers' allowance. Also among the Incas was a provision for legalizing children born out of wedlock, by tucking them under the skirts of their mothers during the wedding ceremony.

Our English common law gave the community the right to interfere with parental control over children. Parental responsibilities were defined as the duty (1) to protect, (2) to educate, (3) to maintain. The English statutes permitted intervention by the courts with parents failing to fulfil these duties.

In 1636 the Plymouth Colony set up an indenture system for children whose parents neglected them. In 1848 and 1498, New Hampshire, Connecticut, and Massachusetts established laws to protect children from labor exploitation and to compel them to attend school. The important point in this legislation is the community's assumption of a right superior to that of the parents.

Is there, because of this traditional regulation, an easier acceptance on the part of parents of the interest of children's workers in their affairs? Do these workers seem to represent the community structure more than other types of workers do? Families have learned to expect some control over their children by the schools and health departments, and the social worker, entering the situation in behalf of the child, may not necessarily be received as a criticism of the parents' ability but rather as an extension of or parallel to the service of the schools or the clinic.

Child protective service for all children in need of it is clearly recognized as a public duty and a proper governmental function. It aims to insure for all children opportunity for growth and development equal at least to minimum community standards. The establishment of machinery for providing this service has lagged behind the legislation. However, the programs of the children's courts, probation departments, crime prevention bureaus, societies for the prevention of cruelty to children, child guidance clinics, and other child welfare agencies have been set up to serve primarily in this field, and many of them are invested with special power by the statutes.

The problems involved fall generally into two groups: those of the community and those of the individual. Problems which relate primarily to the community, such as child labor in all its forms, of street dangers, of lack of supervised play, of taverns and dance halls, theaters, carnivals, circulation of obscene literature, gambling devices, and of drug traffic are dealt with by methods of community education, law enforcement, and legislation.

Problems which relate primarily to the individual child and to his family are dealt with by personnel trained in case-work methods. The problems in this area include those presented by parents who are reported for failing to meet a child's material or training needs, or who overwork or abuse their children; parents who create friction in the home, who break the family unity by desertion or separation, who expose the children to destructive influences, or who make them feel insecure, unwanted, or unloved. They also include children who are offending the school authorities, or who are stealing, begging, injuring property, or who are involved in sexual irregularities or gang activities. Also included in protective work are efforts in the direction of delinquency prevention, and reconstructive programs of foster-home care for children adjudged delinquent by children's courts.

The application of general case-work principles and methods to the setting of the protective society, with an authoritative element implied in its very name, may seem impossible. On the contrary, may not authority be used as carefully and constructively, to fill a real need, as is relief in a family agency, or board payment in a child placing one? It may be a minor but nevertheless essential part of the case-work treatment. It may have a real psychological value.

Requests for service come from persons seeking help for themselves or for their children, and from others who bring to the attention of the protective agency situations in which they believe certain children are in need of protection. In making the first contact with a person requesting service, the interviewer

needs great skill. It is important to learn what the applicant wants and what his problem means to him. He is encouraged to express freely with a minimum of direct questioning what he feels is the problem and what he thinks should be done about it. The possibility for giving assistance can then be explained to him in terms of his apparent needs and his ability to understand. In cases accepted for treatment, this understanding may be given gradually through a series of interviews. In cases refused, it is especially important that as clear an explanation of the agency's service as possible be given to avoid piling additional defeat or frustration on clients who may already be suffering from feelings of failure and discouragement. There is a direct expression of authority in the decision to accept or refuse the application. The client who voluntarily asks assistance becomes subject to the agency's authority in no less degree than the client whom the agency must seek out. In fact the former, recognizing his own inadequacy, may turn to an agency because it means to him some degree of authority or "superability."

The skill of the interviewer is also needed in the first interview with an individual who is registering a complaint about a situation. Community paternalism often brings pressure to bear on the protective agency to use drastic means to bring about a prescribed result before the knowledge of all factors is at hand. Explanation of the agency's function, its methods of procedure, and its limitations, discussion of possible extenuating circumstances in a particular case, together with assurance that the agency will act if necessary to prevent serious harm to children, should definitely ease the community's concern.

In cases accepted the worker's first step, in most instances, is to approach the client directly. Where the client himself has applied for help this visit is not one of especial difficulty. The client has already presented his situation at least briefly to the application interviewer and is expecting further help. In cases in which a complaint has been entered about the client's care of his children, the worker's approach must be carefully planned

and skilfully handled. As success or failure largely depends upon the relationships built up within clients and workers, it is extremely important that this initial contact be as successful a one as possible. Quite naturally, the implied element of authority and interference may make the client resentful and defensive. It may delay and make more difficult the establishment of an effective working relationship, but by no means does it make it impossible.

The protective worker is faced not only with the tasks common to all case workers, of helping the client to understand and face the basis of his difficulties and of helping him in his attempt to solve them, but must also frequently attempt to win through treatment the client's very recognition that a problem exists. Because the protective worker is not easily able to limit his case load to those clients who readily admit difficulty and express desire for assistance, this recognition once won may constitute the major portion of the treatment.

Even though a client may not apply for help he may reveal definite needs to the worker who calls at his home to report the agency's interest and to offer service. The way in which the client receives the report may indicate his realization of a problem and ways in which he has tried unsuccessfully to meet it. Or an unfriendly reaction to the worker may express an unconscious defense of family unity, considerable courage, or loyalty—real strengths upon which one can count in treatment. The client's antagonism is not considered unnatural or insurmountable, but only as one of the many factors which has to be accepted and considered in the total picture.

Other reactions frequently revealed to the worker, upon her unexpected entrance into the situation, are: acknowledged inadequacy to solve problems without help; discouragement in varying degrees (hurt pride, shyness, an apparent desire to share the problem but inarticulateness about it), relief at having attention from outsiders, sometimes to the point of showing eagerness for dependency; fear of consequences of their own weaknesses, or desperation; and fear of losing their children.

Also, quite frequently, do various members of the family welcome the worker as a person to fight their individual battles for them.

The case worker is aware that her real purpose may be misinterpreted by the client, by the confusion of her function with that of other social workers or by the statements of those persons who still identify the protective worker with the possibility of removal of children. Even when a client believes he is ready to request or accept service of a case-working agency, he usually is not at the point where he completely reveals himself or his problem. Perhaps he is only partially aware of it. A gradual revelation occurs through the building-up of a relationship with the worker, and there is little difference in degree of readiness for case-work treatment between the client who is reported against and is antagonistic and the one who comes for help but is far from the place where he recognizes his real problem. The help he asks for is often not the help he needs. In one case the client resents the agency's intrusion and has to be helped to understand its relation to him, and in the other he accepts the agency in a limited sense and has to be led to understand its real program.

Many clients are people who have exhausted the possibilities of relief, are desperately unhappy, and have struggled long and unsuccessfully. When a person enters who makes no demands, lays no blame, listens but is hesitant about giving advice, respects individual feelings, ideas, and points of view, the client may feel he is being given a new lease on life. Latent abilities of which the client was not aware may be stimulated.

Two common dangers which the protective workers face are these: first, the tendency, tied up with hours and overtime, to report first to the woman in the home, leaving her to tell her husband about the visit. The man, getting the story at second hand, minus the personality of the worker, may feel his castle assailed and accumulate considerable emotional heat before he has opportunity to interview the worker. The other danger is the tendency to have fixed minimum standards by which the

client's manner of living is judged, rather than by his individual potentialities for growth and his rate of growth. Every protective worker knows well the family on relief who turns night into day and day into night, uses grocery orders indigestibly, piles soiled clothing into annual accumulation for the junkman, and is constitutionally opposed to repressing or guiding the children.

Taxpayers protest to the welfare visitors, the visitor reports to the protective agency, the school principal gets excited about the tardiness and filth and the fact that the children seek food from garbage cans and come to school through the snow without overshoes. Yet sometimes, even in cases which seem to denote extreme physical neglect, medical examination will show well-nourished bodies, psychological study show children bright and up to grade, and the social worker is convinced that affection between parents and children is strong. Where there are no behavior problems among adults or children, more serious harm to the emotions and personalities would follow the authoritative separation of parents and children than the tolerance of standards which shock the community.

A concrete picture of the types of situations which come to the protective agency in 1937 may be indicated by the classification of 1,500 cases recently made. In every unit of 500 were found 100 where the alleged neglect took place in families mentally inadequate to benefit much by the relationship type of case work. Treatment consisted mainly of providing close supervision of a parental type, of attempting to stimulate pride in overcoming rather than understanding their difficulties, in providing concrete assistance which they could understand, in making adjustments in the environment (such as providing working housekeepers and taking children to clinics), in giving vocational study or training and recreation, or in facing them with the consequences of their actions if continued—the last an indirect use of authority through choice.

There is need for a careful approach in these situations to avoid the danger of an unhealthy use of authority. For example, the well-intentioned housekeeper may succeed in raising

a family's standards of living, but by taking possession of the man's pay check may deflate whatever self-respect and ambition he has. This parental type of treatment, however, may be actually sought by the emotionally immature client who unconsciously feels a need for authority or for punishment.

Besides the 100 families inadequately functioning in regard to the care of the children there were, in every unit of 500, 85 where the behavior of the children seemed to be the chief reason for the agency's being called in. The next largest group showed 65 serious mental problems among the adults, where a parent was already committed or badly in need of psychiatric care. Forty-nine of the 500 showed at the start the mother's actions to be definitely responsible for the neglect of the children. The fourth largest group consisted of 40 widowers, struggling to keep their children with them but under conditions which outraged their neighbors. Below this group, in order, were requests for placement of children outside their own homes (sometimes warranted by circumstances and sometimes not), definite cruelty, supervision of out-of-town children with relatives, sex assaults, and exploitation of children. It cannot be said that one or more types of problems taken from this list are more or less susceptible to an authoritative kind of treatment than others.

Whether the client seeks service or is complained against, whether he is reported for beating his wife and children or teaching them to shoplift expertly, whether he writes from the penitentiary pleading for help in making his wife understand him, or is a seventeen-year-old boy who has been arrested for a statutory offense, whether he is a forty-year-old widower with six children, or whether he is a thirteen-year-old boy who stole and smashed an airplane—the type of offense or failure to measure up to standards has little or nothing to do with its possibilities for successful treatment. Rather are results dependent upon the components of the personality of the individual involved, his limitations and his latent abilities, and the case worker's ability not only to understand these but her skill

in enmeshing abilities and treatment so that each person uses the other in a way which stimulates greatest growth to the one in need. As has been said, most of the success of the worker hinges on a satisfactory relationship between worker and client.

Authority itself may be a most important need of the client who seeks a parent-child relationship because such a relationship was not satisfied earlier in life. Many parents who live in the submarginal zone between adequacy and neglect are those who have experienced in their own lives a long period of care, either in institutions for dependents or delinquents or in schools for the feeble-minded, where they enjoyed the security of authority. With this authority went good standards of cleanliness, order, adequate provision for material needs, associates, education, and training, with little or no exertion upon their part, beyond conformity. Others have experienced for several years in their own homes a condition similar to this, where subsistence has been furnished from outside. Others, because of the inadequacy of their own childhood homes, have no patterns which help them to initiate and carry on a successful parental relationship. Need we fear a homeopathic dose of authority in the treatment of difficulties of immature personalities if it offers appropriate opportunities for growth to maturity through dependency? Authoritativeness also may provide a certain healthy stimulus. Is there necessarily anything destructive in helping a client to reach the place where he recognizes his own need for help and seeks it, although in doing so one may have to face him with the direct results of his actions or even prevent his continuing them?

It is interesting to find how easily people accept recognized authorities which have as their purpose general protection. A worker finds a thirteen-year-old girl dancing in a roadhouse. She explains to the girl and to her mother the law which prohibits this activity and the reasons behind it. Without protest the girl quits the job. Although authority had been expressed merely by the worker's presence and her explanation, a relationship was established with the family which later resulted

in a request from the mother, then in the hospital, for the worker to "call at the home to see how everything was."

Because of the special types of problems faced by protective workers, they have occasion, oftener than most social workers, to use certain forms of resource. Two of these forms are court action and foster-care. Use of courts is not an end in itself but a means to an end. Like any other kind of treatment, it should be undertaken only after careful consideration of objectives sought and probable results. Neglected or delinquent children frequently require foster-care given under court order. A study was made of 100 children committed by court for foster-home care after delinquency charges were brought against them. After two years 77 had adjusted to community life satisfactorily to all concerned and 23 were failures. Only 10 of the 100 wanted foster-care and two of those were among the failures.

The area of authority was proscribed at the outset by the foster-care worker who, as a rule, first met the child after commitment. Although a serious attempt had been made by detention foster-home workers and by the judge to explain what foster-care meant, and the reasons why he was committed for it, the child's emotional tone was so heightened during this period that he could not grasp it clearly. Therefore, the visitor encouraged him to take part in the plans. What type of home did he prefer—one in the country or in the city, with young or old foster-parents, a home with or without other children, in a family with a baby, a dog, with woods near by, or, perhaps, in a neighborhood where there were enough boys to form a baseball team?

The child's desires may not have been deep ones, and often changed later, but they were given careful consideration. Available homes were described and often the homefinder sought to fulfil a definite request. The worker, at the same time, tried to establish in the child's mind that foster-home care was not a punishment but an opportunity, and that he had in the visitor a friend to whom he and his desires were important. It was explained that the child would remain under the care of

the agency until the court ordered otherwise and that the court's decision would probably be determined by the agency's recommendation, which, in turn, would be based on the child's progress.

The boundaries of authoritative relationships were sketched at the beginning, through a discussion of school, clothing, allowances, and movies. Practically each one of the 100 children was a school problem, and truancy persisted with a number for some time. It was often necessary to strike an authoritative note by quoting the attendance law, showing that it was something over which the agency had no control, and that it was a situation that must be accepted—if not from a foster-home, then from an institution. Inasmuch as school attendance was only a minor problem with a few failures and soon ceased to be a problem with the successes, there seemed to be nothing destructive in striking that authoritative note. The use of authority for forcing attendance was necessary until there had been time for the child to have school experiences which were successful and satisfying to him, and when that time came attendance ceased to be a problem.

His clothing supply was looked over and a list of his needs made. He was told how much money was available for him annually and the basis on which this was determined. He was given a weekly spending allowance and his needs in that respect were discussed. He was told that there was no desire to sever his relations with his own family, but the frequency and place of visits depended upon their effect on him. His privileges and responsibilities as a member of a new family were discussed.

The value of foster-care as treatment, in families or in institutions, while within an authoritative setting, lies in the development of a nonauthoritative and satisfying relationship between the child and one or more persons in his new environment, plus satisfying experiences in his larger substitute environment. Sometimes that person with whom a therapeutic relationship is effected is the case worker, often a foster-parent, or a house mother, or the former. In a few of these cases the initial thera-

peutic relationship was with the psychiatrist. Once the child had identified himself with the foster-family the need for the authority of the court faded away.

We find in the use made of authority in these successful cases a temporary but clearly recognized and useful tool providing limits within which the children themselves could reshape and rebuild their own lives along socially useful lines.

Traditional delegation of authority to child protective agencies has brought with it dangers and misuse. If, however, we scrap all meaningless categories, such as dependent, neglected, and delinquent children, forget systems and fixed programs, and face honestly the need of the individual child regardless of the type of situation which brings him to our attention, we shall find that authority has a place in the case-work service. Like dynamite it is useful and necessary at times, but a little goes a long way.

PROFESSIONAL SKILLS REQUISITE TO A GOOD INTAKE SERVICE

*Almena Dawley, Chief Social Worker
Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic
Philadelphia*

PROFESSIONAL skill in social case work is not an entity in itself but has its roots in knowledge and attitudes. Skill cannot be learned or developed independently around any phase of the case-work process, such as intake, but grows out of knowing and understanding the essential elements that go into asking for help. It is, with this background, a way of helping through an agency's function and resources. In discussing the professional skills necessary for a good intake service, therefore, I would like to speak first more generally of the case-work process itself, and of intake in its relation to this process. In so doing, skill will be implicit in all I have to say.

In thinking about intake or first interviews, I find it is necessary for me to go away beyond it to examine the whole process in case work—of taking help for the client, and of being a part of helping for the case worker. It is also necessary to consider what preceded the client's going to the agency. In other words, I would like to place the first interview as a point in the process of taking help so that we may examine its significance in relation to the whole. Only out of such a perspective will we ever utilize the dynamic possibilities in that first contact, where the client has been able to make a move for himself, with all the feelings that go with taking that responsibility.

What happens before the client goes to an agency for help? He is in a dilemma of some kind. It may be loss of work, no money to live on, illness, a problem child, or any of the countless

difficulties that a human being may be faced with, in- or outside of himself. In that situation he has all the feelings that such a dilemma creates, but predominantly fear, fear of losing status, fear of his inability to manage his own situation, fear of the unknown that he is faced with and the force of that unknown upon him. Here he is stuck, held by that fear and uncertainty. How can he move out of this?

Other people may advise him and tell him where to go. But how does he move in his inner being in going to an agency for help to change what is so intolerable? It is this that I would like to emphasize above everything else. Necessity may force an individual to look for help, but his going for help has in it a new element. This new element is his impulse to change the situation he is in. It is his first step in getting himself out of his predicament and so admitting some responsibility for what is so difficult. Going to a social agency is an expression, then, of a positive impulse toward action rather than hopeless acceptance of a *status quo*. In terms of the individual's self-organization it is the living, moving direction of the self that, in asking for help, has conquered over blocking and helplessness. As this move is made toward taking help the situation becomes changed. The most dynamic part of the process of taking help has been started, therefore, before the client comes to the first interview.

I cannot stress too much the importance of understanding what goes into that first step of the client—more than this, of helping it to find expression and to be utilized in the first interview. For too many years social work has shaped its procedures around a concept of the client's need and dependency, failing to catch the spark of strength and purpose that brought him to the agency and utilizing that as an essential part of his relation to it. The need is real and the agency is organized to meet it. Skill lies in the way of meeting need that continuously preserves the individual's impulse to help himself. This is the thread on which he will regain his autonomy, in self, even though he may continue to need the resources of the agency.

If we accept this tremendous step of self-responsibility we can then approach with more clarity and understanding the importance of what goes into the client's first contact with the agency, whether it be by telephone, by dropping in without appointment, or by arranged interview. Is that first contact one that will understand and utilize this impulse to help himself by asking for help or will in turn the whole basis of taking help to putting the responsibility on the agency instead of on the client? If the client telephones timidly to ask about assistance, perhaps saying Mr. X. told him to call, will we meet his timidity by saying that a worker will come out to see him, or will we recognize the purpose under the timidity by asking if he would like to come in and find out for himself what the agency is like and what it has to offer?

If a client comes in for an appointment, does he tell a long story about himself only to be met with a statement that a worker will visit to talk it over with him, thereby putting the agency through its very procedure into the position of taking over the responsibility the client has shown in coming? Or in that appointment is the client helped to get directly at some of the concrete elements that are involved in taking help, so that from the outset he has an opportunity of participating actively in this new experience, whether it be only one interview or the beginning of a series of contacts?

For example, a public relief agency may approach the establishing of eligibility as a joint project in which the applicant helps the agency through taking responsibility for the eligibility material. More than the facts are important in this. From the beginning the client has been included in the process that affects him so vitally. In fact, it is an honest recognition that the client is the only one who can give this, and that the agency needs his help. This lays a groundwork, then, not only for determining his budget but for his constructive use of this new experience.

In getting himself to a social agency, then, the individual has made a profound step in shifting the emphasis in his prob-

lem. Out of his hopelessness he has an impulse for change and he seeks help from a social agency to accomplish this. In this process of moving to ask for help there is at the same time a new shift in his fear. From the general fear of how he can live without money or in the midst of turmoil, whatever it may be, that fear has become localized, concrete, more outside of himself, now related to the agency and what the agency will do to him. His fear now has a double-sided aspect, the fear of having made a move, of asserting himself, of having taken that first step in regaining his independence, and the fear, then, of what the agency will do to him because of that. This may all be expressed in terms of his outside situation, but is invariably there in the immediate contact with the agency. With the fear being focused in this way it is not only possible but essential that the basis on which the agency works should be utilized to its fullest degree, as a way of meeting and dealing with this fear and uncertainty.

This brings us to the next step in the process of taking help, the first interview in the agency the client has sought out. This interview is not preliminary to anything, as the words "application" or "preliminary" interview imply. It is midway in the client's movement for help and it is the first step in the new experience with an agency. I have spoken of the need and of the feelings that precede getting to the agency. The case worker's skill lies in her understanding of this and of the way in which she can help to meet it through the resources of her agency. How can she keep alive the impulse that brought the individual and how can she meet this new shift in fear that is now centered on his coming to her? If she understands the process up to this point she will meet both the predicament that he presents to her and also the new problem that is inherent in his asking her for help. The only sound way in which she can meet either of these problems is through an understanding and a responsible use of the purpose or function of her agency.

Let us take first the client's statement of what brings him to

the agency. This may be stated briefly, and help asked for a specific thing. Again, the difficulty may be given at length, and in so generalized a way that it must be focused and broken up before there is any way of working with it. The client is saying in this, "I have a problem and I need help." How easy to get stuck right there with him, in our absorption with the intricacies of what he presents to us. How easy to block him, with our pursuing of the problem, from his next important step, which is to focus it in some way so that it can be discussed in connection with the way in which this agency can help him. Our responsibility as case workers comes in definitely at this point. Where the client is ready to work on ways out of his dilemma we must know what we are equipped to do for him in the agency and to give this to him as something on which we can work together. These may be small and concrete matters of arrangement, discussion on the basis of eligibility, fees, requirements in placing a child, such as going to court, board rate, etc. But, however small, these are the elements in the interview that will help to make the agency a reality, that will bring out questions, reservations, acceptance or withdrawal, so that there is something workable and compassable. Only by making the taking of help concrete can there be any participation or movement.

Fear is modified as a situation becomes known and as there is a place in it for one's expression and activity. How essential it is from the outset that the client should have an active part in understanding how the agency functions and in taking responsibility for his part in it. More than this, no one will ever really use an agency or another person for help unless he has a substantial part in making his own decisions. He may become dependent and clinging, or fight more openly than this, but there is no impetus to movement without being a part of the process in a real and active way.

This first interview, then, I see as one of mutual participation between the client and the worker. It is the need of an individual meeting the function and resources of an agency. It

is also a client's way of moving out of his difficulty through the particular way that an agency provides. Perhaps he can use that way, perhaps he will seek other ways. It is the purpose of this interview to clarify whether he wants what this agency has to offer, and to work further on the way in which he can use what is available for him.

This brings us directly to the question of diagnosis, which is a part of the subject of this paper. I would like to amplify what I mean by diagnosis and illustrate it briefly.

There are many ways of thinking about diagnosis, and social work has been confused by this, I think, and also by an analogy to medicine which presupposes a scientific understanding of the physical organism as a corollary to medical treatment. One of the difficulties in case-work development has been its tendency to borrow wholesale from other fields concepts that have little validity when applied too literally in this new situation. In the application of these borrowed concepts we have assumed the likenesses between social work and medicine, psychology, etc. We have done little to clarify our differences in social work from them. In our attitudes about handling the intake of a case-working agency, diagnosis and differential diagnosis for example, much has been borrowed and applied unsoundly from other fields instead of discovering what is an inherent part of our own job.

In this paper I have developed two major points. One relates to the client's movement in going to a social agency for help. The other is the importance of the case worker's being functionally related to the administration of the resources of her agency, both as her only way of functioning and as the only way in which she can help the client. Case-work diagnosis is in this area of clarification of what a person has come to ask for help with, discussion with him of what the agency has to offer and the way in which it can be offered, and determining with him whether this is what he wants and is ready to take at this time. Diagnosis in its deepest and most profound sense, in social case work, is an understanding of what is going on directly between

the client and me, as a representative of the agency, in this new experience he has sought. I will base my acceptance of a case as suitable for my agency, granted that it falls within my general function, on what goes on directly between me and the client, rather than upon the story he tells me of his difficulties, or upon what I read into his story and posit as a theoretical problem. It is impossible to know another person's problem in that way. There is an assumption in it both of knowing beyond human possibility, and also that an individual remains static and fixed, carrying with him an unchanging pattern. It may be that, in an individual's admitting to himself the need of help and in moving to get it, he has shifted what I might interpret as a characteristic way of meeting life if I were interested only in the facts he gives me. It is essential to know how the client is meeting this particular experience, with all that is involved in coming to it and to finding out how he can use it.

In this approach to understanding or diagnosis we may determine to a degree the client's readiness to do anything about his situation. This is very important from the agency's standpoint as well as from the client's, so that he does not find himself embarked upon something he cannot continue. Both he and the case worker will know how ready he is, as there is a concrete situation to work on.

A mother deeply attached to her child, who is beginning to show disturbing neurotic symptoms, comes to a child guidance clinic to arrange for psychological treatment for him. She is upset to find that the child will have his appointments alone with the psychiatrist. Can she accept the basis on which this agency works? This will be determined by her readiness to separate herself a little from the child, to allow him to have something of his own. Herein may lie a deeply involved problem in her makeup. In this may be a great deal of the child's difficulty. But, however firmly rooted her fear and control are in her hold on her boy and however much she gives to substantiate this in her story of the past, the case worker can be helpful only as she

is concerned with what this woman is able to do now, in coming to this agency. Perhaps coming to a child guidance clinic and deciding that she will not be separated from her child is only a replica of the past and there is nothing to be done about it. But it may be that her love of the child and her concern over his symptoms will stir in her a new feeling, a willingness to let someone take over part of this concern and to allow the child to have something of his own as she finds this is a necessary part of getting help. A skilful worker will concern herself, not with exploring the problem, but in recognizing and utilizing the mother's struggle to accept this separation from her child. This struggle is brought out around the very setup of an agency where a child and parent have their own and separate interviews. The new movement that may occur is precipitated and thrown into relief by this essential agency structure. The parent's readiness to accept this structure in deciding to go on for treatment, and not the depth or extent of his problem per se, is the only sound basis on which the agency can proceed. It is one criterion of his capacity to move, regardless of what the problem may be.

Readiness is not necessarily determined by a client's accepting hastily his need for help in the way the agency can offer it. The case worker must be aware of other ways in which he is telling her that he does or does not want her help. What, for instance, as the interview goes on, is the client's capacity for differentiation from her and for accepting any limits? His accessibility, to use a psychiatric concept, will be determined by his capacity to regard her as the person to whom he has come, and not merely as a part of himself. It is not possible to take help to any degree if one controls it entirely and yields nothing in the taking. Help, whatever it may be—money, or intensive work on a personal problem—demands a recognition of the helping person or agency. This is the basis on which help can be taken. She will be concerned, then, in this first interview, with the client's acceptance of the way this agency works—

not only his general verbal acceptance but also his participation on the practical matters of arrangement that bring out that there is an agency as well as a client. He is helped immeasurably, though sometimes painfully, in his search for change in his situation by thus needing to recognize the agency as outside of himself. Some people are unable to do this and will withdraw rather than so really admit the place of another. But the person who is ready to take something to change his predicament will, though perhaps with difficulty, meet and work out with the case worker those steps in the agency structure that are, by their very existence, differentiating, because apart from him.

Not long ago I saw a woman who was so enveloping and inclusive in the statement of her problem that there was no point at which she was aware of me or of the agency I represented. A flow of talk obliterated everyone but herself. I was discouraged about her being able to use what she professed to want so much. After a considerable time and with some persistence I brought the discussion down to some of the concrete plans that were necessary. Even these were wiped away as unimportant and obvious. It was not until I mentioned a fee that she took me in for the first time and in astonishment but with relief began to work at this practical question with me. When she once realized that I represented something quite outside herself, she was able to move to a real use of the agency I represented.

This concept of readiness and the elements that help us to determine readiness are by their very nature a part of the new experience with the agency. No longer is it the problem or the need that is predominant, but a new struggle in the movement that was initiated because of the need. This new struggle is with the agency that now represents the client's impulse for change. The real struggle, then, lies in the individual's readiness to continue, with all its cost, the direction he has chosen in deciding to go to a social agency.

I want to come back now to the professional skills requisite to a good intake service, as the title of this paper is worded.

The greatest skill I know lies in understanding the process of an individual's going to ask for help and in being willing and able to be that help—that is, the agency and its way of working. This is not as simple as it sounds. It is much easier to go off with the client to an exploration of his need in his past and present. It is easy to represent for him that need from which he has struggled and has made a move to be free. But as surely as that happens we become a part of it and not of the forward-moving step he has made in coming to us.

It takes great skill to stay placed with the client as the agency to which he has come. It takes deep conviction and steadiness to withstand his attempts to pull us with him, back to his dilemma and uncertainty. It may be that he must return there in fear and misgiving, but the only way that he can be helped to follow his new course is for us to remain steadily and with understanding in the one place we can function for him. That place is in the intelligent, sensitive, and understanding administration of the resources of the agency we represent.

It is through such a relation to an agency that we can help to clarify the problem the client brings sufficiently to know whether it belongs here and what he wants to do about it. We must know this as a first step, and he must tell us as a way of establishing his need for change. This is a natural and essential starting-point for all that will follow. But it is not just unburdening one's self of trouble and difficulty—it is bringing this problem to the agency that may be able to help in its change. In this lies our only relation to another person's problem. And in this lies our medium of helpfulness—to clarify with him, through understanding of an agency's resources, where his difficulty lies in relation to this agency.

I should like to close with a few words about the social worker, who, after all is said, is the skill we have been discussing. The worker who can carry the kind of job I have been describing does not just grow, like Topsy. A person may have a fine and sensitive relation to people. He may have a deep impulse to

help people and to give his life to that. But he needs to learn how people are able to take help from a case-working agency. He needs to learn through his own inner discipline to limit himself to the way in which he can be helpful and within that to work freely and fully. His skill lies in his understanding and respect for the individual's constant movement toward realization of himself. More specifically than that, his skill is in his way of meeting need that from the outset responds to and preserves what the individual has already started in the direction of change and movement.

THE IMPORTANCE OF MATURITY AND A SOCIAL PHILOSOPHY FOR GROUP LEADERS AND SUPERVISORS

Grace Loucks Elliott, New York City

IT MAY be taken for granted that every social worker assumes the importance of a philosophy for group leaders. On the question of what social philosophy, there may not be as great unanimity. It is impossible within the limits of this paper to discuss at any length the divergences in educational and social philosophy which consciously and unconsciously motivate present-day leadership. In an attempt to call to your minds how that philosophy has changed within the memory of some of us, I shall limit my discussion to that phase of the philosophy which is reflected in the assumptions about the nature and functions of the leader of those to be educated, whether in home, school, or voluntary groupings.

When education had behind it coherent patterns and designs for living, to which the child was to be conditioned; when the community furnished the ideals to be attained and the means for their attainment; the educator derived his prestige and authority from this community ideology. In the case of difficulty in the process of transmission of these behavior patterns it was assumed that the child and not the education was to blame. The educator in this process, whether parent, teacher, or group leader (to use the term retroactively), was responsible for knowing the content of this social inheritance, was expected to be the example of its human embodiment, and, as such, was to be looked up to, respected, and even idealized. Even now, in the persisting ideology of Victorian morals, the king must be an exemplary figure and must be acclaimed as God's choice, even though the honest keep their tongue in their cheek. If actual performance did not measure up to profession, the issue was

evaded lest the ideal be harmed in the minds of the young, who also learned to keep their own tongues in their cheeks. The same type of idealization characterized the teaching of biography. However, this social demand and expectation tended toward the development in leaders of responsibility and maturity in the best of the paternalism it represented, and became to a degree an incentive for the development of maturity in the young.

In this scheme, the content of education could be known well in advance of its use, could be organized into creeds, commandments, and codes, and into programs made up from one to ten years in advance. The group leaders, or superparents, chosen by an organization rather than by God, were selected for those same qualities which were ascribed to a good parent—exemplary conduct and ability to call forth “respect” from group members. If they were not expected to demand obedience, they were assumed to be able to elicit response to themselves as persons. This, to be sure, was usually couched in terms of the desire to secure response to some item or element of the content for whose transmission the leader happened to be responsible, and he was often unaware of the degree to which he as a person became identified with that content by the young. This was sometimes very obvious in the religious field, where many expressions of sex emotion have been labeled religious devotion. On examination the “cause” of many adolescents in many areas might prove to be an allegiance to the individual with whom the cause was identified. “Personality,” then, was rated high in the list of qualifications of a leader.

With the breakdown of this educational ideology (that is, the collective assent to the culture to be transmitted) and with the tacit admission that there was something basically wrong with the ideology which the educators were supporting, attention was turned to an idealization of the child, to a revamping of educational philosophy under such captions as the “child-centered school.” This psychological viewpoint in education emphasized individual differences, and tended to result in an individualization which is in its nature opposed to education. In

this stage the choices, interests, and needs of the child were the important concepts for educational procedure. In this reaction parents, teachers, and group leaders who uncritically espoused the "new education" tended to become lackies or handy men, to be directed and used by children or young people. There was to be no tying of children to older apron strings. For example, to guard against this they must choose when to go to bed, even if they upset the family for the evening and themselves for the ensuing day. The anarchy which often developed in family, school, or group as a result of so-called "free education" is evident witness to the fact that freedom and control result from social demand and expectation. In this educational theory, class or voluntary group-program material was no longer provided in advance by some overhead or distant body. Classes, clubs, societies, and other groups were set to build their own programs out of the "needs and interests of the group." Check lists for interests were then in full flower and represented a major source for guidance in program-planning; but too often it was found that the more definitely programs were planned on the checked interests the more likely were they to be unsatisfactory. Student government was promoted as the answer for the need of self-determination by groups. "Self-expression" for individuals and groups tended to become the dominant note in their philosophy of life. In this scene a leader's "personality" or ability to call forth a personal response tended to be rated as a liability rather than an asset. A leader was to be seen and not heard.

But again the educational scene is shifting. We are now realizing that too heavy a burden is put on the child when we ask him to furnish the content of his own education; that the child's interests, wishes, and emotions cannot be trusted in their undisciplined and unco-ordinated forms; that premature choice may make for greater inferiority than did the older prohibitions and repressions; and that an individual develops qualities of maturity and responsibility in response to social demands and the influence of other people upon him. Thus a content-centered and a child-centered educational philosophy have grown

into an experience-centered approach. This recognizes that the child has to live in a world in which he must meet and modify situations and in which he must increasingly realize his relationship to all who make up the fabric of society.

An adequate social philosophy for today demands not only that individuals and groups become able to think, feel, decide, and act for themselves—or, in other words, develop intelligent self-direction—but also that in so doing they become increasingly aware of their interrelatedness with all their fellows. It is not enough to assume that developed individuals added together will make a social unity. Education must take into account the realization by the individual of his organic and dynamic relationship to nature and to his fellow-beings.¹ Such a philosophy neither sees the leader with a halo nor makes of him a handy man, but rather sees him as integrally a part of the group, being responded to and responding to the personality needs of others, being himself modified by whatever human situations he seeks to influence, having his own and others' weakness revealed in stark reality, and finding resources in himself and in others which he little foresaw. The title of a current program of religious education, "Christian Youth Building a New World," is an inadequate statement of the task with which the program is concerned. Youth as such can never build a new world. It is forced to give too many hostages to the *status quo*. Only as older and younger individuals work together with whatever insight or discipline their differences in years have brought to each can real individual or social growth take place. In a philosophy of interaction, requiring the integration of internal and external drives, of internal and subjective reactions and external and objective stimulations, both leader and led react to stimuli and serve as stimuli and are both part of an organic unity necessary one to the other.

In such an educational philosophy, we must ask what are the criteria or indices of maturity which should be looked for in those who function as group leaders. At this point I have

¹ Grace Loucks Elliott, *Women after Forty* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1936), chap. i.

to choose between the genders, if I want to speak of leaders in the singular. I can speak with more authority about women, so I shall choose the feminine pronoun, even though I think most of what I shall say is applicable to men as well.

In the first place, a leader should have a life of her own other than that of the group or groups to which she is related. In terms of parents, this would be a life other than her relationship to her children. The evasion of the responsibility for developing one's own talents that comes from lack of inner harmony is often hidden under an unsound "unselfishness" and under giving of one's self to the work to which one is called. To be called to a job is often less wholesome than to have chosen it. This kind of unselfishness is susceptible of being "hurt," "crushed," or broken by lack of proper appreciation or recognition. A life of her own other than her job may well be one of the conditions for that emotional maturity which Miriam VanWaters designates as "an ability to nourish rather than to absorb life in others."²

To live a life of one's own is to have achieved for one's self freedom in thought, conviction, and emotion. Only as one has herself become free has she the ability to set free the speech and emotions of those who are repressed. She who has won her own freedom of spirit alone can preach deliverance to the captives and recovery of sight to the blind. To believe in one's neighbor, one must believe in one's self—otherwise too heavy a burden is put on the neighbor. This means that to lead others to a faith in life a leader does not use a process of intellectual argument, but of personal contact with the embodiment of that faith.

Specifically, this life of one's own requires that she who would lead adolescents—adolescents who are or ought to be in love—must herself have been in love at some period in her own experience. Only she who has honestly faced her own love desires and needs and has chosen rather than accepted by default the liabilities and assets of her own love life is safe or useful for adolescents. This does not mean that all leaders should be

² Miriam VanWaters, *Youth in Conflict* (New York: Republic Publishing Co., 1925), p. 252.

married, but rather that there is no place for the married or unmarried "old maid" of either sex.

This means, again, that the leader should herself have enthusiasms, interests, and ideals which may be shared with but which are not limited to the groups of which she is a leader, and which are not dependent upon the groups' response to them. An enthusiasm which demands for its vitality the acceptance of it by a group may well be as suspect as an idea that must be promoted in order to be believed. A leader's sound interests should not be forced upon a group, but can serve as a touchstone for the group's becoming conscious of its own potential interests, or as a springboard for its launching related ones. For example, a collector of moths need not be followed by a train of other moth collectors, but may become the incentive for many other kinds of enterprises.

Above all, a leader should have goals, standards, ideals which are tested and which function in her own life. This does not assume dogmatic insistence upon conformity by others to those ideals; but nothing is more important in the deflated, valueless, rudderless stage of much of the present social milieu than that there should be offered to young people access to that which the generation ahead of them lives by in the realm of motive and goal. Related to this, the leader should be able to live by and act according to her convictions while she gives to the led the opportunity to act differently. We are living in too parlous times to brook the confusion often met with in the past between tolerance and mental laziness or cowardice. If education to be complete cannot stop short of action, she who is educator must be able to act for herself and with her comrades.

In the second place, the mature leader must have that faith in youth which comes from intelligence and imagination so related as to be two aspects of the same process. Laurence Sears, in his study entitled *Responsibility*,³ holds that without sympathy, which is the ability to enter imaginatively into the experience of others and to foresee possible consequences for them, there is no chance of creating a sense of responsibility. Hence,

³ Laurence Sears, *Responsibility* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1932).

in Shelly's words, "the great instrument for moral good is the imagination." This quality of spirit does not admit of identification with or dominance of a group. It is different from the motive that brings one into group work because one "loves girls." That love is more likely to be a search for a girlhood she has never had than the capacity to share with imaginative intelligence the struggles, handicaps, and resources of a group which must find for itself its own media of expression, and, if need be, challenge older forms of expression.

Here we may fruitfully examine the meaning of that overused word, "objectivity." As Lawrence Frank has pointed out,⁴ the cry for objectivity may be but an excuse for evading the more pressing problem of what values we are to seek in our individual and social life. He suggests our need for leaders who have not stripped off life's values, aspirations, and emotionally toned beliefs and longings, but who can hold them in such a way as to be compassionate, understanding, and forgiving. It may not be an exaggeration to say that he alone is a safe interpreter of sanity who recognizes, to use the words of G. Stanley Hall, that "we are only sane with a working majority of our faculties." Objectivity is related to constructive composure, or what VanWaters calls "uniformity and continuity of feeling." This kind of feeling must grow out of a real rather than a subjective relation to persons and things.

Again, the leader's faith in youth must result in her not being content to have young people face reality by adjusting to any reality in the present disorderly and conflicting culture. She must help them to "face reality," as Frank suggests, by an attempt to create a reality which may in the future become a culture which fosters human values and human fulfilment. This faith sees as the hope of the world youth's persistent if sometimes undisciplined search for reality that answers to the inner strivings of its being.

A leader's faith in youth needs to be implemented by a knowledge of the techniques of working with a group in such a way that it may find the new realities for the new world. The

⁴ *Mental Hygiene*, XXI, No. 2 (April, 1937), 224-30.

leader must recognize that learning has to be done by the learner and acting by the actors. She must recognize the limitations of vicarious experience and action. Her duty is that of the coach who does not play the game but who helps the team to play more effectively than it could without guidance, or of the teacher who offers information, encouragement, or warning needed for the individual's own experience.

In the third place, the mature leader should have lived long enough to be aware of the difference between the symptom and the cause of any behavior difficulty, and should be courageous enough to refuse to alleviate a condition which needs radical reformation. A club in revolt may have used an insignificant occasion for its mutiny. The leader must understand the elements which made for the accumulation of irritation in other than the manifestations of the explosion. The normal evidences of growth which show themselves in dissatisfaction with what has just been acceptable need to be recognized and respected. The leader who cannot allow a club to grow up is to all intents and purposes another mother gone wrong. Too often alumnae groups tend to be the children who are not encouraged to grow up and who, therefore, are in the way of their oncoming brothers and sisters.

Related to the ability to distinguish between symptom and cause is the leader's ability to distinguish an individual from a cultural problem. In the major shift which has occurred in so many areas of life, individuals and groups are facing many cultural problems which can be understood only in their context. For instance, when the time for closing a teen-age party becomes a source of conflict between young people and their elders, one needs to recognize that community clocks have been set ahead for from one to three hours for all ages. Adolescents, it is true, come in at night later than did their parents at their ages, but those parents also come in at a comparably later hour than did their parents. Many problems of an urban or rural group may not result from the particular age or personality makeup of the group, but may be a direct reflection of cultural strains or pressures existent in a given community.

In the fourth place, the mature leader in an interacting, cooperative, growing group should have outgrown her own childish or infantile patterns of reaction. For example, she should have learned that she cannot do all the good things which need to be done. The tendency of many individuals in an organization to attempt to do with a staff cut to half all that was done when it was double its present size brings to unflattering light the fact that those individuals may not be able to make choices as to what is most important or to act in accordance with their choices. To act as if one could do twice as much as one has time to do savors either of a childish belief in magic or of a lack of honesty in the management of time. To overspend a time budget can be little more ethical than to overspend a money one. To attempt to do valuable pieces of work that one has not time to do may make it unnecessary for an organization to face the consequences of its lack of staff. To do too much usually means that one has not yet integrated one's own desires to the point of intelligent and dynamic choice. To be unable to delegate responsibility to another is allied with this lack of focus in making choices. Promiscuity in vocational enterprises may reveal the same basic personality lack as sex promiscuity.

Again, the mature individual who has outgrown her childish or infantile patterns of reaction will have ceased to expect or to trust in a magical or short-cut road to life. In the presence of the social poverty we all must face, it is easy to wish for an Aladdin's lamp and not to realize that the end consequences of magic are not to be desired. There are many who offer to short-cut the process of growth—for example, to make one popular in ten lessons, to psychoanalyze one by mail, or to transform society by dictatorship or revolution. But none of these short-cut methods is recommended by its results. It may be necessary in crises to resort to emergency measures, but no mature group leader makes emergency tactics the basis for the process of growth.

To accept growth as a process is to be able to accept pain and to be able to wait. Initiated by travail, ensuing rebirths are never free from pain. The gestation of ideas or of plans or of

programs is at the price of pain, even though that pain is forgotten in the joy of a new creation. Further, social change of any importance must take time. To try to transform an individual or a group overnight is to do violence to that divine core of life which dare not be manhandled even in the name of the glory of God. The evangelization of the world in this generation was an immature conception of the task of social transformation. In the present world one is forced to live by faith, because the body of values and the core of feeling which are adequate as reality are not yet within our grasp. We must create the reality without which we shall perish.

The mature leader who has outgrown her childish or infantile patterns of reaction is one who recognizes the significance of the present and lives it. This does not mean an opportunistic theory of living in the present, but, rather, refers to the ability to live the present so that it need not be carried into the future. To have been a child is to be ready to be an adolescent. To live one's adolescence is to be saved from being a kittenish woman at thirty-five or an adolescent athlete at fifty. To have missed the fulfilment of any period is psychologically to be unable to leave it. To have lived a relationship with another or with a group is to be able to go on into its new phases or to relinquish it without regret.

Finally, the mature leader should have achieved for herself a dynamic religious faith. This faith may not and probably will not be expressed in orthodox beliefs or statements. Because of the pressure upon her spirit from the needs of others, as well as from her becoming aware of her own life, she cannot stand alone and without resources. These resources cannot be the creation of her subjective imagination or will. She needs to see herself and others integrally a part of whatever process is universal. She must be able to accept the limitations as well as the resources that are hers, not only as a part of the human race but as a part of the totality of life which is the universe. With that grounding for her faith, she can the more effectively work for the accomplishment of that which she may not live to see.

CO-OPERATION AMONG GROUP WORKERS ON A NATIONAL SCALE

Charles E. Hendry
Associate Professor of Sociology
George Williams College, Chicago

AS GROUP work has emerged and become recognized as a basic social function, common to and characteristic of a great variety of agencies and programs, there has been a multiplication of both means and methods of collaboration. Upon inspection this collaboration is found to take four chief forms. The first of these is a council type. This form of collaboration is illustrated in the work of the National Social Work Council, the Social Work Publicity Council, and especially in the National Education-Recreation Council, which was created in 1933, the same year in which the structure of the National Conference was reorganized to include a section on social group work. These three councils are composed of national agency persons and provide opportunities for informal and unofficial exchange of information, inquiry, and discussion. Differences in the degree to which the national agencies pursue a policy of local autonomy, and to which they accept the term "group work," place limitations upon what the councils can undertake.

The Social Group Work Section of the National Conference of Social Work illustrates a second form, the conference type. Like the councils cited above, this organization also is private, unofficial, and informal in its essential character. It differs from the councils chiefly in that it draws its membership from a continent and not a metropolis, and that it telescopes its meetings into a single week. Apart from holding an annual conference

and having selected papers published in the *Proceedings*, no attempt is made to promote or provide year-round collaboration.

The third form of collaboration is more difficult to name. For want of a better term, we will call it the consultation type. Possibly the best example of this pattern of collaboration is found in the recent Advisory Conference of Professional Leaders of Character-Building Agencies, sponsored by the International Council of Religious Education, in Chicago last February. The findings report presented by President Cole of Kalamazoo College constitutes an important document. In the same category may be placed recent planning sessions between representatives of the major group-work agencies and the American Camping Association.

The fourth and final form which we shall identify is illustrated in the continuing and co-ordinated type of combined local and national inquiry represented in the newly organized National Association for the Study of Group Work. This organization was created a year ago in Atlantic City, as a result of two meetings held at that time and at the initiative of the New York Conference on Group Work. The National Association for the Study of Group Work was organized to perform an interim function. It is exactly what its name implies, and the title of its first publication, *Exploring Group Work*, furnishes concrete evidence that it means to hew closely to its central purpose.

Having reviewed the major means employed in achieving co-operation and collaboration among group workers on a national scale, I should like to call attention to seven areas in which co-operation is going forward and give a few examples in each case.

First, probably, in importance, is the need to clarify the function and the field of group work. By this I do not mean that we go into the mass production of armchair definitions of group work. There is a certain futility about definitions, and a certain frigidity that stops rather than stimulates critical and creative thinking. What we need most is not a formulation but a

formula. And, above all, we must keep the elements in solution until we can be reasonably certain that all the elements have been identified and included.

One of the reasons why the National Education-Recreation Council was formed, even though many of the same agencies are members of the National Social Work Council, is because some of these national agencies think of themselves as belonging in the field of education rather than social work. The same consideration, essentially, is reflected in the American Association of Leisure Time Educators, which to date has developed largely in the South. The National Association for the Study of Group Work is deliberately including in its membership persons in progressive education, as well as persons in case work, who are interested in the interrelatedness and interdependence of education, group work, and social case work. By delaying the formation of a professional society; by holding open the questions and issues involved; by scheduling conferences of the Association both in conjunction with the National Conference of Social Work and the Progressive Education Association; by encouraging and sharing in institutes such as the Great Lakes Institute at Lake Geneva; and by exploring qualifications for membership on the part of group workers in organizations such as the American Association of Social Workers—by all these means, the National Association for the Study of Group Work can and is contributing to the maturing of our thinking on these important matters.

Second, closely related to the question of function and relationships is the need for further collaboration in discovering and describing group-work objectives. A counterpart of the Milford Conference, which, over a period of years, produced that brilliant document, *Case Work—Generic and Specific*, needs to be created to achieve a corresponding clarification for group work. Probably the closest approximation to this approach in the field of group work is to be found in the eight consecutive camp institutes held in Chicago under the joint auspices of the Council of Social Agencies and George Williams College, and

the resulting series of monographs which have been published. In many ways the summer camp, by its very concreteness, lends itself to co-operative analysis better than any other manifestation of group work. In the preparation for the meetings of this section last year at Atlantic City, and in the publication of the findings of the several discussion groups under the title *Objectives of Group Work*, a promising beginning was made under the leadership of Clara A. Kaiser.

A third area, not yet even cleared for cultivation, is the field of interpretation. Until the depression fairly forced group workers to "speak up for the character-building agencies" and to proclaim a common social function, interpretation was largely an individual agency matter. It was apparently necessary for the agencies to reach a point of diminishing economic, not educational, returns before they were ready to soft pedal their differences, their distinctive purposes, and set in relief the purposes they held in common. Making due allowance for the monetary motivation behind co-operative efforts at interpretation by the National Social Work and Social Work Publicity Councils and the programs and literature of the Mobilization for Human Needs Committee, and recognizing the growing dependence upon facts rather than upon claims, the interpretation of group work is relatively inarticulate and ineffective, not alone with the public but with professional persons whose functions impinge upon our own. True, substantial difficulty confronts the interpreter as long as the function and field, the objectives and standards, of group work are fuzzy and foggy.

At the base of much of our difficulty is the fact that the literature on group work has grown largely out of an agency rather than an academic setting. Our literature is sectarian, not secular, and is oriented to the needs of a particular organization rather than to a professional function. Much of our best literature is hidden under such ambiguous titles as *Magic Casements*, which diligently avoid the use of the term "group work." Fugitive articles scattered among such agency publications as *Woman's Press* and *The Jewish Center* circulate in little agency eddies

and seldom get swept out into the main stream where they can be readily available to group workers in other agencies and to other persons interested.

What is being done to deal with this situation? Three recent books, two of which are already in print, have employed titles which leave little room to doubt their connection with group work. I refer to Grace Coyle's *Studies in Group Behavior*, S. R. Slavson's *Creative Group Education*, and Louis H. Blumenthal's forthcoming publication, *Group Work in Camping*. With the co-operation of the New York Conference on Group Work, the Russell Sage Foundation has just devoted one of their regular bulletins to a very useful bibliography on group work. The National Association for the Study of Group Work has under advisement the plan of publishing a quarterly on group work next year. In addition, a committee under the chairmanship of Joshua Lieberman is now at work gathering together a generous selection of the best articles and papers pertaining to group work that have appeared during the last few years. These are to be edited and published this fall under the title *Group Work Reprints I*, as the first of a series, in order that a larger deposit of significant group-work literature may be made more accessible.

Fourth, many forces are operating to accentuate the need for the study and appraisal of group work. The urgency of this need is reflected in the growing demand for standards, that is, agreement upon the conditions and practices requisite for effective work. A considerable amount of progress has been made in a few scattered cities, and some effort is reported by the Community Chests and Councils on a wider front. Absence of uniform or adequate records in the different agencies in many cities makes comparative appraisal on any statistical basis quite difficult.

Five approaches deserve brief reference in any inventory of constructive efforts in this area. One of the study commissions appointed by the National Association for the Study of Group Work, and chaired by Grace Coyle, is on records in group work.

The purpose of this commission, which is outlined in *Exploring Group Work*, is to stimulate study, experimentation, and appraisal of records. In response to a request from the Children's Bureau the Association has also appointed a committee to advise with Miss Lenroot and her associates on the "Group Work Reporting Project." A third approach is represented in the Commission on Standards in Group Work, under the chairmanship of Dr. Hedley S. Dimock, whose work on standards in the camping field fits him admirably for this role. I wish to refer also to the committee appointed by the Group Work Section Committee of this Conference to review "group work and leisure-time agencies in recent community studies." I see no reason why the work of this committee, under Roy Sorenson's leadership, just as the work of Clara Kaiser's committee on objectives of last year, should not become a regular and continuous function within the Association. Certainly some provision needs to be made whereby such studies as are being made by the American Youth Commission, the Community Chests and Councils, national group-work agencies, and local councils of social agencies can be examined for their meanings for group work. M. M. Chambers' *Youth-Serving Agencies*, Harl R. Douglass' *Secondary Education for Youth in Modern America*, Charles Johnson's *Girl Scouts Program Study*, Frederic M. Thrasher's *Boy's Club Study*, and similar reports warrant thorough and consistent review. Group-work leaders have reason also to watch carefully the newly projected studies and research program of the American Camping Association. Under the chairmanship of Wilbur I. Newstetter a committee on studies and research is engaged in a comprehensive survey of the major problems and issues in the field of camping.

Five, we are beginning to recognize that we confront a whole array of problems centering upon the professional group worker—first, in relation to his professional education, and, second, in relation to such matters as security, academic freedom, connection with labor, and interprofessional contacts. Apart from a few papers delivered on the subject of professional curricula

for group work, the discussion of this matter at a few institutes, and consideration of it by committees of the American Association of Schools of Social Work and the American Association of Social Workers, little fundamental interagency thought has been devoted to this problem. Miss Leahy's inquiry under the auspices of the Joint Vocational Bureau has provided us with a supply of much needed information. Wayne McMillen, in his illuminating discussion of "Professional Education for Social Practice" in the current *Survey Midmonthly*, points to the great disparity which exists between what is spent on social services and what is spent on the professional education of those who render these services. The disparity is even more pronounced in our specialized field. On the matter of social security, it should be reported that an independent committee, called the National Committee on Inclusion of Social Work Agencies under the Social Security Act, is at work.

Six, without a doubt the most vulnerable set of practices in group work come to a focus in our reliance upon and use of non-professional group leaders. Group work confronts a crisis at this point. With the lifting of the depression sources of leadership are drying up. Scarcity tends to introduce an expectancy of remuneration. Turnover presents a constant threat. A substantial percentage of our group leaders is inferior. Recruiting, training, and supervisory procedures are far from uniform or effective. Joint interagency action on this problem is long overdue. Our hopes, therefore, for the work of Arthur L. Swift's Commission on the Selection and Training of Group Leaders, as outlined in *Exploring Group Work*, obligate all of us to cooperate to the limit in closing in on this glaring gap in our group-work practice.

Seven, I have left a discussion of group-work methods and techniques until the last because I frankly believe they are secondary in importance to the six areas which we have considered up to this point. There can be no question, however, that clarity of objectives will not automatically guarantee valid performance. If we must have clear objectives we must also

have precise instruments to work with. The need is upon us, therefore, to lift experimentation and study from a local into a national setting, and to begin to work together in concerted and co-ordinated fashion on such specialized problems as intake and assimilation, grouping, group therapy, referral practices, measurement of outcomes, and to explore further the role of group work in neighborhood organization, in social action, in physical activities, and in the creative arts.

No survey of co-operation between group workers would be complete were we to overlook the way in which many of our number have allied themselves with the efforts of youth who have been going it alone. Group workers related to the American Youth Congress have achieved a spiritual kinship. They have demonstrated that youths are partners to respect and not puppets to manipulate.

If group workers, through the several methods and means now available for collaboration, continue to focus their attention upon genuinely crucial aspects of their enlarging social function, and do so with the vitality and vision which now begins to characterize their efforts, we may anticipate, with renewed assurance, a greatly accelerated professional development.

COMMON SOCIAL OBJECTIVES OF RELIGION EDUCATION, AND SOCIAL WORK

*Rabbi James G. Heller, The Isaac M. Wise
Temple, Cincinnati*

FEW things are more important than the clarification of the objectives of our own work and its relation to some central, all-embracing philosophy or ideal. Doubtless it was because of the conviction of the truth of this that I was asked to discuss the common social objectives of religion, education, and social work. The importance of this subject inheres not only in itself, in the urgent need of devoting ourselves occasionally to the elucidation of filiations as well as distinctions, but also in the misunderstandings and conflicts that are rife among us.

Ever since social service organizations began, and increasingly along their course, they have had to endure not a little religious obloquy. At first these were the tasks of churches and synagogues—the aid of the poor, the sporadic collections for this and similar tasks. To the religious it has seemed often that social work has moved toward an ever more intense secularism, that it has divorced philanthropy from humanity, that it has made an unnatural schism between body and spirit. Bitter words have been spoken, and profound resentments are still harbored, probably on both sides.

In most of our states there is a formal divorce between religion and public education. In some places the Bible is read, usually without comment. In others there is an attempt at ethical instruction, with the use of codes and projects. But in most places, because of the tragic experience of sectarian hatred in the past, because of the difficulty in teaching religion without arousing denominational passions, religious instruction is left

to sectarian schools, and a conscious effort is made to avoid any embroilment. Thus it has happened more than once that public education has been called agnostic or atheistic.

With the progressive departure from religion of many of the activities traditionally associated with it, among which both social work and education were numbered in past centuries, and with the passage of a number of decades of popular positivism about the universe, the feeling became widespread that religion was a social vestige, that it had little to do with the actualities of life. Having served as the matrix of the arts and the sciences among primitive men, religion seems to many like a parent that persists in living on when its time is past, and when its progeny are fully able to fend for themselves and to govern their own world.

Thus it is that on the surface there is conflict and misunderstanding. And anyone who listens to some of the strident voices of intolerant and superficial protagonists of any of the three would believe that the differences are irreconcilable.

Many ways might be adopted for trying to resolve these discords. One, and the most frequent, is to indulge in a host of impassioned encomiums, to assert that all is for the best in the best possible of worlds, to contend that all three human interests are pursuing the right way, and to insist on the unreality of their conflicts. This method is like that by which religions so often speak to each other about good will, and continue to display enmity and ill will.

Why are education, religion, and social work separate professions, separate activities, separate organizations? To what extent should they be distinct? Wherein do they overlap on methods and in ideals?

In its history society proceeds from identity to difference, from vague customs—which hold a host of potentialities in suspension—to the sharper definition and separate organization of these possibilities. There are obvious reasons for this process in the human mind and its habits. Before an idea can be fixed, it must be conceived; vague outlines precede clear ones. The

processes of human thought in the individual are in many ways analogous to the course of social evolution, in respect to such activities as religion, art, education, science, etc. We think by intuitions, by sudden leaps in the dark. Long before rational demonstration comes the reaching out toward the truth. Long after the trail has been blazed on the trees logic follows with its broad highway. The generative factor is in the mystery of the spirit—the so-called “proof” follows as a convenient arrangement. Or, to state this more simply, in the mind we move from the general to the particular, from the vague to the concrete, from the comprehensive to the differentiated, from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous.

In early societies all the normal activities of the human spirit are closely welded together, and it is difficult to draw distinctions between ethics, faith, law, primitive science or magic, or art. The most obvious analogy is with simple organisms, in which there is little specialization of cell function, little elaboration into organs and nervous system. Early man does not draw sharp distinctions between the world and himself, or between the quality of his reactions to his environment. With him the sensual and the spiritual are confused.

Education was almost invariably a religious function. It comprised all the collection of customs and attitudes which the group thought essential for its own perpetuation. In most places it was capped with the ceremony of initiation, and with all the awe with which the tribe could hedge it about. Of social work per se there was none among early men. But it may fairly be said that the primitive's concept of the coherence of his society was not exclusively practical, not merely to secure his survival, not only because before long he recognized the relation between gregariousness and his very existence, but because he exalted it into an ideal, into a taboo, into a faith.

What is the reason for this whole process—for differentiation, specialization, and their results in the creation of such social organisms as law, education, and the rest? It is not too difficult to discern. In spite of the contention of some modern philoso-

phers that all divisions are artificial, men have for long tended to break up their experience into different aspects: the physical and the spiritual, the social and the individual, the temporal and the eternal. Take but one instance which happens to be closer to my own interests.

Sound is only one of the avenues of sense by which we reach knowledge of the external world. To a simple man it is not different in nature from sight or touch, and its aesthetic possibilities are hidden. If Pratt is correct in his contention that the aesthetic experience consists in noticing the quality of a sensation, then it took a long time before men isolated sound in attention, and came to think of it by itself and for its own sake. How long the process still is from that point to the creation and recognition of a purely musical sound, of various sounds and their erection into a hierarchy of scales and harmonies, of colors and dynamic forms! All this one must know in order to see its full duration and its full wonder.

Yet even this is simple compared with those in which we are interested. In education we are dealing not with the isolation of a sensory strand, but of a social function, a function in the life of the individual, of the family, and of the group. Viewed in this way education is the transmission from generation to generation of the momentum of social culture. It is the social means for securing cultural heredity. Only recently have great societies delegated this function to a special group of teachers, and for all children within the state. Only recently has it been taken from the family, removed from the realm of the casual and sporadic to the conscious and planned.

In the past education was either a brilliant episode, as in Athens among the children of the free citizens; a dream, as in Plato's *Republic*; a little area of personal influence, as in Pythagoras' school at Cortona. With the participation of the individual in society increasing by leaps and bounds, with the enormous elaboration of the organic character of society, with the increment in human knowledge since the Renaissance, with the belief that men can govern themselves by the use of reason,

with the need for skills in the operation of our society, and with the inability of the family, deficient as it became in both knowledge and method, to achieve all this, education became not a privilege, not a luxury, but an absolute social necessity. Even in the Middle Ages a guild of goldsmiths, with all its marvelous and intricate knowledge of its craft, could not persist without a careful system of apprenticeship. The more the individual must learn, the more to biologic recapitulation is added the necessity of cultural recapitulation, the more imperatively does society need institutions of education.

But perhaps I am going too far afield. The same point which I have been making is applicable to any field of society. It is that the more organic a society becomes the more does it tend toward differentiation of functions.

There is, however, another side to the picture. We must always be careful in our conduct of such central human activities that they retain their relationship to the central purpose of the whole, that they do not lose their organic character. All of us remember the story of Roman antiquity of the revolt of stomach, hands, and the rest against the brain. It is possible for an organism to fall apart, to disintegrate. A genuine organism in the individual, or in society, is one in which, while all parts pursue their separate function, all conduce toward a central life and a central purpose.

Even so it is with social activities, in their differentiation and specialization. Ideally they can be judged not solely by their own aims and ends, by their own methods and techniques, but by their relation to the corporate life and the corporate goal of all society. Among a great many preposterous ideas Oswald Spengler had some brilliant intuitions. And one of them is that a culture informs all its manifestations—that there is an organic relation between science, mathematics, architecture, language, religion, and all the rest. There is no reason why all social activities should not be related in purpose, in the spirit that informs them, to a common goal, to the vision of a specific ideal, united by a common interpretation of life and the world.

It is important that this be borne in mind, that the centrifugal tendencies of separate social activities be counteracted. Workers in any field should criticize their own labors by this criterion among others. They must resist the temptation to build up a purely professional attitude, an attitude so precise and so sclerotic that it exalts means above ends, that it has come to regard its own field as an end in itself, that it can no longer distinguish between professional ideals and human ideals. Science must resist the tendency to fall into disparate categories. And reason becomes arid when it cuts itself off from the living stream. It is important, for example, not to stop with a conception of social work as an attempt to correct the ills of a social order in their relation to individuals, to treat of social maladjustments resulting from personal and social disorders, but also and constantly to relate these to the longer problem of social evolution, to the struggle to create a just society, and never to cease relating the immediate and the urgent to a general philosophy of social change and social organization.

Historically and ideally we ought now to be ready for the final stage of this discussion. All three of the fields we are discussing result from differentiations of social function. But in all of them the same questions are implicit, the same problems in regard to man. They are descended from the same needs, which have simply evolved in complexity and in variety of expression and satisfaction.

If I have established my point of view in what has already been said, it should be unnecessary to ask what are the specific divergences and the specific identities. Education, religion, and social work are simply three aspects of the one central task, the one central problem: man and his destiny, man as he labors and grows, man as he evolves in insight. Social work is the adjustment of man to the society he creates. Education is the linkage of the generations in their progressive attack upon the perennial problems. And, as succinctly and significantly as it can be put, religion is the realm of social and individual ideals, of those central notions about ourselves and our world, in which

as in the air all the rest is suspended. I speak not of religion as a historical form, as a church, a composite of creeds and rites—but of religion as an effort of man to conceive of himself, of the meaning of his life, and of the universe in relation to him.

Let me ask the questions that are inherent in these statements a bit more specifically.

EDUCATION

There is a hierarchy of educational values. Most simply, education is the effort to furnish tools, the ability to read, to write, to count. Theoretically it should proceed next to method, how to read, something of what to read—how to think, the arousing of wonder, a preliminary survey of the field of knowledge. In the society of today, and for the majority, it must also comprise the effort to bestow skills, to train in the crafts, to fit children for a vocation. But we have neglected the fourth phase, which is becoming the most pressing of all—that is training in social thinking, in the ability to comprehend the essentials of the life that gyrates about the growing child. It is in this region that education touches most closely upon social work. Not only are the two related, they are causally connected. Clearly the oldest problem of democracy, the ability of men to govern themselves, is conditioned upon their capacity for social comprehension.

I contend that there are two elements that go along with the entire educational process: the ethical and the spiritual (although I dislike using this latter, vague term). School life is itself a microcosmic social life, and has its standards and its folkways. It is a truism to say that every subject has its ethical value, discipline in intellectual honesty, the broadening of sympathies, orientation in the historical and contemporary ways of men which is always one of the chief elements in moral behavior. All this ought to be envisaged not as a separate field, not as a verbal regimen, but in its integration to the processes of growth within the system, to the color of knowledge as it is assimilated.

Nor is this the end of the educational process. In every age men have created for themselves a picture of the universe and of their place in it, and all the disparate elements of the mind and the desires of the heart find their place in this concept or this vision. In its best sense education is the evocation of such a world-view, of the essentials of a religion. It is tragic that the wars of creeds prevent our acknowledging that this is the ultimate aim of a good education. Were it not for our insensate denominationalism, our intolerance of sectarian ideas, there would be no divorce between secular and religious education. Ideally it is fatal to teach secular knowledge and religious beliefs as though they were separate categories of thought and of action. The second should emanate from the first. A good education should strive to make whole personalities, men who can think for themselves, who have a vision beyond themselves, whose reach exceeds their grasp, who fuse thought and action by means of a mature concept of the world, of society, and of themselves.

Education touches upon social work in many ways: in its attempt to save men from maladjustment; in its attempt to correct the injustices of the social order by giving to the many the privileges of the mind; in its duty to deepen and widen social knowledge and thus to lay a broad foundation for genuine democracy and for building the society of the future—a task, this last, which must be done again and again. Education touches upon religion, since religion is not only a static system of ideas, transmitted from age to age, but the initiation of each generation as it arises and grows.

SOCIAL WORK

No social worker worthy of the name will agree to divorce the immediate from the ultimate objectives of his tasks. The present is intelligible not only in the light of the past but also of the future.

But, even in the case of the immediate and the intensely practical, the social worker depends upon certain profound, if

not always clearly recognized, human motives. To study the evolution of ethics is to behold how slowly the ideas of justice and mercy came to abide among men. From the archaic world, when as in the Code of Hammurabi and the early pages of the Bible, the *lex talionis*, the law of retaliation, was the ethical foot rule, down to the morals of Leviticus, Deuteronomy, and Jesus, in which love supersedes revenge and justice is tempered by mercy, there is an arduous and toilsome process. But behind all the expression of social law is the concept of the duty of man to man, of the effort to make this a happier world, of the possibility of improving our lot not only by struggles with nature but by more effective and profounder adjustments within the social organism. In the end all of us do conceive society under the aspect of brotherhood, do believe that man does not live by bread alone, do understand that men stand or fall together, do perceive that there is a causal relationship between social amelioration and the deepening of the sense of mutual responsibility.

Upon this faith, and upon its presence in most men, social work rests. This is true even of its ameliorative aspect. How much more is this true when one comes to consider the ultimate objective of our work. Do we desire a just society? Why should we want it, and what are its relations to the mass of men? Must we cast overboard all such hard-won values as liberty, truth, and brotherhood, in favor of a philosophy of social power that depends upon the cynical deception of men, upon brutal force, upon conquest, upon the perversion of the social machinery to the purposes and uses of the few? This is not only a momentous question in the world at this very moment, but in its essence it is a religious question. And I doubt whether ultimately it can be answered except in the sphere of religion. I speak of it as an illustration that you cannot divorce the ultimate objectives of society from the realm of goals, concepts of man—in other words, from that of religious ideas.

I believe that some of the failure of social workers to understand these two relations, to ethics and to religious concepts

(the relation of social amelioration to ethics, and of social reform to ideals), results from the newness of their profession. In all vocations there is a stage of the elaboration of technique. But social work will pass, perhaps has already passed, this stage. It will understand that its allies are to be found among the idealists, that it must rely upon the belief in justice and mercy, both in the giver and in the worker; and that, plunged as it is into the turbulent stream of social need, it must contract alliances with those who are impatient of suffering among men, who refuse to regard it as inevitable, who will not condone it forever.

RELIGION

To both these, education and social work, as to many other enterprises and ideals of men, religion has the relation of spirit to body, of mother to children. I have never bemoaned the departure of education or social work from the suzerainty of religion. Religion does not lose, but ultimately gains, in the process. It is enabled to devote itself more directly, and I believe more effectively, to its own task.

And what is that task? I need not apologize for believing that it is the highest of all. I believe that man is a living soul, that he must comprehend before he acts, and dream before he sees. The task of religion is expressed partially in both education and social work. Religion stands at the end of the process of learning. But it should also stand at the beginning in giving direction and inspiration to it. It holds forth the hope of complete manhood. It asks that learning end with unity, the unity of a consistent and hopeful view of the world and of the soul. Religion envisages the end of the social process in the attainment of complete justice, love, and peace.

Religion is profoundly interested in both education and social work. It must have the courage to approach them in the light of its ideals, and to exert upon them a tireless criticism as to methods and aims. It must also urge upon all its sincere adherents co-operation with these agencies as a way of bringing its beliefs into actuality.

As a token of the essential community of education, social work, and religion it would be well to set up co-ordinating bodies in each city, which should consider the many interlocking problems of all three, and which should strive to labor together in harmony, to fructify their own labors by the cross-fertilization of ideals and experiences, and to strive toward an essential concord of ideals.

In our own city there are already many specific types of formal co-operation: through the employment center (which is a combination of education and social work), through the visiting teachers, through work for delinquent children, and so forth. Religion and social work co-operate in the participation in the community chest of many religious organizations, in the delegation of a secretary for social work to the federation of churches, and by active co-operation in the campaigns for the chest by the churches and synagogues of the city. Between religion and education in the public schools the relations are more remote, though there are active Hi-Y Clubs in the high schools and some attempts at civic training in the secondary schools.

But above these we need a body which will consider the entire question in a larger light—which will be able to judge policies, aims, the bearing of the time upon all three, and the ways in which each may conduce to the others.

I should like to close with a reiteration of the fundamental conviction which underlies this paper: The task of society is one. Out of the matrix of the past have emerged specialized functions. But all of them, deeply enough considered, still represent one task, one ideal, and one interpretation of the world. They may diverge at times, but the exigencies of their own labors and their own struggle to think their way through will cause them to converge again. Mankind is one, and its pilgrimage has but one final goal. Let us, then, lift up our eyes from the ground, and fix them inflexibly upon it!

GROUP WORK AND GROUP-WORK AGENCIES IN RECENT COMMUNITY STUDIES

SUMMARY OF COMMITTEE REPORTS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

*Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary
National Council, Y.M.C.A.'s, Chicago*

DURING the last several years a number of community studies have been made which reveal findings about group work in various community agencies. The purpose of this analysis and summary is to discover what we have learned from them.

A committee was appointed, consisting of Roy Sorenson (Chairman), Mildred Esgar, Charles E. Hendry, E. D. Lynde, W. I. Newstetter, Leroy Ramsdell, Frank Skalak, Margaret Svendsen, Mrs. Nina Wensley, and Mrs. C. T. Wolfe, to make this analysis. Responsibilities were accepted by various committee members for abstracting one or more major studies and listing findings under a common set of categories. Eight abstracts of seven studies were submitted to the Chairman for summary and organization. The findings are classified with reference to: (1) social function, (2) personnel, (3) community and neighborhood organization, (4) constituency, (5) group-work methods, (6) finance, (7) equipment, (8) criteria of evaluation and standards. Then concise evaluations of the seven studies are presented. As a conclusion the major values or learnings from the studies and their implications for group work and group-work agencies are listed. Lists of the studies reviewed and the sources of data are appended.

It is regrettable that in a summary of this sort the richness of fact and interpretation cannot be reproduced and therefore

appreciated. The detail which gives the studies their character and significance obviously cannot be included in this analysis and such loss fails to do any of the studies justice.

MAJOR FINDINGS

1. *Social function.*—Where references are made to the social function of group-work services in communities, it is significant that there is insistence upon the positive and creative educational function of group work in contrast to the assumption in some quarters that group work is chiefly a preventive service. Such a case is made in the Hartford, Boston, Pittsburgh, and Providence studies. In the *Pittsburgh Report* for illustration, group work is characterized as a means of "Development of personality to its greatest capacity, development of cultural and social ideals, and co-operative living . . . transcending in importance mere preventive programs with reference to such social problems as delinquency and crime." The study further states that "Group work involves certain means of consciously affecting the social experience of persons in groups for educational, personality, and social growth, and the guidance of group experience as a means of furthering other socially desirable needs."

The *Boston Report* describes two handicaps to the understanding of group work as a basic social function, namely, lack of interagency interpretation and confusion in the use of terms employed to describe the function represented. "Each agency tells of its separate services for youth and adults with the result that the public is agency conscious rather than need conscious. Agency philosophies, methods, and terminologies are more apparent and consciously expressed than common objectives, methods, and terms" (p. 13). The report contrasted values and limitations in the use of terms such as "education," "recreation," "character building," "social education," "personality education," "recreational education," and "group work."

Considerable criticism of group-work agencies and little gen-

eral understanding of their function is reported by the reviewer of the Elmira study. The agencies were not able to make a clear-cut interpretation of their functions.

Greater clarity of definition of function between public recreation and private agency group work is found to be needed in the Hartford, Boston, and Providence studies. In the *Hartford Report* there is evidence of confusion and misunderstanding regarding the respective functions of public and private agencies. The *Providence Report* states that private agencies have erred in continuing functions now generally regarded as public functions and have not given public recreation the interest and support which is needed to interpret it to the community and to raise its quality and value. Group-work agencies in Hartford were found to be too much concerned with the promotion of mass recreation and preconceived activity programs. "As long as public recreation fails to provide the budget and leadership for what are essentially public functions, the private agencies will carry them and by that amount will be retarded in the development of what seems to be essentially private functions" (*Hartford Report*, p. 37).

2. *Personnel*.—Two classes are reviewed:

a) *Full-time group workers*.—"The personnel of social agencies is perhaps the most important single item in evaluating the quality of the service rendered in the community," states the *Pittsburgh Report* (release No. 1, p. 43). The data which the studies then present might lead to the conclusion that group-work agencies are not in a position to give adequate supervision and do not employ trained staffs to do the skilful and intensive work with individuals and small groups which, they claim, is the thing which sets them off from public agencies.

Only twelve of the thirty-six agency units in Pittsburgh report that they require professional training as a qualification in selecting personnel. While the general educational background of the 176 full-time workers is fairly adequate (17 per cent lacking college work), 40 per cent of these full-time workers lack any professional education. Only 12 per cent belong to the

A.A.S.W. and only 20 per cent belong to any national professional association. (Release No. 1., p. 37.)

The *Elmira Report* comments about personnel agency by agency. "In . . . the lack of a group worker is obvious. It is a question whether it is wise economy to employ young inexperienced boys to assist in carrying a program with boys. In . . . the same lack is apparent. The secretaries meet the requirements in formal education but have majored in a field which is not expected to train people for group-work positions" (p. 154). Again, "Although he is a college graduate his qualifications for the position lie in the years of accumulated experience on the job, rather than in any special training as an educator or social worker" (p. 166).

The lack of provision for the training of the full-time staffs in basic educational and personality insights was commented upon in the *Boston Report*. An unwarranted reliance was placed on the possession of activity skills. When a reading list was checked this gap in equipment was further elaborated.

The *Providence Report* states that full-time group workers were lacking in explicit group-work training and were particularly short on mental hygiene understanding and on a sociological grasp of community problems. They were also relatively unaware of recent developments in the field of group work.

By their rating of behavior difficulties included in the Wickman Rating Scale Device (E. R. Wickman, *Children's Behavior and Teachers' Attitudes*, Commonwealth Fund), the Hartford group workers, like teachers, considered as least important the recessive behavior patterns which clinicians, on the other hand, ranked most important. The report comments upon the deficit in personality insight and in skill for the adjustment and enrichment of personality through group experience. A rating of group-work problems likewise revealed little awareness of the major problems in the field of group-work methods on the part of Hartford group workers.

It is significant that the most frequently occurring recommendation as one reviews all of the studies is that of providing

more professional training opportunities for full-time group workers. The Cleveland group-work study recommended special courses at Western Reserve University, which were provided. The *Pittsburgh Report* recommends that local schools should provide special classes for experienced staff members lacking in professional education and that boards be urged to release staff members on agency time for such study. The study likewise recommends that the Group Work Division of the Federation of Social Agencies set up a committee on personnel. The Boston, Hartford, and Providence studies recommended training institutes for full-time group workers in education, personality insight, and group work.

Great variety in the participant load of full-time group workers was reported in the Boston study. Paid workers varied from 1 paid staff person for every 55 participants to 1 paid staff person for every 1,161.

b) *Volunteer leadership.*—The bulk of the direct leadership of groups is nonprofessional and largely volunteer. In Pittsburgh 175 professional (or full-time) workers supervise 6,330 nonprofessional workers, 91 per cent of which are volunteer. Therefore, the paid workers have little or no time for personal leadership of clubs and classes. What little direct leadership is given to clubs and classes by full-time staff persons would seem from the Boston study to be chiefly that of instructors of physical classes. In Boston 77 per cent of all groups led directly by full-time paid staff persons were physical classes.

The average tenure of volunteer leaders in Pittsburgh and Boston was fairly similar. In Pittsburgh 31 per cent of the volunteers served less than one year and 20 per cent less than two years. In Boston 30.5 per cent of the volunteers were serving their first year and 27 per cent their second year. Two-thirds of the over six thousand Pittsburgh volunteer leaders were under twenty-five years of age.

When Hartford volunteer leaders were rated on various qualities of leadership their deficiencies in basic technical equipment for group leadership were considerable. Along with

these deficiencies the training programs for volunteers in Hartford were found to be stronger in activity skills than in those having to do with personality development and group-work informal education.

In Boston some variety in the way a volunteer leader is defined was noted. The Y.W.C.A. reported only "trained volunteers."

The Tremont Area study noted that the settlement imported leaders without intimate knowledge of prevailing national customs, and usual of different nationality with marked social and economic differences. The report also records a need for leaders of adult groups who speak native tongues.

"Observation of the community would lead us to the conclusion," states the *Pittsburgh Report*, "that there were many potential volunteer leaders who were ready to take an active part in the development of the social-work program but that the professional leadership was not sufficiently skilful to encourage and make the best use of volunteers."

Likewise the Boston study reports that adequate policies for the supervision of leaders were lacking.

3. *Community and neighborhood organization*.—The most adequate description of the nature of one of the disintegrated sections of a metropolitan community is that so vividly pictured in the Tremont Area study, *Between Spires and Stacks*. Maps, pictographs, and quoted interviews augment exposition in 91 pages of enlightening description and analysis. The contribution of this section of the study lies in the realistic and complete portrayal of the kind of factors which any neighborhood planning must take into account. The area, which is characterized in summary as a natural area, an isolated area, a transitional area, and a "marked area," is shown to be full of conflicts of many kinds which doom to failure neighborhood efforts which ignore them.

Observations about the lack of an adequate co-ordinated program for the prevention of delinquency, a strong indication that different agencies in the area had little knowledge of de-

tails of program at the settlement and that the settlement was not familiar with other leisure resources in the area, as well as ample other evidence of lack of co-ordination of various services, lead to calling attention to the need for closer relationship between case-work agencies, group-work agencies, schools, courts, and police.

Additional evidence of the need for better community and neighborhood organization is provided by the Elmira, Providence, and Boston studies. The *Elmira Report* states: "Lack of co-operation is sometimes attributed to an agency because it has been impossible for it to comply on short notice with the request of another agency. Social planning begins farther upstream and is something entirely different from just trying to adapt the resources of one group to the wishes of another. It is also more than the prevention of overlapping. It involves discrimination in deciding what shall be done and what shall be omitted."

Acute lack of co-ordination in the administration of the public recreation programs is reported in the Boston study. Likewise, the *Boston Report* notes lack of co-ordination between public and private agencies, between group-work and case-work services, and between the Settlement Division and the Character-Building Division of the Council of Social Agencies. Even the settlement and character-building studies were conducted separately.

The Providence study deals most directly with the problem of improving neighborhood organization of social services. It reveals that even with a council of social agencies and community fund the community, and particularly the professional leaders, have failed to see the whole pattern of community needs and services. Attention continues to be directed primarily upon particular agencies, or upon groups of agencies with a common function, and only secondarily is attention directed upon the whole interrelated and interdependent array of agency services. This is especially evident in the lack of decentralizing co-ordination in local neighborhoods. Six problem areas were

discovered, three of them badly disorganized. Many service agencies sent workers into these areas. Further, the boundaries of the service areas of the different agencies did not correspond, let alone coincide, and consequently district offices and the location of supervisors mitigated against any co-ordinated attack. No provision was made for co-ordination between workers in the same block, for representatives of agencies serving the same area to meet specific situations which created the problems whose symptoms they sought to deal with, or for the development of indigenous, resident leadership in such local neighborhoods.

In Pittsburgh there was evidence of beginning efforts at co-ordination in neighborhoods through community councils. Out of 36 agencies, 22 reported participation at one time or another in 15 community councils. Eleven group-work agencies were headquarters for such councils.

Perhaps the most significant aspect of the Hartford, Tremont Area, and Providence studies is the fact that they lead to experimentation with neighborhood organization. The Hartford survey recommended the development of experimental neighborhood units to further develop information about the social problems of the neighborhood, families, and individuals living in it and to co-ordinate the work of all social and health agencies now giving service in the neighborhood and to more effectively adapt their services to specific conditions in the neighborhood. The Mitchell House Area project resulted.

The recommendations in Hartford concerning the development of the "neighborhood units" represent greater vision than maturity. The Hartford proposal supplied the big idea. It took experience with the Mitchell House Area in Hartford, the Tremont Area study, and the Providence survey to add the necessary refinement and revision. The recognition that each of the areas must be dealt with as a unique situation calling for its own pattern of organization may be regarded as a significant point of emphasis, if not a contribution.

The Providence survey recommended that a department of

neighborhood organization with a full-time secretary be created within the Council of Social Agencies. Three local areas were selected for experimentation, with the Council of Social Agencies made responsible for the demonstration areas for a period not to exceed two years. Three strategically located local agencies were requested to turn over their plants and programs for experimental use. Joint appointment of a director by the neighborhood unit and the Council of Social Agencies is proposed. The three directors of the area units would be representatives of the Department of Neighborhood Organization in their respective neighborhoods.

While the Tremont Area study does not recommend a developed plan of community organization, it advances "tentative suggestions" for community organization in the Tremont Area. Certain assumptions underlie the suggestions: (1) "Mobilization of all of the social forces in an area to maintain certain essential functions and to meet clearly defined sets of needs . . . rather than isolating one functional group from another which results in little mingling across specialized fields." (2) "Community organization must not only cut across agency lines, but across functional lines." (3) "Community organization must enlist those persons, groups, and institutions where actual authority and controls rest." (4) "Community organization to be effective must often include persons whose behavior is unconventional in relation to the generally accepted social definition if such persons wield substantial influence with the residents." The tentative suggestions revolve about "the appointment of a person from outside the area to serve as the agent for integrating existing resources and services. Such a person, free from the necessity to defend any particular institution would continuously appraise needs, relate existing resources to these needs, build up community participation, and seek means of extending resources and ways of effecting modifications in practices." This person would not be attached to any of the present group-work or case-work agencies, nor to the Welfare Federation, but rather would work under the sponsorship of "a

citizens' committee composed of representatives related to all of the eight major functions (making and maintaining homes, getting a living, keeping healthy, securing an education, using leisure, caring for the handicapped, regulating communal affairs, and participating in religious practices), and to include nationality leaders." This person should not be supplied equipment, should not direct activities or a staff, and in the beginning even an office should be avoided (pp. 198-201).

4. *Constituency.*—The constituency of the 32 group-work agencies in Pittsburgh serving 43,663 registrants represents about 7 per cent of the population of the city, or about 20 per cent of the ages served. In Providence the proportion of population served is about the same, 7.8 per cent. An analysis by districts was made in Boston and the percentage of the population in the various Boston districts varied from 1.4 to 24.6 per cent for the character-building agencies, and from 0.3 to 19.1 per cent for the settlements.

About half of the participants are school children. In Pittsburgh one-half of all participants were between the ages of ten and seventeen years, while only one-fifth of the participants were over twenty-five years of age. In Boston 46.6 per cent of the total constituency were children of school age.

Male participants outnumber female participants two to one in Pittsburgh. Females predominate only at the ages under ten and over twenty-four.

A higher proportion of the total colored population than that of the white was enrolled in Pittsburgh agencies at the time of the study.

From 30 per cent to 80 per cent of the participants in the group-work agencies in Hartford and Providence come from families registered in the social service exchange. In Hartford the range is from 36 per cent in the Girl Scouts to 86 per cent in the settlements. In Providence the range is from 33 per cent in the Girl Scouts and the Y.M.C.A. to 79 per cent in a neighborhood agency.

Out of 250 juvenile-court cases in Hartford for June, 1933,

21.2 per cent of the boys and 16.7 per cent of the girls were enrolled in group-work agencies. The settlement in the Tremont Area had contact with delinquent boys in the area in the same proportion approximately that it had contact with all boys ten to nineteen years of age.

Only 5.3 per cent of the 19,928 persons active in Providence group-work agencies were active in more than one group-work agency.

The Tremont Area study lists a number of factors which their data showed to influence the nature of the constituency in the area. They included geographic proximity as the chief selective factor, brightness (the boys over sixteen years of age who were actively associated with the settlement were found to have a probable learning rate five points above the median of the neighborhood), character of the program and the type of facilities, frustration or achievement in accomplishing goals set by the group, and subtle differences in the standards of the group-work agency and the neighborhood (pp. 157-60).

Special groups in need of attention were mentioned. The Pittsburgh study revealed that mixed groups for preadolescents and adolescents are relatively unemphasized. Of the group work for both sexes, 80 per cent was for persons over nineteen years. The Tremont Area study points to the need of discovering and meeting the social needs of older boys now organized in groups but not related to any group-work agency, and calls attention to the need for service to the mentally handicapped.

5. *Group-work methods.*—These are reviewed under five headings:

a) *Prevalence of group-work method.*—The evidence gathered in several of the studies would point to the fact that group work in its essential refinements of purpose and procedure is not yet well developed. "All of the organizations are weak in a group-work program," states the *Elmira Report* (p. 172). "The groups within the agencies were in the main those which are the generally accepted pattern for the national organization

with which the local agencies were affiliated." The Providence survey reports that:

Many of the agencies working in the leisure-time field in Providence have not been organized to work on a group-work basis. The buildings are not equipped to handle small groups. . . . The time of the workers is absorbed in taking charge of the special interest projects and general play. Neither the facilities of the plant nor the time and energy of the workers are available for a group work program. . . . In the more technical sense, and despite the fact that the standard patterns of the respective national programs are carried out very well, the services to the constituencies at present contain very little real group work [*Providence Report*, p. 85].

The size of clubs and classes and the ratio of leadership to participants indicates that the small-group unit essential for group-work methods is not yet the rule in group-work agencies. The average size of classes in Boston was quite favorable to the group-work method, the average being 13 persons for 1,853 classes. Club groups, on the other hand, which one would suppose to be smaller, averaged 21.5 persons for 786 clubs. There were two and a half times more persons in classes than clubs in the Boston agencies. The leader-participant ratio reported in the Pittsburgh study varied between the various agencies from 1 leader for 12 participants to 1 leader for every 203 participants.

b) *Content of program.*—The content of program revealed a heavy preponderance of physical activity. In Boston physical activity classes accounted for 41.6 per cent of the total number of classes. In Pittsburgh 45 per cent of the classes were those in physical activities. Three of the studies emphasized the need for a greater variety and wider range in program content. More handicraft, music, and dramatics were suggested by the Cleveland group-work study. The Boston study recommended a better balance between physical activities and the arts and crafts, music, social skills, and home-making skills. The Tremont Area study called attention to the need for more opportunities for music, manual activities, swimming, auto mechanics, radio, amateur scientific exploration, dramatics, and drawing in that particular neighborhood. It likewise expressed

the need of opportunities for mixed activities, with emancipation from adult authority.

It is worth noting that descriptions or mention of explicit, deliberate experimentation in group work is lacking in the various reports. The *Boston Report* comments about this scarcity. Better skill in dealing with groups in their native habitat, in taking service to the group rather than bringing the group to the house, was stressed by the Tremont Area study. It likewise urged a more understanding approach to older boys, catering to their natural groups and their insistence upon relatively few restrictive rules.

c) *Individual guidance*.—Some suggestion appears for the improvement of guidance or the individualization of group programs. The Cleveland group-work study calls for better provision for individual guidance. The *Boston Report* indicates that considerable guidance is done, yet questions how significant this is, considering the meager equipment for counseling on the part of most of the professional staff. Admission practices were studied in Boston and in most of the agencies were found to be fairly casual. The Central Registration Bureau at the Y.W.C.A. was a conspicuous exception and revealed a soundly conceived and well-conducted process of participant admissions.

d) *Records*.—Records appear to be inadequate. Service figures in the Cleveland group-work study were not too accurate, since completely uniform methods were not in use. This situation has been somewhat corrected through recommendations of the study. The Elmira study calls attention to the lack of records resulting in little basis for comparison with other organizations in the community or with similar organizations in other communities. Record practices were reported as varying from nothing but a roll of names in a book to certain standardized forms required by national organizations. In Pittsburgh records were reported as being kept largely for administrative purposes. In some agencies records were not adequate to supply some of the detailed information necessary for the study. Likewise, the Boston study states that records were kept by agencies pri-

marily for administrative purposes and for use in recording progress in activity skills. Scarcely any records (with a few noteworthy exceptions) were kept with a view to recording individual background material on individuals or to evaluating programs in terms of personality outcomes or growth. Records were weak or lacking according to the Hartford study. The Tremont Area study "calls for training of group leaders in record keeping and the use of records, as well as for more clerical assistance for the group-work agency." It also calls attention to another aspect of records:

Although it may not be desirable to register with the clearing house all participants in group activities, it would seem that those receiving special attention or who are referred by case-work agencies should be registered. The question of how to make existing family and individual records in social and educational agencies available to group workers calls for attention. Until data from all available sources are accessible to group workers as they are now to the case workers, or until they have facilities to give their own physical and psychological examinations, there can be no effective program of mental hygiene in group-work agencies.

e) *Referrals.*—Referrals are rare and when made are apt to be casual, indirect, unsupported by case data, and not followed through, according to the Providence survey. The Elmira study reports little referral. Records are not yet available, according to the *Boston Report*, to show the extent of referrals. The Boston Y.W.C.A. reported records on the referral of ninety-six persons to forty-eight agencies in one year. The Judge Baker Foundation of Boston reported few specific referrals and little reporting back by group-work agencies. Some consultation between group workers and clinicians and case workers was reported but no records were kept or transmitted. In Hartford only four children in over three years were reported as referred to the Hartley-Salmon Clinic by all group-work agencies. The clinic, on the other hand, referred twenty children to group-work agencies in a single year. Some consultations were held but no formal records were kept.

In view of the gains which need to be made in group-work methods, it is significant that an analysis of the minutes of the

Division on Recreation, Education, and Group Work of the Hartford Council of Social Agencies revealed a preoccupation with the extensional activities and showed little or no attention to the development of group-work standards and the improvement of group-work methods.

6. *Finance.*—The 1934 budgets of the Pittsburgh group-work agencies were 70 per cent of the 1928 budgets. In 1934, 23 out of 34 agencies in Pittsburgh balanced their budgets. Out of 36 Pittsburgh group-work agencies 24 reported annual audits of their books.

The average per capita fee paid toward the support of the Pittsburgh group-work agencies was \$1.87. (The Boy and Girl Scouts were not included in these figures because all of their fees were sent to their national offices.) Fifty per cent of the 43,636 participants in the Pittsburgh agencies paid full membership fees, 20 per cent paid part of the fees, and 30 per cent paid nothing.

The income of Pittsburgh agencies for 1934 revealed that 39 per cent came from fees and receipts from operations, 33 per cent from the Community Fund, 21 per cent from other contribution sources, and 7 per cent from endowment.

Per capita contribution costs in Boston for the character-building agencies, figured on the basis of the amount of community subsidy and the number of active participants, averaged \$7.63 per person. The figures ranged from \$2.98 per person in one agency to \$30.75 in another. The settlements averaged \$8.52 per person.

Plant maintenance costs in the Boston agencies ranged from 16 to 45 per cent of the agency's total budget. Service expenditures (eliminating administrative costs and plant costs) ranged from 30.5 to 69.8 per cent of the agency's total budget.

7. *Equipment.*—Two studies evaluated the location of facilities in the community. In Pittsburgh seven of the nineteen service areas have no private group-work facilities, although all but one area have some private group-work activity. One service area has 128 indoor facilities while four areas have 50

or more indoor facility units. Four of the nineteen areas are in need of special attention because of the inadequacy of facilities in relation to the social and economic conditions.

The Tremont Area study reports bad distribution of physical resources, not enough facilities for mixed groups, need for equipment and facilities for younger children near their homes, and a need for play centers in the area on lots with leadership.

8. *Criteria for evaluation and standards.*—All studies in the field of informal education, recreation, and group work are handicapped by the lack of accepted criteria of appraisal and standards in interagency terms. It is, therefore, not surprising that those who made the studies reviewed in this document expressed the need for them and sought to set in motion the means of getting some beginnings. One of the Boston recommendations was that a committee of the Council of Social Agencies be set at work to develop standards. In Pittsburgh several committees of agency people worked for several months as part of the study in the attempt to formulate some criteria and standards. A 12-page mimeographed beginning was made by these committees.

SUMMARY COMMENTS ABOUT MAJOR EMPHASES AND VALUES OF THE STUDIES

Comments on the most pronounced contribution and characteristic of the studies were made about six out of the seven studies by the committee members who prepared the abstracts and comments. They follow:

The Cleveland group-work study.—The value of the Cleveland Group Work Study is to be found not so much in the facts uncovered or standards set—which might be done in a more intensive project—but rather in the experience and the procedure of the study itself. It was an experience in taking a self-critical view and an experience in thinking through the problem of how can the group-work needs of Cleveland be met most effectively. It was an experience which the Group Work Council, with its relatively new function of budgeting for its member agencies, needed to have at that time, to help it to grow from a group of agency representatives to a truly community group.—
W. THOMAS McCULLOUGH.

Social study of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, group-work field.—This was

primarily an administrative study but was carried on with a dynamic educational approach. Its greatest values were in suggesting areas of the city where work needs to be expanded, in presenting the urgent need for attention to professional staffs, and in crystallizing desirable, even though general, standards for various phases of group work.—MARGARET SVENDSEN.

Boston study, character-building section.—The clarification of objectives and functions was the central focus of the study.—C. E. HENDRY.

Hartford survey, educational and recreational section.—A pronounced contribution of this study centers in the treatment accorded the problem of clarifying the distinctive functions of public and private agencies and their relationships the one to the other. Attempt was made to present five basic distinctions between public and private agencies. It emphasized that whereas the task of differentiating the two sets of functions is urgent and important, the task of integrating these same functions is equally so.

Interesting use was made in the Hartford study of several devices and techniques relatively untried in studies of this kind. They include: (1) a rating scale on problems of method in group work, (2) leadership rating scales for full-time workers' competence and for volunteer leadership abilities, (3) the Wickman list of 49 behavior problems of children for rating in terms of how serious one regards each type of behavior. A careful review and classification of the items included in the minutes of the Group Work Division for slightly over a three-year period was made with rewarding results.—C. E. HENDRY.

Providence survey, recreation and education section.—The central significance of the Providence survey lies in its realistic diagnosis of community disorganization and the experimental emphasis given to its very radical recommendations in the field of community and neighborhood organization.—C. E. HENDRY.

The Tremont Area study, Cleveland.—The major significance of the Tremont Area study is that the neighborhood and the persons living in it were made the central focus and point of reference of the study, rather than agencies. The neighborhood description and analysis is vivid and comprehensive. The adequacy of data, the uniqueness of method, and the style of the report marks the sociological contribution an important one. A thoroughgoing co-operative method was used, as evidenced by a real "Working Committee," Research Committee, practitioners' groups, and wide participation by many people. This accounts for so many things having happened as a result of the study. The study of all of the boys in the area, and the intensive study of the sampling of 100 boys with physical and psychological examinations and skilful interview has contributed significantly to social research method.—ROY SORENSON.

THE VALUES OF THESE STUDIES AND THEIR IMPLICATIONS
FOR GROUP WORK AND GROUP-WORK AGENCIES

1. They affirm the positive and creative educational function of group work in a social-work setting. The bearing which this issue has upon group work's relationship to education and social work needs to be explored thoroughly.

2. The facts make us more aware of the lack of professional training and the inadequacy of the professional qualifications of full-time workers. The recommendations have accelerated the provision of professional training opportunities for group workers. Local agencies, national agencies, councils of social agencies, and schools of professional group work need to find new ways of making professional courses available to present workers and of raising the standards of employment.

3. The studies have revealed that most of the direct leadership of groups is by volunteers who are lacking in personality insights and basic educational skills. The implication for group work is that unless a higher order of educational supervision can be provided by professional workers, group work has no hope of achieving the potential values being claimed for it.

4. The scarcity of group work in private agencies carrying on recreational and informal educational activities was made more evident by the studies. The size of activity groups, the size of the group and participant loads per full-time worker, the nature of building facilities, and the character of records and referrals, imply little educational group work in its essential refinements of purpose and procedure. Perhaps the most striking implication for group workers and group-work agencies growing out of the studies is involved in these findings. Group workers need more rapidly to close the gap between what is known and practiced to a restricted degree in many communities and what is general practice in all group-work agencies. This is especially true in the light of the growth of public recreation.

5. Shortcomings in the community organization of resources for meeting social needs have been revealed and the studies have had an experimental influence in neighborhood organiza-

tion. Group workers need to re-examine the current spread of community and co-ordinating councils, and all social workers need to scrutinize the functional divisions which have crystallized in the light of the Hartford, Providence, and Tremont Area studies.

6. Participation by the communities in the studies has accelerated interagency thinking. Individual agencies, with a few exceptions, are more ready, as a result of the experience, to accept a community-wide view of group-work needs than to hold to a narrow individual agency point of view. Group workers in all communities need to do more serious interagency work together on the clarification and interpretation of their function, the training of leadership, the wise selection of constituency, the improvement of group-work methods, the planning to meet social needs, and the developing of criteria of effectiveness in community rather than agency terms.

7. The studies made conspicuous the lack of criteria and standards in the group-work field and were occasions for work on formulations. This implies that group workers need to continue these beginnings and develop formulations of desirable practices and conditions in the highest common denominator terms.

8. A precedent was set for continuous study of member agencies by the Community Fund, Council of Social Agencies, Group Work Council, or whatever other body sponsored the study. In the strengthening of this precedent there is implied the need for the further development of co-operative methods of study and criteria of appraisal. If we are to be studied more and more continuously we need to see that we are studied more and more intelligently.

9. Group-work processes were demonstrated in study procedure. Committees, practitioners' groups, group consultations, and discussion of problems throughout the course of the study introduced an educational dynamic which affected ideas and attitudes of both the "consumers" and the surveyors. The implication of this fact to group work and group-work agencies

is that there is need for much larger inventiveness in putting to work the best group-work insights and skills in social planning and community organization activities.

10. New techniques of study for appropriation by group workers were demonstrated. Methods and devices used in the Tremont Area study and the Hartford survey particularly merit further use, although each study contributed something valuable in method. Group workers need to utilize these new tools in studies of their own work and fields.

11. Lists of problems evolved which indicate the places where development of group work needs to go forward. The Tremont Area study lists seventeen problems with illustrative cases (pp. 172, 173). The Hartford study developed a check list of problems. Such problems need to be made the basis of study and experimentation by group workers.

THE SOURCES OF DATA

Observations on visits—all studies

Interviews with community leaders in locality of agencies—all studies

Interviews with executives, staffs, and board members—all studies

Record material on file at the Council of Social Agencies—all studies

Statistical and narrative reports of the agencies—all studies.

Questionnaires filled out by each agency—six of seven studies

Maps, population and social data previously prepared and available through various sources in cities—five of seven studies

Transcripts of members and participant records in agency files—Pittsburgh, Hartford, Providence studies

Discussions in committees organized locally to participate in study—Cleveland, Pittsburgh, Tremont Area studies

Ratings by local full-time workers on volunteer and professional leadership, group-work problems, and behavior problems—Hartford study.

Intensive sociological study of neighborhood, including extensive interview records, study of national backgrounds, and aerial map—Tremont Area study

Basic data on the total boy population (ten to nineteen years) by means of a special census—Tremont Area study

Intensive individual study of a selected sample group of 100 boys, including physical and psychological examination and interviews—Tremont Area study

THE STUDIES WHICH WERE REVIEWED

The Study	Auspices	Nature	Purpose of Study
CLEVELAND GROUP-WORK STUDY (June-July, 1935) Made by: Eugene Lies Reviewed by: W. Thomas McCullough, Edward D. Lynde	Group Work Council, Cleveland Welfare Federation	Published by Cleveland Welfare Federation	To evaluate the Cleveland private group-work agencies
RECREATION AND GROUP WORK IN ELMIRA, N.Y. (May-June, 1935) Made by: Mildred Esgar Reviewed by: Mildred Esgar	Community Chests and Councils, Inc.	Published by Commercial Press of Elmira, N.Y.	To evaluate the recreational and group-work agencies in relation to the whole social welfare program
SOCIAL STUDY OF PITTSBURGH AND ALLEGHENY COUNTY. Group-work Field (1935-1936) Made by: W. I. Newstetter and staff Reviewed by: Margaret Svendsen, Frank J. Skalak	Citizens' committee appointed by Chest and Council. Financed by Buhl Foundation	Mimeographed for limited use. Will be published by Columbia University Press as part of complete study	To describe and appraise the manner in which Pittsburgh and Allegheny County are discharging one of the recognized social welfare functions—providing for education and recreation service through use of leisure time
BOSTON SURVEY. Character-building Section (October, 1934) Made by: Roy Sorenson Reviewed by: Charles E. Hendry	Citizens' committee study directed by Boston C. of S.A.	Typewritten manuscript. Brief digest published by Boston C. of S.A.	To evaluate the character-building agencies in relation to the whole social welfare program
HARTFORD SURVEY. Education and Recreation Section (Spring, 1934) Made by: Roy Sorenson Reviewed by: Charles E. Hendry	Community Chests and Councils, Inc.	Published by Community Chests and Councils, Inc.	To evaluate the informal educational and recreational service in relation to the community needs and the whole social welfare program
PROVIDENCE STUDY Recreation and Group Work Section (March, 1936) Made by: Roy Sorenson and Reginald Robinson Reviewed by: Charles E. Hendry	Community Chests and Councils, Inc.	Published by Community Chests and Councils, Inc.	To evaluate the recreational and group-work services in relation to the community needs and the whole social welfare program

The Study	Auspices	Nature	Purpose of Study
TREMONT AREA STUDY Cleveland (1934-1935)	Welfare Fed- eration of Cleveland	Planographed in 1936 for limited pri- vate circula- tion by Cleveland Welfare Fed- eration, under title <i>Between Spires and Stacks</i>	a) To study the inter- ests and needs of ado- lescent boys (ten to seventeen) in the light of neighborhood back- grounds and with spe- cial attention to those areas of the boy's life which group- and case- work agencies are at- tempting to serve b) To evaluate the ef- fectiveness of group- and case-work agen- cies in their attempts to serve this group c) To formulate recom- mendations in the light of the findings indicating how agency policies and practices can be adjusted so that group- and case- work agencies can more nearly meet the needs of the situation

Made by: Charles E.
Hendry and Mar-
garet Svendsen

Reviewed by: W. I.
Newstetter, Roy
Sorenson

NEW PATTERNS OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

*Eduard C. Lindeman, Professor of Social Philosophy at
New York School of Social Work, New York City*

IT APPEARS a trifle presumptuous to use the term "pattern" in connection with what I have to say about the newer movements in American communities, since this implies that we already know their shape and form. I presume that we now employ this work with increasing frequency for the precise reason that our need for a pattern has become acute; we know that our older patterns are lost and we strive wistfully for new ones, even when we must still construct them out of our imaginations. But I believe that American communities are moving toward new configurations, and my attempt today is to indicate the sources and causes which lie back of these emerging forms.

The expanding functions of governments—especially, in our case, the federal government—makes a new alignment between public and private¹ agencies imperative. New desires are arising among the people, new motivations, and new goals; the older structures, both of our national and local entities, are not sufficiently flexible to allow for the free flow of these new forces. In short, the simple patterns of our society which took on form while we were still an agrarian nation will no longer suffice. Over a very long period we have employed our talents primarily

¹ These terms—"public" and "private"—have already lost their former meanings and must now be further defined. By "public" agencies we now seem to mean those which are wholly supported from tax funds and operated by government employees. By "private" we usually mean those agencies which receive all or a major proportion of their funds from donations and are managed with respect to policies by lay citizens. At least, this is my current usage.

for the purpose of devising methods and processes. The need at present is also for an expansion of consciousness which will carry us toward better structures and goals.

American democracy is being revamped from two directions: The federal or central government is expanding its powers in order to dissociate modern democracy from the evils of individualism and stubborn localisms. On the other hand, there is a stirring in our local communities which seems to present the problem of dissociating our traditional democracy from privilege; one now discovers an active redistribution of leadership on local levels. I regard both revisions as necessary and good. Certainly, we must have for the future a greater assurance of the range and the nature of federal powers. But this expansion, if left to itself, will end merely in bureaucracy or oligarchy. The only reliable guaranty against bureaucracy is the development of local instruments of opinion and action. A considerable share of our energies should now be directed toward this latter task.

One of the new entities which appears to alter the normal processes of community life is what is now being called a "pressure group." We have always had pressure groups, of course, and our constitution actually provides for this manner of checking upon governmental officialdom, but there is a new note in the contemporary movement. Pressure groups are not furtive; they do not function as secret lobbies; they do not build subterranean channels. They act collectively and in direct contact with government officials and other administrators. They strive to alter administrative procedures in the interest of what they regard to be justice; they use their collective strength to break down barriers of unreasonableness; they constitute one of the most effective instruments so far devised for making administration less arbitrary. This is a most useful function and can no longer be left to that small group of liberal-minded citizens in each community who formerly strove to keep the administrators from becoming dictators. Wherever these new instruments of democracy have arisen and wherever their leaders have taken

the pains to learn how to use new and valid methods² of social action there is now to be seen a new type of community alignments; things tend now to "get done" in a different manner. A new pattern for action emerges. I do not mean to infer in the foregoing characterization of pressure groups that these newer organizations serve only as checks upon administrative procedures, since many of them are also engaged in legislative work, but this part of their program does not so definitely affect social organization in the local community.

A new form of trade unionism is arising in American life, so-called "vertical" or "industrial" unionism, and wherever it succeeds a new factor enters into the community process. I have talked with many social workers, Young Men's and Young Women's Christian Association secretaries, directors of community chests, school officials, and other professional persons living in industrial communities, and always their testimony is the same: Where this new unionism and its aggressive leadership appears, there the local community receives an increment of new force. The older craft unions did not seriously affect the traditional patterns of community life and left class lines, for the most part, as they were; these newer unions bring new leadership and fresh modes of operation.

There appears also at present an increase in sectarianism in American life, which gives the local community pattern a somewhat different aspect than that of the later nineteenth century. Then we thought and dreamed of community forms which would transect sectarian lines. Now the sectarian lines tend to transect the community pattern. Each movement now tends to get itself organized on three levels—first as a community movement, next as a Catholic movement, and then as a Jewish movement. Three separate levels of organization are thus duplicated by three distinct groups of leaders, professionals, and constituencies. The only organizations which still function as folk

² It is a pity to pass over this point so casually; many new members of pressure groups still believe that noise and parades are sound methods of social action. But those who perform the actual functions of such organizations already know that these methods are mere "window dressing."

groups are those of the type of parent-teacher associations, but even here there is a lack of true "folk-ness," since the preponderance of membership is representative of women but not men. We should not be too much alarmed, I presume, over this modern spirit of sectarianism, because it has always been the genius of a democratic people to discover ways of dealing with pluralisms. In essence, democracy is social pluralism, and its chief merit lies in methods for bringing diversity into a sufficient degree of cohesion to allow for, not unity alone, but the quality of unifyingness. A democracy which is not forever at the point of falling apart is no democracy at all. Likewise, a democracy which is not always at the point of saving itself through temporary resolutions of difference will tend to become anarchy.

The consumers' co-operative movement is the next element which seems to me to be at work in bringing about some alteration in the traditional pattern of American local communities. Here, however, the impression is still so slight and the total impact so small that one must hesitate to ascribe too much importance. I do begin to see, however, examples here and there of the emergence of new incentives, new leadership, and a new awareness of community processes arising from both the existence of co-operative organizations and from the now widespread discussion of co-operative techniques.

So-called "group work" has already had the effect of causing some of our institutions and agencies to consider revamping their entire programs. It is a mistake, of course, to consider group work as the antithesis of individual or case work. These two approaches to the problems of conditioning behavior are merely two sides of the same shield. Unhappily, however, the group side has been grossly neglected in the development of our humanistic professions. All we along have been striving to achieve social ends by the use of individual means, and now we slowly come to recognize that this represents an incongruous equation. When we have learned how to train both our professionals and our laymen in the arts and techniques of group work,

we shall have already created the basis for a new community pattern. This fact will not merely alter processes of action but will, I believe, actually bring into existence a new variety of leaders.

Finally (and again this topic is to receive concentrated attention and hence may be treated in outline here) comes the overt attempt to organize American communities in such fashion as to bring about a co-ordinated matrix of functions. There are now three forms of co-ordination in effect, namely: (a) those operating under the discipline of a single employed co-ordinator, (b) those operating as councils of social agencies, and (c) those operating in terms of neighborhood decentralization and composed of laymen and professionals of a wide variety. A brief and critical review of these three types leads to the following conclusions:

a) Compulsory co-ordination as a contradiction in terms and enjoys scant prospects of success.

b) When co-ordination is left primarily in the hands of professionally trained persons the prospects for success are also poor.

c) The type of community organization which comes up from the neighborhood is, patently, compatible with the democratic ideal and should have the finest prospects for ultimate success.

It is to be noted, however, that we have seen movements of this sort before. One of the finest, the so-called "Cincinnati Social Unit," came to grief—not because of the unsoundness of its principles, but because it actually stirred an opposition among those who are at heart frightened by the democratic process when it moves into actuality and practice. We must be on guard once more; there are those who do not trust the voice of the people.

But it seems to me that we might utilize our time to good advantage in discussing certain criteria which might be applied as tests wherever these new patterns of community organization arise. I shall, therefore, leave the following suggestions with you for further refinement.

Community organizations which seem to possess the best possibilities of success and permanence are those which:

1. Move quickly in the direction of social planning and do not spend too much time on that variety of co-ordination which presumes that duplication of effort is the most important task.

2. Devise methods for bringing public and private agencies into collaborative relationships and at certain junctures succeed in bringing about organic relations between the two types of agencies; our ability to furnish clear-cut channels of function for these two forms of social organization will become, I believe, the mark of our success or failure in perpetuating the democratic process.

3. Bring professional and lay persons into working arrangements with each other through new forms of training; wherever one now sees communities engaged in training the laymen there one also sees other sure signs of progress.

4. Emphasize regionalism as well as localism. Perhaps this point should be stated thus: when social-planning groups begin to see the relationship between their local community and its regional setting, then such planning begins to take on the color of reality; mere localistic emphasis is not enough.

5. Ally themselves with adult education—American adult education tends everywhere to “run thin” because it has no social objectives; it cannot have the same social objectives as similar movements in European countries because of cultural distinctions, but that it must invent social purposes of its own seems to me axiomatic; otherwise, we shall again be misled by attempting to reach social goals with individual methods.

6. Finally, those community organization plans which are now beginning to utilize a new leadership and even a new concept of the role of leadership seem to me to be headed in the right direction; where the same old leaders are utilized, and where no fresh interpretation of leadership itself is to be discovered, there one can be quite sure that success will not be long-lived. What is needed for our complex society is a pattern

in which leadership groups may function, not merely individual leaders.

If what I have said sounds simple and almost too calm, may I suggest that its implications are far from simple and, to those who have eyes to see, should be far from complacency. What we are striving to do in the United States is to give the people some actual experience in democratic ways of living. We now expect them to be loyal to democracy, but the great mass of American people have never experienced democracy and consequently they should not be expected to be loyal to its precepts. What is happening at present has the tone of a true people's movement. Democracy is reasserting itself; it needs free channels; if it does not find these free channels, it will break through the artificial dikes of privilege and power; then new patterns of conduct will be imposed upon us by newly created but external forces.

STABILIZING PALLIATION

*Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Director, Division of Co-ordinated
Field Service, State Board of Control
St. Paul, Minnesota*

HUMAN suffering bred by economic distress has demanded palliatives during the last few years which, by grace of amazingly intelligent snap planning, have taken the form of relatively wise methods of easing human distress. Being man made, they have the very human quality of flaws and errors which, because man made, can be corrected. Each of these palliatives was a response to a certain specific need. It may have been the plight of farmers hit by drought or large numbers of employable people who could not find a job if their lives depended upon it—as, indeed, their lives almost did. It may have been large numbers of young people wasting their time, corrupting their lives in idleness. In the press of feverish work, a temporary solution was found for each specific problem; but no one had the time, or, perhaps, no one quite grasped the entire problem sufficiently, to relate one to the other. The curse of emergency was upon those days. Emergency was a part of half the alphabetical organizations and the metronome of all of them. In an emergency, one meets what is in front of him.

No one connected with the social program during the depression years—no one who has gone through the period from the “overall” of C.W.A. to the categories of the Social Security Act—no one who has witnessed the recent rapid changes in our attempts to take care of people, will deny that we have yet to build for permanence. It is one thing to take care of human suffering *now* and something quite different to remove the causes of that suffering.

Granting that the present way may be the wrong way, there is a right way in doing the wrong thing which might eventually bring the right thing. Social work has been holding its thumbs and its arms in the dike for years, and it must continue to do so until—perhaps not in this generation, but later—there is no need for dikes. Breakwaters, protections, and stoppages have been necessary for years, and more than ever necessary during a time of economic breakdown. Social work must stabilize the palliation that characterizes current welfare programs so that the trend will be toward the ultimate cure, which must be economic and is, therefore, beyond the sole power of social work to accomplish.

Our present palliatives have in them the essence of solution. The problem is to reconsider, recombine, plan, and educate for that period during which the services are needed—and always furthering the trend toward the elimination of the need.

The problem is complicated by the fact that the profession which should take the lead—social work—is relatively young. Its fundamental knowledge (man's relationship to man) is fragmentary and, as a body, very scant. It is expecting too much of a very suspicious, confused, and jittery public that it accept almost overnight the processes, procedures, and techniques of a new profession which is attempting to give a new direction to the already complex structure of government. Because this new direction involves some change in human habits and partial reconstruction of governmental machinery—itself a mausoleum of outmoded human habits and needs—delays and difficulties are built up.

Social-work planning must recognize that clearly established principles will not be discovered overnight. Until principles verified by successful experience are accumulated, relatively little can be done in creating public support for a sound program, the more so since the program not only must be based on the principles, but the principles must at least partly be conceived and proved by the program. In the face of such a prospect, the only hope lies in educating the community, the peo-

ple, into an understanding which creates an informed support of welfare and social work.

In striving for such support, social work must know what it is working for and it must have something to offer. Social work must not find itself a salesman who opens his sample case to find nothing in it. To carry out the figure, social work at the present time is like a group of high-pressure salesmen disagreeing on the merits of their product, in front of the customer. The first problem, therefore, is to get a certain required minimum of agreement among social workers on those general principles and tenets on which social welfare must be based.

I suggest that social work is not the final answer, but is the stop of a wide and long-lasting gap—wide enough to be planned for, and long-lasting enough to be stabilized for the long pull.

What are the present contacts between social work and the public? A typical state situation finds a state conference of social work, a chapter or two of the A.A.S.W., an organized or semiorganized university social-work group, several new and somewhat loosely organized groups of welfare workers (usually of the practitioner or rank-and-file type), and any number of specialized groups, such as medical social workers, children's service groups, settlement-house groups, and various private agencies usually working through the community chests which we find in most of our large cities, and which are entities quite apart from the other groups.

Each group speaks as social workers, but each deals largely with its own field, pleads its special cause, and emphasizes its own restricted interest. It is not to be wondered that the public is confused, misled, and finally so disgusted that it cries out, "A pox on all your houses!" Make no mistake: there is such a feeling among the public.

There is needed—shall we say in each state, since that is the legislative unit?—one representative social-work group that can speak for social work on all points that are of common interest to the profession and public welfare in general. This does not mean a merger of specialized and general social-work groups.

Such groups very properly have their own fields of interest, their own problems in the development of techniques. Moreover, the experimental method by which social work has grown and must continue to grow depends upon freedom and diversity of thought. Agencies and specialized groups must maintain their spirit and right of free inquiry, by which means only they can lead to truth and progress. But it does mean that the component parts of the social-work profession must agree on certain fundamental principles and general practices in which the lay public can be educated. It is my belief that a co-ordinating group or committee must in each state formulate the body of agreement and get it home to the public.

In addition to the body of principles on which general agreement is reached, the co-ordinating or liaison committee should simply and properly interpret surveys and studies in the public welfare field (some of them originating with the committee) so that reliable and enlightening information can be supplied to the public. The committee, furthermore, would be in a position to recommend legislation and could represent social work in advocating and steering legislative action.

Incidentally, it should be said that this co-ordinating committee may take many forms. In some states the conference of social work may itself form a good committee; in others it may be necessary to set up a good representative body under other auspices in order to get the type of flexibility needed. It is primarily important that the committee be composed of competent people with insight and a grasp of fundamentals that can avoid the shallow waters of detail on which agreement so often runs aground. And, most important, these people should have weight in the profession, and tact and diplomacy sufficient to win agreement by conviction rather than by use of the weight.

The work of a co-ordinating committee must be based on a recognition of what social work is, what it does, and what it believes. At the same time, the work of the committee must itself build this foundation on which it rests. This is not lifting one's self by one's bootstraps; it is, rather, the building of a

structure without the use of scaffolding—as a skyscraper is built.

It cannot be sufficiently emphasized that the time has come when, if social work is to be accepted and acquire its true stature as a public servant in the eyes of the public, there must be a definition of its scope, its purpose, and its principles. It must formally affirm decisions that other forces have already decided for it, such as the fact that individual adjustments are no longer the sole field of social work; that major social and economic forces impinge on almost every area of social work, and therefore must be recognized, analyzed, and entered into. Shall social work try to make the individual (which stands for millions of unemployed) fit his environment, which is joblessness, or shall that environment be adjusted to the needs of the individual?

These questions must be answered by social work. It is primarily a question of emphasis. Case work is the adjustment of an individual to an environment, but sometimes the environment is antagonistic to the case work. The time is here when social work must “case work” its environment. If social work is to be preoccupied in its case-work cloister, it will one day wake up without cases and far behind the rest of the world.

As one means of shifting or balancing emphasis—and a task in which the co-ordinating committee can, perhaps, take a leading part—functions as between public and private agencies must be defined. In the public mind, social work is social work, and the difference in functions between different types is not furthered when the agencies themselves do not agree on what each does or should do.

Not all social workers concur in what appears to be a general, informed consensus that the private agency should be the laboratory and the experimenter in social-work techniques and the agency which serves that type of person who needs a specialized service rather than monetary aid; that the proved results of experiment should be available to the public agency for adoption when and if there will be public acceptance of the new

device, service, or technique; that the resources of the private agency should be available to the public agency on the referral to any case or problem falling within the private agency field. Not only should the relationship between public and private agencies be clarified, but the work of the public agency needs cohesion.

As a minor corollary to the work of the co-ordinating committee, let me say very briefly that its success would be furthered if the supervision of public welfare in the state were centered in one agency whose representatives could speak in all public contacts from the viewpoint of the whole.

It is not uncommon for a state to have half a dozen public agencies, each sending one or more field people into the counties. In one state, recently, a county office counted thirteen state agency representatives in one day, each giving his own advice, interpretation, and orders conflicting with the other. This is intolerable.

One reason for this confusion is that public welfare suffers from an emphasis on its parts in the public mind—parallel weaknesses which, in another field, private agencies corrected with the community chest idea. In public welfare the solution lies in a single state agency represented in the counties by a single joint field staff which can give to the community a consistent, well-rounded interpretation of the program as a whole.

Social-work leadership in a state should, therefore, seek to define the field and basic philosophy of social-work practice, define the functions of public and private agencies, and favor a unified state organization. The methods in which these are brought to the public are many and various. The least used of these—and, in my opinion, the most important—I shall discuss briefly as my final suggestion.

That suggestion is closely connected with the others, and like them is based on a text which has been well stated by Mrs. Gertrude Springer: "the principal obstacle to a sound welfare program is ignorance and indifference."

This is concentrated and has its roots in the general public.

Except for the work of a few large-minded legislators, I think it is quite fair to say that legislation is based on obedience to either of two things: mass opinion, which means the electorate's wishes, or vested interest. In its special current sense, the vested interest in social welfare is too slight to be effective. Pressure for social legislation must come from the public; but first the public must be shown that its vested interest (in the larger sense of that abused term) lies in such legislation. To accomplish this task is a matter of years and education through lay participation in public welfare work.

Lay participation in a local public welfare administration can be furthered in several ways. One of the best and basic methods is to have an official welfare board which has, if not a majority, at least a representation from the lay public. This type of board is already in use in a number of states. The device can be further amplified by the use of special advisory lay committees in certain fields of the general welfare program. One of the functions of these committees and of the board as a whole is to get sound information and present it to the general public with clear interpretation.

Lay participation may be not only by individuals but by groups such as leagues of women voters, veterans auxiliaries, women's clubs, and church groups (which, strangely enough, often need their attention called specifically to the brotherhood of man). And, obviously, there must be active participation and co-operation from such extremely valuable professional groups as medical, dental, and nursing associations.

Another interesting possibility is to have a central state organization, such as a state conference of social work, or the social-work co-ordinating committee, get communities to organize into study groups and exchange the results of that study at regional conferences where the advice of specialists will be available at round-table discussions. Although the original stimulus might come from the state body, the continuing initiative should come from the local communities which themselves gather the material, analyze it, and use their best ability in for-

mulating solutions and minor service programs. It is important that lay people in these study groups should themselves direct and actively participate in the work.

To summarize very briefly, public welfare in its social-work sense is not the final answer to our social and economic ills. In the best of economic structures, social work will have an important function, but it will be different from what it now is. Now it is and can be only palliation. Even as a program of palliation, as an unguent, public welfare must be so ordered and made rational that it will be a stable device during that interim before the broader and deeper defects of our social system are corrected. No one can say how long this interim will be, except that it will probably be long—long enough for social work to organize for the long pull. Stabilization is best accomplished by those who do the work—social workers. They can do this only by knowing what they mean to do and how to do it, and then by telling the public all about it—in other words, organized planning and interpretation.

STATE-WIDE PLANNING OF SOCIAL WORK NEBRASKA'S APPROACH

*Ernest W. Witte, Regional Representative
Bureau of Public Assistance, Social
Security Board, Lincoln, Nebraska*

IT SHOULD be said at the outset that the most logical agency for state-wide social planning would seem to be, for reasons which are obvious, the state conference of social work. Such an organization is representative of the whole state. Its membership is more likely to be familiar with the needs of the local communities than are others, to understand the need for integration of efforts, to have a breadth of interest which cuts across all fields, to be representative of both the lay and the professional group, and because it has a primary and direct interest in and responsibility for this activity.

The State Conference of Social Work has been in existence in Nebraska since 1897, and many of the important developments in the field of social legislation in the state have come about as the result of planning and agitation by members of this group. The Conference has always been looked to for leadership, sometimes directly, sometimes merely as the initiating body. In recent years, and particularly since the emergency relief program, there has been growing opposition on the part of certain state and county officials to social workers or to persons whom they believe to be social workers. This opposition has been very vocal and has caused a great deal of misunderstanding on the part of the average citizen as to the motives and objectives of the State Conference of Social Work, which because of its name is sometimes thought to be composed only of persons practicing social work.

A year ago the State Conference decided that, if its program

of social welfare was to be accomplished and if those persons who know most about social legislation and planning were ever again to be influential in the drafting of plans to meet the future welfare needs of the state, some means would have to be devised to acquaint the ordinary citizen with factual and interpretative information which he could understand and which would arouse his intelligent interest. The limitations of the local press and radio make it almost impossible for the outsider to learn the truth about public questions, and this is especially true with reference to those relating to public welfare.

We were willing to rest our case in the ultimate wisdom of a well-informed citizenship and, therefore, our major objective was clear. We had to develop methods by means of which we could secure a large body of informed citizens, so thoroughly interested in the social problems of the state that they would actively participate in attempts to solve these problems.

In canvassing the current situation in the state, the Conference discovered that the factual information necessary for carrying on a program of education was not available, and that little factual information was accessible. No real study in this field had ever been made. We adopted, therefore, the usual procedure of developing a survey, but we strove to avoid the hazards common to surveys by insisting on speed, usability, and direct participation of responsible officials. The State Child Welfare Bureau sponsored the study, there being no state department of public welfare to do so. The director of the Bureau established an advisory committee composed of specialists in the field of public and private welfare. An executive secretary was placed in charge of the survey, but a very close relationship was maintained with the advisory committee so that the survey was not the product of the efforts of the technical staff alone. The entire project was financed by the Works Progress Administration, relief labor, however, being confined to the mechanical and clerical aspects of the work. Qualified social workers and statisticians were employed to carry on all activities of a technical nature. The director of the Child Welfare

Bureau was made chairman of the advisory committee. In addition to the chairman the committee was composed of one member selected from the Board of Control, which agency administers all correctional institutions, hospitals for the insane, and other welfare institutions in the state, and has recently been given the responsibility for the supervision of the public assistance program; the wife of the governor; four members of the faculty of the University of Nebraska; one member of the faculty of Nebraska Wesleyan University; the state director of research and statistics of the Works Progress Administration; an executive of a private family agency; the state relief administrator, and the president of the State Conference of Social Work.

Although only the summary of this survey has been available, many of the unsatisfactory conditions reported have already been corrected. Members of the committee had, because of their official positions, direct authority to make certain required changes, and, furthermore, some certain members of the committee carried great influence with other responsible officials. It is not my intention to create the impression, however, that all of the recommendations made in the survey have been carried out.

It may be worth mentioning that sponsorship of the survey by an official state agency gave it a prestige and authority which would not otherwise have been possible. The advisory committee succeeded in keeping the project from getting into partisan politics in spite of certain efforts made in this direction during the recent political campaign.

Completion of the survey, then, was the first step in our planning. We still had to formulate our specific program on the basis of the information made available and to find means by which this information might be supplied to the general public. The second step in the Conference plan, therefore, was a study of how best to interest the citizens of the state in the welfare needs of the state as revealed by the survey. It seemed to us that this objective might be partly achieved through

getting more direct participation in the Conference program by securing additional lay members. In order to facilitate the membership drive, three steps were taken.

1. A definite program of Conference objectives was adopted which made clear to everyone just what the organization was striving for.

2. The Conference formally adopted a labor program consistent with the policies of the State Federation of Labor.

3. Chapters of the conference were established in each congressional district of the state. The Conference planned to hold one meeting in each district yearly in addition to the annual state-wide meeting. In order to plan for the peculiar needs of each district it was believed best to encourage as much local participation as possible. For this reason a chapter chairman, a chapter secretary, and a chapter program committee were appointed in each district. The chapter chairman became a member of the executive committee of the Conference and the program chairman automatically became a member of the state program committee. By this device each district was enabled to plan its own program on the basis of its own particular needs but with the aid and co-operation of State Conference officials. The district meetings have been very helpful in bringing members of the Conference into closer relationship with the state organization and in arousing continued interest in the total state situation as well as in local problems. It is significant, perhaps, that in less than nine months we doubled our Conference membership.

It seemed that the next logical step in our planning was to devise methods by which we might reach that great body of individuals whom we could never hope to secure as members of the Conference. We believed it to be most vital that knowledge concerning the welfare needs of the state should reach this group, because they ultimately determine how fast and how far the state may go forward attaining a desirable and adequate social welfare program. In examining possible methods we found that not only had we little actual knowledge of the social

resources of the state until the survey was completed, but that we knew very little about the interests and welfare activities of the many organizations in the state.

As a fourth step in its program, then, the Conference decided to sponsor a state-wide interorganizational committee which was called the Citizens' Planning Committee. Although sponsored by the Conference, the committee was not a part of the Conference organization and the Conference itself was definitely kept in the background. The first chairman of this committee was a lay person having a definite interest in welfare problems but not closely identified with the State Conference. Every major organization in the state was invited to have a member on this state committee. Such organizations as the American Legion, the Medical Association, the churches, the Federation of Labor, the League of Women Voters, the County Commissioners Association, and the Junior League were included. The functions of this committee were largely those of guidance and stimulation, not only of their constituent member organizations but of similar local organizations which the state body helped to organize.

It was the remote and rural districts of the state that we were particularly anxious to reach. Therefore, in each of our unicameral legislative districts, and, as it turned out, in many smaller areas because of the difficulties of transportation, local planning committees were organized, composed of representatives of local organizations in each community.

The Citizens' Planning Committee, in the main, took the material made available by the survey and raised questions with the local organizations which were intended to stimulate their interest and to promote study and understanding of the problems of the local community. With respect to the subject of health, for example, stimulating questions were developed and supplied to the local planning committees concerning public health problems in the locality.¹ It was necessary for the

¹ To supplement information relating to public health the Conference sponsored a study of venereal diseases which was made by the United States Public Health Service and the State Department of Health.

local planning committees, in order to answer the questions raised, to secure information regarding local conditions to supplement such information as was contained in the survey. This material and the questions raised by the state committee formed a basis for discussion at the meetings of the local groups. The state committee also furnished lists of reading material to local members for use in the study of specific subjects.

The major idea back of the organization of the citizens' committee was, it is evident, an attempt to get "Mr. Average Citizen" to think about public welfare and to begin to appreciate some of the problems confronting his community.

As the local committees got under way and began to study their own local situations, the need for sound public welfare organization and qualified personnel to deal with these problems became more self-evident. For some time the state committee employed a traveling representative to assist in organizing the local committees. This greatly stimulated the development of the whole program.

As a fifth step in its public welfare planning, the State Conference established a joint committee with the state chapter of the American Association of Social Workers so that emphasis could be placed upon the same program by both organizations. This arrangement has been very effective to date and has apparently prevented the occurrence of certain problems which have arisen in the past.

Perhaps the greatest weakness encountered in the whole field of social planning is the fact that more or less sporadic attempts at it are made but there is a failure to continuously carry on the efforts once started. We cannot expect to achieve in a year or five years the education of local citizens on problems as complicated as those relating to social welfare, nor can we expect the results of our efforts to be plainly discernible within a short period of time. A survey should only be the beginning of the plan. After the facts have been secured, some way must be found for getting those facts to the public and helping the public to see the constructive action necessary for dealing with the problems which the facts reveal.

In summary, our major efforts have been directed toward bringing the various social forces of the state to bear, first, upon seeing that the administrative agencies utilized all of their authority under present legislation to develop needed resources and facilities; second, to improve administration in those agencies now in existence; third, to devise and plan the character of legislation required; and, fourth, to see that information regarding the welfare needs of the state is understood by the average citizen.

In the main it would seem that our planning in the future must bring into more active participation public officials, particularly local officials, who do not understand and are suspicious of our motives. We must emphasize the constructive nature of planning. We must not duplicate effort, but must coordinate the activities of existing organizations and capitalize upon their interests in certain phases of public welfare; we must modify existing organizations to meet changing needs as they occur instead of attempting drastic periodic reorganization; and we must emphasize again and again the long-time aspects of planning and the need for a continuous effort to bring facts and situations to the attention of local citizens.

What, if anything, has been achieved in Nebraska? It is difficult for us to say. We do not know whether our expectations will be realized or not. We believe that we have had a certain measure of success and we are hopeful, but so much still remains to be done that those closest to the work sometimes despair. The Conference must continually remind itself of its ultimate objectives, that defeats must be expected, and that it is continuous unending effort which will bring ultimate victory if anything will.

A COMMUNITY PROGRAM FOR REDUCING UNEMPLOYMENT AND RELIEF

*C. M. Bookman, Executive Vice-Chairman
Community Chest, Cincinnati*

SOCIAL workers have fought so hard and so often, and justly so, for adequate relief and for a sensible relief program that they are in danger of becoming more concerned about the new categories of relief that should be added to the present federal security and relief measures than they are in how to make relief unnecessary under any title. The time has come when all of us must take stock to determine where we are so that we may chart an intelligent course from this point on.

It was recently estimated by the National Industrial Conference Board and by the American Federation of Labor that there are nine million unemployed persons in this country. Business has been rapidly approaching normal, but on February 20, 1937, there were 2,884,000 persons on government works programs, including 2,147,000 on W.P.A. Other millions are still in need of relief but are receiving little or none at all. Unemployment and old age insurance are not yet paying benefits, and, when they do, large groups will not be included.

Certainly such a situation suggests two points of approach: (1) Adequate security, including direct relief for those unable to earn a living. (2) Rehabilitation and re-employment for as many as possible. It is the latter approach that will be here discussed.

In the employment field those over forty-five are generally considered as unemployable, with little or no chance of being reinstated in jobs. In fact, the term "unemployable" has come into quite general use to designate a large percentage of those

now on relief. If a census could be taken of the so-called "unemployables" it would probably show at least three times as many persons classified as unemployables as the total relief load in 1929. This terrible havoc of the depression and the casting into discard of the more mature workers presents a great challenge to social work. I believe that the general attitude of social workers is one of refusal to abandon as permanently unemployable and hopeless any individual until every resource has been exhausted to make him an independent and self-supporting citizen.

Social workers must lead the fight against a new psychology that seems to be gaining favor in some quarters—a psychology that interprets security as meaning government assurance of a living for many now on relief in a workless world so far as they are concerned. I believe we can accept as a sound position for social workers to hold that they are anxious that everyone needing relief secures it in decent and adequate amount, but they are determined that as few persons as possible shall need relief in any form. Also, they refuse to classify any individual as unemployable until every resource has been exhausted to make him an independent, self-supporting citizen.

I have no intention of discussing economic theories in this paper or of attempting to point out to industry and labor their separate or joint responsibilities. My main purpose at this time is to present one method of approach to the solution of social problems growing out of employment irregularities. My mind refuses to accept as inevitable a future in which masses of people can find their only security through relief measures, whether disguised as Work Progress Administration jobs, social-security grants, or relief allowances.

What the security people really want is the security of a permanent job at a sufficient wage to permit a decent standard of living. The only way to add to the real wealth of the world and thereby increase the standard of living for all is through productive labor in which each one contributes his part.

In presenting the program through which one community is

trying to meet the problem, I have no delusions about the difficulties involved. I know that the problem is not only local but national and international in scope. In Cincinnati we are just on the threshold of putting this program into operation. We can claim very little for it in tangible results, but enough, I believe, to justify consideration of its objectives and the machinery which has been set up to put it into effect.

REGIONAL BUREAU OF ECONOMIC SECURITY

Several studies and attempts at stabilizing employment in Cincinnati preceded the present effort. In 1929, before the stock-market crash, a "Permanent Committee on Stabilizing Employment and Handling Unemployment Should It Occur" was appointed by the city manager of Cincinnati. There was plenty of evidence that unemployment was growing at that time. The community seemed in doubt of the fact, however, and the final phrase in the title of the committee when created indicates that doubt—"handling unemployment should it occur." This early attempt to regularize employment was successful to the extent of influencing employers of labor to give part-time employment so that work could be made available to as many as possible. I am not interested in discussing the social soundness of this method of approach, but to indicate the fact that employers of labor quite generally carried out the recommendation.

Following this effort the Bureau of Governmental Research prepared a project in September, 1933, which recommended a "Regional Bureau of Economic Security" to co-ordinate the activities of all interested public and private agencies in the community to improve the economic security of the citizens of Hamilton County. This department, which operates the employment exchange, was set up under the auspices of the "Committee on Co-ordination and Co-operation in Hamilton County," which is comprised of the city manager, the president of the Board of Education, and the president of the Board of County Commissioners. This Committee on Co-ordination has

been active for several years on budgets and programs affecting these three units of government.

The new Bureau of Economic Security has as its main objectives to:

1. Maintain a community central employment office for classification, selection, placement, and counseling of workers.
2. Co-ordinate the services of all public and private agencies to provide for the proper education and rehabilitation of the maladjusted, handicapped, and other workers.
3. Aid and promote efforts to provide temporary work relief for employable workers.
4. Assist business organizations in planning for stabilized employment.
5. Assist public and private agencies in planning for the integration of industrial development with community needs.
6. Co-ordinate the research projects promoted by various agencies in this community to provide a factual basis to formulate plans, policies, and standard practices.

Various bureaus and committees were created to carry out this ambitious program. The Spellman Fund has been liberal in appropriations for the project. The federal, state, and city efforts at placement were put in charge of the Bureau from the first. The F.E.R.A. and the Works Progress Administration through grants on work projects have made possible many studies.

Through the research department of the Bureau of Economic Security, facts have been determined upon which the present efforts are based. Approximately 110,000 persons are registered at the employment division of the Bureau of Economic Security. Many of these are now employed. This registration includes facts bearing upon education, experience, and fitness of each registrant. The employment center maintains contact with all vocational-training opportunities in Hamilton County. It studies the vocational aptitudes and skills of the applicants by interviewing and vocational testing. It identifies the permanently unemployable applicant and refers him to the proper social agencies. It studies re-education problems. It selects qualified applicants for vocational openings. It maintains information on all applicants on punch cards for instant use.

Cincinnati set up as the governing board of the Bureau of Economic Security a board of five members, representing the important interests of the community: Charles P. Taft, chairman, representing the professional groups and the general public; Otto Zoecklein, secretary of the Central Labor Council; Morris Edwards, executive vice-president of the Chamber of Commerce; Edward D. Roberts, Superintendent of Schools; C. M. Bookman, executive vice-chairman of the Community Chest. On the various committees through which the program is being carried, these interests have full representation.

THE CO-OPERATION OF EDUCATIONAL AND SOCIAL
AGENCIES NECESSARY

The program of the Regional Bureau of Economic Security in Cincinnati, fine as it is, could never be effective unless supported by the educational and social agencies of the community. Problems of unemployment are personal as well as social and economic. These personal problems constitute the human side of the undertaking.

One of the outstanding facts about relief rolls is the high turnover. This is caused by the marginal worker as well as by the instability of employment. These marginal workers have undoubtedly increased in numbers during the past few years and now constitute a major social problem. The sector of the vicious circle of unemployment and individual inefficiency which social workers are peculiarly fitted to attack is the latter, namely, the human side of the problem. If the circle can be broken at this point, it will greatly help industry and government in attacking the other sectors having to do with industrial and economic maladjustment.

The proposition may well be sustained that social work and vocational guidance and education in rehabilitating the character and skills of individual workers would assist materially in solving the unemployment problem, not only for the particular individual so assisted and trained but also for society at large. Certainly the community and the nation in which there is a high level of intelligence, character, and skill among its workers

will produce a greater amount of economic goods, a higher level of purchasing power, and a lower level of unemployment than a community in which the general level of labor is one of low intelligence and lack of character and skill. The forces of social work and education in a community may thus help to meet the problem of unemployment in a fundamental way from the social as well as the individual standpoint.

Education and vocational training cannot stand by themselves if such education and training are to be provided for any large proportion of our young people. This will involve a solution of many other social and individual problems. The community must be educated and its support secured in providing the necessary public funds. The vocational training of young people and the retraining of older workers will not infrequently require that maintenance of workers and their families be provided during the period of training. Health agencies must help to clear the psychological barriers and difficulties. These same agencies must join the group-work agencies in building character and morale that is needed. The co-operation of employers and labor organizations must be secured. In all of this, private as well as public social agencies may provide vital assistance and leadership.

THE FOUR-POINT PROGRAM IN CINCINNATI

A good deal of interest has been manifested, not only locally but nationally, in a program along these lines which we are trying to develop in Cincinnati. This program has come to be known as the "Four-Point Program." The program consists of: (1) Vocational guidance and training for young people. (2) Retraining for older workers whose skill has become obsolete. (3) Plans for regularization of casual labor. (4) Plans for rehabilitation and care of the unemployable group.

1. *Vocational education.*—If the number of inefficient, marginal workers is to be reduced to a minimum, the first requirement is an effective educational and training program for youth. This necessity was brought out recently by a study of what has

happened to children who were in the sixth grade of the public schools in Cincinnati in 1923. Of the 2,485 young people whom the study was able to locate, only one-third were graduated from high school and one-tenth from college. Only one-third had ever had any vocational training of any kind. Most of these young people helped to fill to overflowing the reservoir of common labor. The studies of the employment center have shown that the vocational-training program in the schools has been poorly adjusted to the demand for various types of workers and has lagged behind industrial changes. Too many children are trained for some types of work and not enough for others.

The first point in the four-point program in Cincinnati is, therefore, that our employment center shall continue to study the demand-and-supply aspects of the labor market and act as guide and stimulus for developing and keeping up to date an effective program of vocational education in the public schools and in industry itself. It is emphasized that employers as well as the schools must co-operate in this effort toward more effective vocational guidance and training. Much vocational training can best be done by industry itself. Employers, therefore, must play an important part in this program. The chairman of the committee working on this problem is an industrial leader and the vice-chairman is a labor leader.

2. *Retraining of adult workers.*—The second point in the four-point program is the re-education and retraining of adult workers who have lost their skill or who have deteriorated in health and morale to such a point that they have become marginal workers. The retraining of adult workers will require much co-operation from social agencies, both public and private. These agencies must play an important part in selecting those workers having the possibilities of rehabilitation as judged by their work records, personality, attitudes, habits, and character. Relief or maintenance will also be necessary for many workers during the retraining period.

Employers must also co-operate in being willing to take a certain number of such workers and pay them at least part-time

wages, while at the same time giving them careful direction and instruction on an apprenticeship basis. It is also hoped that the Cincinnati schools will be able to provide short-time training courses for some of these older workers.

3. *The casual labor market.*—The third part of the program in Cincinnati is definitely directed toward the casual labor market. The employment center has added to its staff one man who is devoting his time to developing and directing this work. Great possibilities exist in this direction as has been demonstrated many times in the past, particularly in Europe, where labor-market organization has progressed over a longer period than in this country. Instead of having such a large number of workers subject to the demoralizing influences of underemployment and irregular employment, a considerable portion of casual labor, it is hoped, may be given fairly regular employment, especially those better qualified for jobs.

The setup is on a geographical district basis. In one of the suburbs, for example, an effort is being made quite successfully to organize small jobs about the houses, such as care of furnaces, mowing of lawns, gardening, laundry work, house cleaning, window washing, small paint jobs, etc. The purpose is to organize this work on a neighborhood basis and under competent direction so that a certain number of workers who prove themselves competent and faithful in doing such jobs may have fairly regular employment. The laborers are to be graded according to training and experience and projects intended to improve their technique will be organized as training centers.

4. *The rehabilitation and care of the "unemployables."*—The fourth point of the program in Cincinnati is directing its attention to the so-called "unemployables." Professional social work has been protesting this term ever since federal relief authorities in Washington began to use it as a basis for relief policy two years ago. We know that no such clear-cut distinction can be made and that experience is abundantly bearing out our position. The term carries with it an odium for the persons so designated, many of whom are not permanently unemployable.

Thousands are being handicapped by such a classification. Many so classified are mothers with dependent children for whom there are not adequate funds under the Social Security Act. There are also many between fifty and sixty-five years of age who are capable of retraining or of useful service if properly placed. Some of the crippled and handicapped, with careful training and vocational placement, may become self-supporting.

The viewpoint adopted by the Cincinnati program is that all of these possibilities for the so-called "unemployable" group shall be carefully studied and that this large group shall not be abandoned as worthless or helpless. Studies are already in progress to ascertain just what problems are represented in this unemployable group. As soon as such studies can be finished

TABLE 1

Permanent unemployables.....	2,830
Temporary unemployables.....	682
Restricted employables.....	3,790
Employables.....	6,424
Total cases.....	13,726

it will be particularly the responsibility and function of the social agencies, both public and private, under the four-point program, to do everything possible in a constructive way to provide adequate maintenance, rehabilitative service, and vocational guidance and training for those having such possibilities. For those who are actually and permanently unemployable, this fourth part of the program aims to provide assistance on a decent and humane basis. None should be abandoned to the degenerating and pauperizing effects of the old poor law.

ANALYSIS OF THE HAMILTON COUNTY RELIEF ROLL

Since this problem of rehabilitating the so-called "unemployables" is particularly the problem of social agencies, it will be of interest here to review briefly a recent analysis of those on relief in Hamilton County as ascertained by the Hamilton County Welfare Department. This analysis of cases in February, 1937, showed the classification given in Table 1.

The family cases were classified according to the status of the principal breadwinner. The case workers themselves have frequently said that the classification was in many cases uncertain and relative, but the further analysis made by the Hamilton County Welfare Department throws a great deal more light on the problems involved.

The permanent unemployables.—The 2,830 classified as “permanently unemployable” represented a little less than one-fifth of the total. These so-called “permanent unemployables” were classified as in Table 2.

TABLE 2

	Per Cent
Old age (one-third being between 50 and 65 years of age)	37.6
Mothers with dependent children	14.1
Crippled and paralyzed	9.9
Other handicapped	13.3
Heart disease	6.1
Mental deficiency and mental illness	5.0
Inexperience	3.4
Blind and near blind	2.8
Tuberculosis	2.2
Diabetes	1.9
Epilepsy	1.2
Deaf	0.6
Other reasons	1.9

These 2,830 “unemployables” are more than twice as many persons as were receiving relief from all agencies on the average during the year 1929 in Hamilton County. It seems a reasonable hypothesis that many of them represent the ravages of the depression with its unemployment and underemployment, its inadequate wages, inadequate relief, inadequate medical and dental care, etc.

Many will undoubtedly prove permanently unemployable, but hope need not be abandoned for the others. There are, first, the mothers with dependent children, who are not permanently unemployable at all and who should have adequate relief and

service. Some of the prematurely old have possibilities of re-employment. These two groups—namely, the mothers with dependent children and the aged and prematurely aged—represent over 50 per cent of the total of those classified as permanently unemployable. It may be assumed that some of the handicapped, numbering 13.3 per cent of the total, must be capable of more or less vocational training and employment. Likewise, some of those classified as inexperienced, constituting 3.4 per cent of the total, should not be hopeless.

The temporary unemployables.—The temporary unemployables represented those disabled for a short time by sickness or accident. Of this group of 682, the majority may be classified as a rule among the employables.

The restricted employables.—This classification adopted by the Hamilton County Welfare Department represents those who have a certain measure of employability, but who for a variety of reasons have limited possibilities of earning a livelihood.

A study of a sample of 627 of these cases, classified according to the principal reason for relief, showed nearly one-half of them (namely, 304) to be on relief because of illness or poor physical condition, while 62 were classified as physically handicapped, 39 as aged or prematurely so, 39 were mothers with dependent children, 25 had mental problems, and 19 were inexperienced.

It must be admitted that the restricted employable as well as the permanent unemployable group constituted a sad picture. Nevertheless, it is certainly in line with case-work experience to hold that many of this group also have some possibilities of rehabilitation and re-employment.

Employables.—Those classified as employable also included many who obviously needed careful vocational guidance, training, and rehabilitation. The definition of employability, was, at least at first (and probably has continued to be), rather liberal, so that as many as possible could be certified for W.P.A. Besides those of doubtful employability this "employable" group certainly also contained a considerable number who were purely

and simply victims of economic maladjustments. A good many persons in this group classified as employable represented occupations in which there was surplus of workers over jobs. There were, for instance, 22 musicians, 24 nurses, 272 sales persons, 261 clerical workers, 175 teachers, 110 waitresses, etc.

Many of the employables represented marginal and unskilled labor. For example, a large group (4,610) were classified as domestic-service workers. The great majority of these were untrained for such work, having learned and practiced it only in their own homes. Although they were classified as employable, it is difficult to place many of them in domestic jobs. When they attempt to do such work in homes where high standards are demanded they prove inefficient and are soon again out of employment. There is also a general preference among them for other types of work, such as factory work, in laundries, etc., but for such work, also, many are untrained, incompetent, and stand a poor chance in a competitive labor market. They need careful vocational guidance and training. Cincinnati is trying to develop such a program.

Many of those on relief classified as employable were between jobs. There is a high rate of turnover in many industries and this reflects itself in a high turnover on relief rolls. The mistake is commonly made of regarding the relief rolls as composed of the same persons month after month. The fact is that there is a large group who remain on relief for short periods only.

From the foregoing analysis of the February case load of the Hamilton County Welfare Department, it is obvious that there are considerable possibilities of rehabilitation. Certainly from the standpoint of social economy, as well as humane consideration, decent standards of relief and adequate rehabilitative services should be maintained, and we hope that the fourth section of the four-point program will be helpful in educating the community to the importance of maintaining both adequate relief and adequate service in our county welfare department.

Our private family, health, and group-work agencies must

also play an important part in supplementing the services of the public agencies, particularly in furnishing leadership and education of the public for the support of such a program.

CONCLUSION

The social agencies, both public and private, in every community should be planning and making every effort at the present time to develop a constructive community approach to the problems of unemployment and relief. We must demonstrate our interest in making relief unnecessary as far as this is possible, while at the same time insisting also on the importance of adequate relief and service where and when it is needed in a comprehensive program of retraining and rehabilitation.

It is essential to a constructive community program that efficient and adequate public employment centers be developed, and that both public schools and employers co-operate in providing an adequate and efficient program of vocational guidance and training for young people and retraining for older workers. The social agencies must also play an active part, not only in providing leadership, but also in providing the case-work and rehabilitative services and in maintenance and selection of personnel for retraining that is required by such a program.

BRITAIN AND CINCINNATI

*Ben M. Selekman, Executive Director
Federated Jewish Charities, Boston*

TO THE underlying, basic objective of the Cincinnati program, to the insistence that jobs must be secured as far as possible for the unemployed, we must all extend whole-hearted indorsement. What I should like to do is to draw briefly on the experience of Great Britain, which for almost thirty years now has sought a similar objective. For Britain's experience reveals the problems and potentialities in any program for reducing unemployment. Not that where Britain has failed, we need fail. It is rather that we can learn from Britain the difficulties and some of the factors underlying success and failure. For the employment-exchange system, the central agency in Britain's program for relieving and reducing unemployment, has been linked to all the procedures incorporated into the Cincinnati program—placement, vocational guidance and training of youth, retraining of older workers, transference and migration, decasualization, and numerous studies both of unemployment and the unemployed. Moreover, just as in Cincinnati, so co-operating with the British employment exchanges are local committees representing employees, employers, government bodies, social agencies, universities, etc. Finally, we in this country can hardly hope to achieve for some time a civil service as competent and free from politics as that available to British employment exchanges.

Now, when the employment-exchange system began in 1909, and when it was joined to the unemployment insurance program in 1911, its leading sponsors too, as Cincinnati does now, sought primarily from it the reduction of unemployment. Yet both foreign and British students agree that it is just on this

objective—on the reduction of unemployment—that the British program has most markedly bogged down. Why?

Let us look for the answers, first, in terms of the immediate employment functions to which Cincinnati is addressing itself. What has been the record of Britain in actual placement work? The volume of placements has been steadily increasing every year, moving from something over 800,000 in 1921 to over 2,500,000 in 1935. Moreover, the exchanges are filling more than 85 per cent of the vacancies notified to them. Yet the latest studies show that, despite this encouraging growth, the exchanges still make only about one-fourth of all Britain's placements. Thus the system has never attained the ideals of its founders as the organized recruiting center for labor. A major obstacle has been the failure of employers to register vacancies. Workers must register to obtain unemployment benefit, but employers face no similar compulsions. Employers generally do not use the exchanges, and even when they do, they turn to them largely to fill emergency rather than the usual demands for labor. Many reasons explain this failure, but they center chiefly around managerial attitude—the unwillingness of foremen to relinquish the hiring function, the desire for tried and quickly available labor reserves, the belief that the better-type workers seek their own jobs, while only the poorer ones frequent the exchanges. The government has been unwilling to make registration of vacancies legally compulsory. If, then, Britain's experience offers any hint, it is important to seek from the start as full registration of vacancies by employers as possible. Will wide community interest in Cincinnati's project enable her to win agreement from many employers to utilize exchange facilities exclusively—or even, perhaps, assent to compulsory notification of vacancies? This does not mean, of course, that an employer must take whomever the exchange first sends to him. It merely means complete information each day on the local demand for as well as the supply of labor, without which no effective organization of the labor market is possible.

Yet whatever may be the feasibility of compulsory notification for all industry, a growing body of opinion in Britain has long held it essential for decasualization in especially irregular ones, such as dock work and shipping. The prominent place which Cincinnati has given to the organization of the casual labor market, Britain, too, paralleled from the start of her employment program. The employment exchanges and other agencies have tried persistently to secure decasualization, yet in 1931, when a renewed attack on the problem was made as a result of a port labor inquiry under the MacLean Committee, only one pre-war decasualization scheme—that set up in Liverpool in 1912—was in existence. However, even there the focal device of central hiring for demands beyond average had been abandoned. The surplus stands, to which workers were to go when they failed to get work at their ordinary places of employment, and to which employers and foremen were to phone when they needed more men than usual, were never used. Each employer still preferred to have his own reserves, and so the number of men registered for work continued about 25 per cent in excess of the total employed even on the busiest days.

Following the MacLean Report a Standing Advisory Committee on Port Employment has been appointed to develop further port decasualization schemes. Special efforts have been directed toward registration and the establishment of surplus hiring stands. The depression, of course, hampered this work, and while some progress has been reported, a full estimate cannot yet be made. Moreover, though some form of maintenance must be provided for men underemployed and unemployed, insurance and relief have become a subsidy for casual industries refusing to decasualize. In 1930, after more than twenty years' experience, Sir William Beveridge, despite that country's devotion to voluntarism, had written that "the appeal to reason and public spirit has failed" in the highly casual industries, that the way is open for compulsion.¹ Britain, however, has not yet

¹ The majority report of the Poor Law Commission in 1909 recognized that compulsion might be needed, and the minority advocated its application from the start for decasualization.

accepted this conclusion, and the coming years of recovery may indicate how much can be done by national stimulation within the organized voluntary setup.

What does this say to us? Cincinnati's effort to study and organize odd-job markets in her suburbs is all to the good. Her projects for studying stabilization of business, planned industrial development, and decasualization show her readiness for a rounded attack on irregular work. But we must be under no illusions concerning the difficulties involved. Casual employment to a greater or less degree is a feature of all capitalist industry. Fluctuations in demand necessitate labor supplies for peak as for average demand. And each employer wants to be sure he can tap his own reserve as he needs it. In Britain he has been unwilling to combine reserves, to accept hiring from central agencies. Will Cincinnati be able to overcome that typical unwillingness?

With regard to vocational guidance and training of the young, on the other hand, British experience forecasts a higher degree of success. The problem has emerged a twofold one: first, to direct to best advantage the transition from school to industry, and second, to devise programs for dealing constructively with unemployed juveniles between fourteen and eighteen. Work with unemployed juveniles has included maintenance for continued school attendance, scholarships for promising youths, junior instruction centers, special training, and healthful recreation.

Yet for all their promise it is important not to exaggerate our expectation of what such measures can do toward "reducing unemployment." That first choices of work should be made under skilled and informed guidance is undoubtedly a gain. But, as British experts remind us, "even first choices are not completely free." They are, rather, conditioned by the nature of local industries and the state of the labor market. After the first choice has been made, moreover, the worker sooner or later is on his own in the industrial world. No vocational guidance can save him from industrial fluctuations, from the decay of his

chosen trade after he has become too old to obtain new openings readily, from the continued recourse to casual labor by so many industries. It is through industry and not the worker, through unemployment and not the unemployed, that these ultimate irregularities must be tackled.

These considerations apply with even more force to restrict the possibilities of retraining for the adult—for that large group which Cincinnati rightly protests are not “unemployables” until every rehabilitation skill has been tried. Rehabilitation of the personally handicapped constitutes a field in which social agencies have developed a growing body of experience and skills. Some of these skills may also well prove applicable to the industrially handicapped. But with these industrially handicapped—the workers exposed to long depressions, stranded in decaying industries or decaying regions, dispossessed of their established skills by technological change, industrially “aged” at thirty-five or forty when losing an old job and forced to seek a new—with such “unemployables” we see clearly that retraining alone is not enough. For one thing, there is ample evidence that the industrial unemployables are becoming an increasing proportion of the total working population. For another, no retraining either of the personally or the industrially handicapped has any meaning unless jobs are available for them. The constant creation of new jobs remains still the primary challenge of any re-employment program.

Re-employment for the short-time unemployed becomes largely a problem of adjusting better an existing supply of labor to an existing demand—a management of what Beveridge has labeled the “labor reserve,” a better organization of the labor market. Because effective placement work, vocational guidance, decasualization, and study of employment trends can contribute to this end, they offer promise in Cincinnati’s program to reduce unemployment. But none of these devices create new jobs; they merely adjust labor better to existing ones. It is new jobs, however, that are needed for the long-time unemployed. For here we deal usually not with a labor reserve, but

really with a labor surplus. With recovery more jobs do become available—but in seven years more young workers become available, too. In other words, the older men and women are apt to be industrially stranded unless the total of jobs has been increased. However, the very technological changes usual in the search for lower costs during depression may even decrease that total. When industries, skills, or regions decay, what can we do with the workers stranded in them?

Britain has experimented with four mechanisms: public works, retraining, transference from decaying to expanding areas, and migration overseas. Though the arguments pro and con on public works will presumably continue for many years, unquestionably careful planning of public programs can help increase jobs—to create demand for labor, when depression is decreasing them in industry. But Britain's experience reveals difficulties in utilizing public works, particularly to create jobs in decaying areas. There is a limit to the work that can be done in such localities; then, too, other areas want their proportion of total expenditure, particularly during depressions. But most important, such work, even when successful, increased the immobility of workers, when the real need was to remove them from the stagnant areas. Yet, when transfer and retraining were tried, new difficulties appeared from the very fact that workers must be retrained and transferred in terms of existing jobs. Areas and industries possessing such jobs usually had their own labor reserves; and they preferred to meet shortages with young workers. Indeed, it was found that older men were hard to transfer. They were married, had homes and families, roots in their communities. Colonies were not overeager to accept migrants from the depressed areas, and British employers were often prejudiced against them.

Social workers do not need to be told, I know, that however more favorable our position as a nation may be in comparison with Britain's, we, too, have our declining industries, our decaying regions, or technologically displaced workers. That is why for us as for Great Britain, skills in retraining or transfer or

similar devices, no matter how well developed and administered, can hardly in themselves make a serious dent on the bulge of unemployment that involves a labor surplus. There is no point, however, to go on repeating what we all know, that the heart of the problem is the creation of new jobs. The depression has taught us a sobering lesson on just how baffling a task this is. There are numerous theories, of course, but equally respectable authorities can be cited for diametrically opposed bodies of theory and programs of action. What we need to give us further illumination are just such laboratory experiments as Cincinnati has projected.

Moreover, the experiment, to my mind, bears an importance beyond its own potential results. One of its outstanding values lies in the sheer fact that at the very opening stage of our own social social-security program, a major community like Cincinnati launches an educational effort to focus interest on the all-important objective of re-employment. For from 1921 up to 1934, the British employment-exchange system was almost swamped by the sheer size of the mass relief job. Indeed, such a reliable authority as Sir William Beveridge assigns to this fact a large share of responsibility for Britain's limited accomplishment with re-employment devices. If Cincinnati with the upswing of recovery can thus, as the national program is developing, keep public attention concentrated on employment without slighting in any way recognition of the importance of maintenance, she will indeed render a service.

It may be admitted, of course, that local laboratory experiments have their limitations. The creation of new jobs involves certainly national and international factors, if not the fundamentals of our entire economic system. Yet nothing can be more futile than to confront community effort like that of Cincinnati with a mournful recital of the supra-community factors impinging on what it is trying to do. Whatever can should be done within each community; and the climate of opinion necessary for broader reconstruction is generated by

the educational influences of such local efforts. To assess its objectives and machinery in terms of a similar, broader-scale, and older program like the British is merely to point out the lines along which effort may be profitably directed, and the difficulties which must be faced. If British experience, as well as a clear concept of the difficulties involved, guard us from anticipating Cincinnati's results on a scale of "great expectations," they enable us, also, to see how many important things can be done. We can only hope that other communities will follow her example.

THE COUNTY AS A UNIT FOR CO-ORDINATE PLANNING AND SERVICE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PUBLIC OFFICIALS

*Arlie Johnson, Formerly Assistant State Director, Washington
Emergency Relief Administration, and Associate Director
Graduate Department of Social Work, University of
Washington, Seattle*

PLANNING is the word of the hour. Although its antecedents root deep, its fruition in social work is relatively recent, and is contemporaneous with the widespread interest in economic planning, regional planning for development of natural resources, and in the revitalized city-planning movement. According to one student, "The planning movement, which has gained considerable ground lately partly as a result of the challenging problems of waste, privation, and disorder thrown into focus by the depression, gives some hope to our society of extricating itself from the paralysis brought about by our inability to adjust our technology and our social structure to our needs and aspirations."¹

There are two forces at work today in social welfare planning. One is the council of social agencies or welfare council, found in 1936 in some four hundred cities in the United States and Canada, organized usually as an adjunct of a community chest. Since 1920, the council movement has been profoundly influenced by the rapid growth of community chests.² The other

¹ Louis Wirth, "Localism, Regionalism, and Centralization," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLII, No. 4 (January, 1937), 508.

² Clarence King, "Councils of Social Agencies," *Social Work Year Book*, 1937, p. 101.

force, dating for the most part, in its present form, from the 1930's, is the state-wide organization and supervision of all phases of public welfare services. The councils of social agencies are urban and so-called private agencies, supported from voluntary funds; the state public welfare agencies extend services to rural areas and are public agencies, supported from tax funds. It is the interrelationship of these two types of agencies as social forces with which this paper is concerned.

For councils of social agencies the city has for the most part been considered the social unit; but for public social work, the county has been regarded as, perhaps, the most nearly ideal. Two excellent papers in the *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work, 1932*,³ reported progress in the use of the county as a unit for planning and service. At that time 17 states (12 of them by legislative mandate) had undertaken organization of two or more services on a county-wide basis. But of the 1,615 counties in the 17 states, slightly more than one-third were actually organized. Since 1932, two agents have so hastened the process of county organization that it is safe to say no state is unaware of the possibilities of developing the county as a unit for public welfare services. These two agents of change are the experience with administration of emergency relief and the conditions for grants-in-aid under the Social Security Act. In both cases, federal regulations made relief or public assistance, within the limits of the respective programs of F.E.R.A. and the Social Security Act, available throughout all states meeting the federal conditions; and, furthermore, placed upon the state central authorities responsibility for state-wide participation in financing and supervising the services provided. As a result, state reorganization during the past two years has been frequent. Besides the seventeen states of 1932, there are at least ten others which have established reorganized or new state-local departments of public welfare, or have had commissions

³ Mary Ruth Colby, "What Is Happening in County Organization?," pp. 439 ff. Dr. Ellen Potter, "Co-ordination and Development of Welfare Service in the County," pp. 450 ff.

recommend such action.⁴ Many of the recent laws provide for the union of two or more counties to form a district, if that unit seems desirable in sparsely settled regions.

We seem justified in concluding, then, that the county is generally accepted as a preferred unit for the administration of public social services. What can be said of the county or district as a unit for planning? At this point the public agency does not proceed alone but comes into contact with private social work. Dr. Potter reported in 1932 that "the social earthquake in the shape of the economic depression" had shaken down barriers between public and private agencies to such an extent that in many localities they were uniting in county councils in self-protection.⁵

Since such councils often are local in origin and wholly voluntary, it is impossible to generalize as to their extent. Certain prerequisites favorable to their growth have developed rapidly during the past few years. First among these is widespread interest in fact-finding. The influence of research directed by private foundations and federal governmental agencies, including the temporary F.E.R.A. and W.P.A., has filtered down to states and local communities until now research and educational programs are increasingly regarded as a proper function of a state public welfare department. A second influence favorable to the growth of county councils is the rapidly spreading type of legislation previously mentioned which integrates state and county administration for relief and welfare purposes, and which may be expected to give state leadership to local planning. A third influence, essential to successful community organization, is professional social-work leadership which the new or reorganized state agencies are trying to provide in county units. Although only sixteen states have provided by

⁴ New or reorganized departments that integrate state and county administration are found in Maryland, Alabama, Florida, Indiana, Louisiana, West Virginia, and Washington. (*Social Work Year Book*, 1937, p. 395; *The Survey Midmonthly*, May, 1937, p. 136.

⁵ *Proceedings, National Conference of Social Work*, 1932, p. 452.

law for civil service or informal merit systems, a number of others are tending in that direction.⁶ All of these influences, it will be noted, are dependent upon state action. In other words, successful county organization for planning gives promise of progressing under state stimulation and leadership. Following the World War, the emphasis in community organization was upon decentralized community action; today the trend is toward centralization of program, with decentralization, within limits, for carrying the program into effect. Outside of urban centers, therefore, it would seem that we shall look to public agencies to take the initiative in developing county-wide organization for social planning. The private agencies, with a few notable exceptions, are urban in scope and point of view.

If formally organized social agencies are not numerous in rural counties, numerous on the contrary are the civic, fraternal, social, and women's groups, most of which carry on some sort of "welfare work" more or less continuously. From this source must come the citizen leadership which the new public welfare agencies are beginning to sense will be necessary if they are not to become political in the least desirable meaning of the word. So important did this seem to the administrator of the department of public welfare of one state that he attempted to impose a pattern of county community councils throughout his state, only to find that he was suspected of an ulterior motive. The lesson seems to be that, while the professional leadership and stimulation must come from the new county welfare units, the county planning body or council should be nonadministrative, blending both public and private interests in a neutral organization.

What of the methods to be used in organizing county councils? The actual organization will depend upon individualizing the county or smaller community. This is a fundamental "first step" in community organization, as in case work. The important point, it seems to me, is to individualize the county

⁶ Oregon, for example, has set up a classification of jobs by order of the State Relief Committee and plans to define qualifications for the various classifications.

and to begin where it is. If the county has good roads and transportation, if it is unified industrially, if it has common interests such as a seasonal worker problem or public health needs, a county-wide organization may be of the greatest interest to the greatest number of persons. On the contrary, if there are several towns of almost equal size which are centers of activity for their parts of the county, a series of district councils that may later be federated into a county council would seem a preferable plan.

So far we have dwelt upon the dominance of the public agency in rural county organization. But the problem of greater interest is the relationship of public and private agencies in counties in which both are well developed. Without doubt, the leadership in social work in urban centers has rested with the private agencies. It is they who have enlisted citizens' understanding and support, it is they who have had the best-trained personnel. Councils of social agencies or welfare councils, the social planning bodies in city areas, have extended their membership and influence to public agencies, often with excellent results as in New York City, but the control and support of the council have been predominantly with the community chest. As the new public welfare agencies begin to recognize the importance of community planning for their own protection, they are challenging the domination of the chest. Several factors contribute to this situation. First and foremost, probably, is the shift of the last few years of private agency personnel to public. Some of the best professional leaders in social work have been drawn into the new public welfare jobs, and these leaders carry with them ideas of community organization to fit the new needs of the communities. Another factor in the situation is recognition that interpretation is as necessary for the public agency as for the private, and that the methods and aims of the two are not always identical.

While councils of social agencies and private agencies individually have often fostered the development of public social services, the public welfare official senses, or thinks he senses,

certain attitudes which he resents. There is a good deal of fear that "politics" will motivate the public agency, and caution is used in intrusting to the agency any responsibilities outside its immediate scope. There is an inclination to take a superior attitude toward the pressure groups which badger the public agency and a failure to keep ahead of the procession to the extent of realizing that the interests of the new public welfare agencies are, in the long run, closely allied with the interests of the private agencies.

If the worst fears of the private agencies are not to be realized, it is they who must hasten to the support of the public agencies. Their publicity and interpretation facilities must be consciously trained on the public program. Support must be mustered for civil service merit laws; valuable board members must be encouraged to serve on the public committees, boards, and commissions; and, finally, public opinion must be mobilized for the election of a fine type of man as governor.

Seattle is a good example of the struggle that is going on over the country for the control of social planning in a welfare council, and is an illustration of one solution that is tentatively proposed. Organized in 1930, the Seattle Welfare Council is an integral part of the Seattle Community Fund. It has had a prominent part in providing both lay and professional leadership to the State Emergency Relief Commission through its various evolutionary phases. About a year ago the State Department of Social Security decided to organize community councils in every county of the state. When the local administrator of the county in which Seattle is located (King County) was pressed by his superior, the state administrator, to organize a council, he was equally pressed by the Seattle Welfare Council to hold off until a joint plan, mutually satisfactory, could be evolved. The up-shot was a committee on the reorganization of the Seattle Welfare Council, a member of which was a representative of the State Department of Social Security.

After four months of study, the committee has presented its

report. The recommendations that might be of general interest are these: (1) that the Seattle Community Fund conserve the values to its board members and agencies that come from their common study and planning in a standing committee of the Community Fund which will concern itself only with problems limited to financial member agencies; (2) that a new agency be formed, county wide in scope, to be made up of the usual agency delegates plus half as many individuals, representative of civic, religious, labor, and other groups.

While there is nothing new in the formation of this governing, delegate body, the committee is recommending that the individual members be proposed by a nominating committee which is instructed to select them for their representation of the public agency's point of view, and to include pressure groups and rank-and-file taxpayers. This delegate body of some two hundred members will be, as usual, a medium for interpretation through quarterly meetings, and a body for broad policy-making. Other recommendations of the committee include an executive body of twenty-three members, of which about one-third would be appointed by the Community Fund, the Board, and by various public officials. One device for which much is hoped is interlocking memberships of certain key committees, such as public information and education, personnel, and cost and volume.

The importance of competent professional staff and adequate budget was, of course, recognized by the committee. A sufficient staff is to be selected by the executive committee, but upon recommendation of the personnel committee (on which is representation of corresponding committees of the Community Fund and the advisory committee of the county unit). Several plans for raising the budget have been proposed, such as complete financing by the Community Fund for a limited demonstration period, or joint financing by the Fund and the King County Welfare Department. The latter, under 1937 legislation an agent of the State Department of Social Security in the administration of public assistance, which is now in Wash-

ington the joint responsibility of state and county, is authorized to include in its budget funds "to study local conditions and recommend improvements in general conditions and in administration to the end that the need of public assistance shall be lessened."⁷ It is possible that public funds could be expended, under this section of the law, for social planning purposes. This example of what one city and county are considering is imperfect and tentative. Perhaps its significance is chiefly in the attempt to set up a new agency, dominated neither by the chest nor by the county welfare department, but representing a fusion of the interests of all public and private agencies.

What I have meant to say can be briefly summarized. First, this period of the 1930's following the great depression is similar to the 1920's following the World War, in that new forms of organization for social work are in process. The 1920's saw the chest and council development, the 1930's are witnessing an expansion of public social services under an integrated plan of federal-state-local organization. Second, the social unit for planning under the influence of chests and councils has been largely urban. Under the stimulation of federal emergency relief measures, and since 1935 under the federal grants-in-aid of the Social Security Act, certain states are leading the way toward state-supervised and state-aided programs of public welfare with the county as the preferred unit for administration and service. In the future it is probable, therefore, that social welfare planning as well will have to be adapted to this expanding function of state and county governments. At the same time, with a gaining interest in the merit system in public service, it is possible that leadership in community organization may shift from private to public agencies.

Third, the need for analysis of methods and for literature on the division of social work known as "community organization" or "social welfare planning" becomes self-evident. Elements of the case-work method need to be more consciously

⁷ *Washington State Session Laws, 1937*, chap. 190, sec. 11.

applied to communities; at the same time group-work methods for effecting social motivation should be studied and assimilated into a new and combined methodology.

Fourth, the private agencies are regarded by most public officials, if they have come from private agency experience themselves, much as a family of relatives might be regarded. One is very fond of them but wishes they did not live such sheltered lives. We look to them, nevertheless, as the guardians of the family hearth, and expect to see them come through handsomely in advocating our interests, sharing with us their strength and wisdom.

THE COUNTY AS A UNIT FOR CO-ORDINATE PLANNING AND SERVICE IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SOCIAL WORK

FROM THE POINT OF VIEW OF PRIVATE AGENCIES

*Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community
Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota*

IN THE main, citizens of the United States are born and live and die in a local setting. Mobility is great, but transiency is relatively small. As a relief problem it looms large only because there is no one to pay the bill. The fact that American life is lived in local communities, with the idea of permanent settlement, is scarcely worth debating.

Two broad channels of conflicting thought exist in regard to social planning. In general the pattern must be laid out from the top down or the bottom up. Admittedly, as in other forces of life, some of both viewpoints may be introduced. But the position is here assumed to be basic that successful social planning for the future must have its roots in local soil, be built around local needs, spring out of the consciousness of a local citizenship, involve and be in the interest of all economic levels of the local population, and necessarily take varying adaptations in line with local traditions and conceptions.

This principle is not inconsistent with federal or state action, but has a direct bearing on the local administration of federal or state programs. For example, take old age assistance. It certainly sprang out of the conscious desire of the local citizenship. One would expect fairly uniform compliance with federal standards. But such is not the case. In some local communities it is well administered, fairly adequate, and reasonably ac-

ceptable to local taxpayers. In almost as many other communities the reverse is true. In a federally controlled program, such as W.P.A., wide variations occur in its local application. Volumes of rules, regulations, safeguards, and procedures have been set up in Washington on the conduct of W.P.A. projects. While a considerable degree of uniformity has been obtained, the indisputable fact remains that the measure of local success in W.P.A. rests upon local administrators and their relationship to local governments and local citizenship groups.

Here are two national programs well indorsed by local thought, but still sort of stepchildren to the local community. Something must be wrong fundamentally with local planning procedures to result in such an uneven administration in these great enterprises. Probably the limitation to their effectiveness is largely one of application, and this depends on the receptivity and ability of the local community to make the necessary adaptations. This in turn depends upon the wisdom and vigor of local planning groups. It is why the local element stands out so importantly.

Certainly it is the function of governmental officials, educators, editors, labor leaders, writers, and speakers to lead the nation into new channels of thinking. Many proposals must be given the established background of legislative enactment by federal and state governments. But these ideas can only be effective as they have local roots and as they are permitted to grow naturally and welcomed as a part of the organization of the community. To date local forces have failed to meet their obligation. What can be done in private agencies on this planning problem?

To many social workers primarily interested in the local application of welfare measures there is about as much discouragement as encouragement in present trends. St. Paul, Minnesota (the city in which I live) has just completed an excellent reorganization of its public welfare department in which city and county institutions, relief and social-security measures, and child welfare machinery are all co-ordinated. Many people

worked hard to reach this objective, but at the same time they recognize in it elements of real danger. In this case there is established a public board of five people to control the destinies of a public welfare program which will cost at least eight million dollars a year. This board will do the job well, but is it anything more than a bureaucratic establishment? Nearly 750 employees will be engaged in the application of the program; but, aside from the board and its staff, the only citizens who will participate are the clients. The client group itself will constitute at least 80,000 out of 300,000 citizens, so in one sense there will be good participation. Still the trend is to place on one hand the clients who want all the benefits which are possible to obtain, and on the other hand the taxpayers who are just as vigorous to keep down the amount they must pay. This is not ideal social planning. It is not good community organization. It is not the solution of the welfare problem. It is potential conflict.

From the private point of view the greatest contribution that can be made during the next decade by citizens is one that falls largely in the field of interpretation. The key people in effecting progress on this problem are public and private social workers who, acting jointly, may be able to accomplish results. All must agree that welfare programs are designed in the public interest and their good effects on community life are equally important to all people. This concept has become more or less definite in the public mind in reference to certain health ventures. The most ardent member of a real estate board must agree that if a community expends money to provide sanitary measures for people who cannot pay for them they still serve as a safeguard to those who can. If smallpox should become epidemic the biggest taxpayers would encourage free vaccination for all, recognizing by so doing a high degree of self-interest. Minimum standards of living are fully as important as minimum standards of health. The only difference is that few think so except social workers.

Therefore, first among the planning-goals of the near future must be the effort to involve a greater degree of participation

by citizens in public welfare programs. The responsibility for achieving this goal rests on the shoulders of the public and private social workers. Some of the traditional loyalties which people have had for private agencies must be transferred to the public program. Fortunately there are many channels through which citizenship service can be introduced.

Advisory citizenship groups on old age assistance can serve with beneficial results in a number of fields. In the matter of detailed policies there is a place for thoughtful people to work with good effect. They could cause intelligent acceptance of the program and aid the department in solving some of its awkward and complicated procedures. Any work with the aged brings up the problem of adequate housing for the group. This phase of the work should provide a field of interest to a number of citizens whose present participation is largely one of conflict alone. Then there arises the matter of leisure time, which runs almost 100 per cent in most old age groups. Cannot the efforts of these old people be turned into channels which are useful to themselves? Excellent results occur in youth programs for leisure time, although they do not afford nearly the promise of group self-interest as do similar efforts among the aged. These old people have a lifetime of experience behind them and know a great deal more about their skills than do children. Besides, they are infinitely patient as contrasted to youth. This represents almost an untouched field of opportunity.

One might go on indefinitely outlining problems connected with the aged in which thousands of citizens have an interest. There are health, vacations, relationships with relatives, religious ties. But this is only one phase of the modern welfare program. Administration of mothers' aid has been regarded over the country as a procedure of the courts. This is all changed, and a new program known as aid to dependent children should involve widespread interest on various aspects of the home, the school, the church, the recreation, and the vocational interests of these children. It constitutes almost unexplored territory. It involves large numbers and it opens new opportunity for these children only to the extent that the citizenship gauges the

wider implications of the program and is willing to pay for its development with a measure of enthusiasm.

Over and above categorical forms of aid there looms the residual relief load which undoubtedly will be with us for a long time to come. In the administrative end of this program, as well as the others already mentioned, there stands the geographical organization of the community. The use of district advisory committees made up of citizens from the neighborhood seems essential. On many of the aspects of special work mentioned above there is room for district committees.

Community planning, with the county as a unit, and from the point of view of private agencies, must look toward community-wide acceptance of the public welfare program. If private and public agencies working together cannot bring this about through the participation of local citizens, then both programs suffer. Particularly does the private agency program become sidetracked into a sort of purposeless supplementation of public service, thereby losing its usefulness in approaching fields of unmet needs, in attempting new experimentation, and in developing new standards and better methods. To permit private social agencies to function with any effect at all, a complete and well-administered public organization must be on the job.

Private agencies have shown considerable genius in the organization of the local citizenship. Literally most of the men and women of a city are involved in some degree of interest. Usually every fifth person is a contributor of money, and, if school children's contributions are counted individually and the family gift interpreted to cover both the men and the women, it is not infrequent that more nearly every other person is a contributor. The roster of board and committee personnel of private agencies will run easily to two out of every hundred adults. I have a conviction that the greatest contribution private agencies have made falls in the field of interesting local citizenship in welfare programs. Unfortunately it has not been a wholly intelligent interest. It springs largely from the desired sense of participation of people. But, beyond doubt, personal involvement is the greatest interpretative factor in social work

or any other community force. It is this same sense of personal participation that the taxpaying group, as well as the client group, must find in the public welfare setup.

The biggest single factor in welfare planning, from the point of view of private agencies, should be the united force of that movement to train and equip people to serve in the many and varied aspects of the public welfare program. It is self-protection; it is sound community organization; it is an insurance for tax support; and it is essential co-operation between public and private enterprise. It is the basic element of continued co-operation for both public welfare and private effort. But this is not the only part of planning which is important.

The establishment of machinery for a co-ordinated research program which can amass the essential local data on which detailed operations must be based is quite as essential as the program involving people. In fact, it is a necessary underpinning for it. In this program private agencies are vitally concerned for several reasons. First, because they have provided, through councils of social agencies, much of the planning machinery, and in all probability will have to continue a substantial contribution to this local planning movement in the future. Second, because the whole idea of community responsibility toward both government and citizenship has been greatly widened and will continue so to be. Therefore, local planning machinery in the future must be on a much larger scale than heretofore and it must involve an orderly research approach. In the third place, there are certain limits to which public agencies can go in the appropriation of tax money for research projects. These limits are usually within the maintenance of necessary data with respect to the particular clientele which the department serves. It is difficult to get public funds for wider application of research material. Any program which does not involve the public clientele is almost worthless from the point of view of future planning. For these reasons larger private funds will have to be devoted to this end of the social-work program.

This all leads to the question of how future planning machin-

ery will be set up on a county basis which involves both private and public agencies. It is almost certain that the present basis of representation in the welfare council is entirely faulty and needs to be thoroughly reorganized. The old traditional system of having all public and private agencies in the community appoint a board member, and have the executive sit on the council, gives today a tremendous unbalance in weight to private agencies. New factors of representation will have to be created, such as: (1) the total bulk of the agency in the community as measured by expenditures; (2) the total weight of the agency expenditure in professional staff; (3) the representation of specific parts of a whole, as such one form of categorical aid or a geographical unit of a public department, including its citizenship advisory units.

A detailed discussion of this phase of planning is too involved for so brief a presentation as is here afforded. But it must be remembered that the basic idea of central planning involves machinery. Literally no progress has been made in modernizing welfare-council processes. With the tendency toward unification in public welfare organization it is essential to redefine the measure of delegate representation. Certainly dollars spent is one criterion. But a county institution for the aged having an annual budget of \$100,000 looms less important for planning purposes than a child guidance clinic spending \$30,000. This unbalance can be reconciled by weighing the measurement in terms of professional staff. In the first instance, a council could give one delegate for every \$50,000 spent, or a total of two. In the second case, the clinic would secure one for money expended plus one additional representative for every \$10,000 spent on professional staff, or a total for money bulk and professional staff of three. And for planning purposes there can be no question that the child guidance clinic is more important than an institution for the aged. Extending thought on the third principle mentioned, it is easy to understand how district units of a public welfare organization, or private either, are also entitled to central representation. All sense of reality is lost in central planning machinery unless it really represents the whole process.

Next a new basis of financial support for council work must be developed. Many people feel that chests have dominated the council too much. As a matter of fact, such has had to be the case because but few public departments have stepped forward to make substantial contributions to the very sizeable budget a council must have if it maintains a staff of experts, including a well-organized research division. The key to this problem seems to be the co-ordination of council research with the normal and necessary internal statistical procedures of the public agency. In any large center, for example, the tax-supported agency must have mechanical equipment for control and tabulation of its case data. Certain financial credit can be given and much-needed service can be rendered the council through the public equipment. If a community research department is to be any good at all it must present the total community as contrasted to an agency picture. This fact is quickly grasped by any tax-supported agency, no matter how large, and certainly it will go the full distance, for purposes of self-interest alone, to fit its figures into the total community picture. Thus, with out much additional tax appropriation, a really substantial contribution can be made by public agencies to central planning, provided only there is enough local imagination to see how it can be accomplished.

This may seem an exceedingly vague discussion of the county as a planning unit from the point of view of private agencies. But, no matter how it is approached, one cannot escape the fundamental issue that local communities display a high degree of autonomy in the handling of their own affairs. Home rule is deeply imbedded in the American consciousness, and, while national and state projects can be and should be promoted and adopted, carrying with them local standards and supervision, their measure of success will only be in proportion to the thoughtful leadership that local communities themselves will invest. While it may be sensible to plan from the top down, so long as good administration rests on the local level, it seems obvious that it is here most attention is needed in social planning.

The future hope in social work would be much enhanced if social workers would assume basic fallacy in the idea that great welfare measures involving some 25 per cent of the population can be run continuously and successfully by a bureaucratic establishment. These are programs involving the whole people, and the degree of participation cannot be that of merely the client group and the professional personnel. Theoretically they are designed to benefit the taxpayer just as much as the receiver, and only by drawing the taxpaying community into a direct participation with the programs so their full implication and their basic soundness is understood can this country hope to reap the full benefits possible.

Finally, it is necessary to prove the worth of welfare enterprise. In the long run its merit can only be established through factual data. Future programs can only be wisely built if they have a sane objective and factual foundation. So this enters the realm of research and welfare-planning machinery, which must be a well-rounded community enterprise reflecting not only the data that public agencies are permitted to acquire in connection with their regular duties, but including also the picture of research information which can only be acquired if private agencies are willing to throw their financial resources and their citizenship backing toward the realizing of these desirable ends. In that connection, private agencies now partly responsible for the planning machinery must encourage a wider and more representative foundation which will give public agencies the place in the picture to which they are entitled.

Such a goal, if taken seriously, should in the long run net much which is good for both public and private interests. But it can only succeed if private agencies transfer some of the allegiance and sense of citizenship participation which they have developed to public welfare programs, and tax-supported agencies must receive this reinforcement with enthusiasm and constantly develop ways and means by which it can be strengthened.

THE RELATION OF THE PUBLIC EMPLOYMENT SERVICE TO THE ADMINISTRATION OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

*R. C. Atkinson, Member, Research Staff, Committee
on Public Administration, Social Science
Research Council, Washington, D.C.*

IN NEARLY all countries the local administration of unemployment insurance is handled through employment offices. In the United States the Social Security Act definitely contemplates, but does not absolutely require, that such shall be the case. However, the model bill prepared by the Social Security Board does stipulate that unemployment benefits shall be paid through public employment offices, and many of the state laws make similar provision. In nearly every case the operation of the state employment service has been placed within the department or commission responsible for the conduct of unemployment compensation.

EMPLOYMENT SERVICE THE PROTECTOR OF UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

There are two principal reasons why the administration of unemployment insurance has almost invariably been assigned to or associated with employment offices. One is the necessity of providing a means of applying a work test to curb malingering. Unemployment benefits are not intended for those who are unwilling to work or who have voluntarily withdrawn from the labor market, but only for the bona fide unemployed capable of and available for work. Some method must, therefore, be provided to protect the reserve fund both from the shirker who might be content to exist on benefits and from the individual who has in reality retired from employment. Experience

has indicated that the employment office is the only practical mechanism for applying such a test. A second reason is that a strong employment service can reduce the time lost by workers in finding employment, thereby conserving insurance reserves as well as rendering a more constructive service to the individuals concerned. Each person placed by the employment office is one less actual or potential drain on the insurance fund.

It is easy to exaggerate the importance and distort the meaning of the work test. In fact, it would not be surprising if some unemployment compensation officials made this mistake in the beginning. It is sometimes assumed that an effective employment service normally will have on hand a stock of openings to which benefit claimants can promptly be referred and that it will be the obligation of the service to use these openings to prevent abuse of the compensation system.

The application of this idea, however, would involve serious practical difficulties. In the first place, the employment office may not have a sufficient stock of openings to permit any considerable application of such a test, for it must be remembered that the peak of unemployment in a community comes when jobs are most scarce in industry. Hence, the volume of openings at an employment office will normally be decreasing at the very time that compensation applications are increasing and vice versa. It is obvious, for example, that the possibilities of placing workmen of the building trades will be very limited during the winter slump in construction, and that jobs will be scarce in coal-mining areas during the spring. The employment service, therefore, must not be expected to do the impossible.

But there is another difficulty of a somewhat perplexing nature. The work test presents a dilemma. If the employment office is to develop its placement activity, it must satisfy employers by referring qualified workers. This is the only basis on which the service can possibly be built in the United States. In the early stages of the employment service careful selection is of especial importance, for the offices must acquire the confidence and good will of employers in order to secure their patron-

age, as without it there will be few placements. In Europe consideration has been given to the desirability of requiring employers to use the employment offices in recruiting labor, or at least to notify the offices of all openings, but such a scheme would be utterly impractical in the United States under peacetime conditions. Furthermore, it is well that public employment offices be forced to win their way by the character of their service.

If the employment service must base its referrals strictly upon qualifications and fitness, what becomes of the work test? In general, the work-shy individual most needing the test will be the very one whose referral to an employer would be most likely to damage the reputation of the office. On the other hand, the person who can be sent to an employer with assurance of placement is the competent and industrious worker whose willingness to accept employment requires no further demonstration. Without question insistence on a vigorous application of the work test could readily ruin the employment service and thus deprive the compensation system of whatever aid the service might be able to render. This fact should be clearly appreciated by those involved in the operation of both enterprises.

In England the limitations of the work test and the necessity of care in its application have been well recognized. After a thorough examination of the problem the Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, in 1932, stated as its conclusion that "the offers of work through employment exchanges cannot and should not be used primarily as a test of the bona fides of a claimant for unemployment benefit. Such service as the exchanges may perform in this respect will be incidental, and no more than incidental, to the performance of their primary function."¹

The fact that the use of placement as a test of willingness to work is rather circumscribed does not indicate that it is altogether impractical or that the employment service can be of very little utility to unemployment compensation. To be effec-

¹ *Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Final Report* (November, 1932), Cmd. 4185, p. 300.

tive in this regard, however, the service must be strong and the volume of placement activity large. The greater the number of placements, the greater will be the prospect of referral and the less the tendency of benefit claimants to let down and accept a dole. Moreover, the larger the proportion of the openings in industry that are handled by the employment service, the greater will be the opportunity of referring workers of the type needing the test without doing harm to the office. The development of a strong employment service is, therefore, essential to the effectiveness of the work test.

The main value of employment service to unemployment compensation, however, lies in its ability to reduce the number of beneficiaries by the prompt filling of openings. To the extent that it can speed up the re-employment process by shortening the interval between the time when an opening arises and the time when it is filled, the employment service will lessen the drain on the compensation fund. Even an average saving of a day in this process would be in the aggregate a substantial advantage to the fund. If in the long run the employment service can achieve a sufficient organization of the labor market to exert a stabilizing influence on employment and enable industry to reduce the size of the labor reserve, as students of the problem consider possible, it will make a large contribution to the compensation system and the well-being of the working population.

NECESSITY OF EXPANDING AND IMPROVING THE EMPLOYMENT SERVICE

Unemployment compensation will necessitate both a large expansion and a progressive improvement in the efficiency of the employment service. Though the service now has nationwide coverage in so far as federal public works programs are concerned, that coverage is much too thin to meet the needs of unemployment compensation. Offices will have to be opened in a great many small cities now not directly served, and many additional offices will be required to handle the load in the larger cities. It will be necessary to bring the service closer to

the homes of the workers if frequent reporting is demanded, as probably will be essential for compensation purposes.

More serious than the problem of expansion is that of improving the caliber of the service and enlarging its private placement activity. Substantially more than half of the private placements made by the offices have been in agriculture and domestic and personal service, most of the employees of which are not covered by unemployment compensation. On the other hand, the volume of placements has been comparatively small in manufacture, where most of the employees are covered. Moreover, temporary placements—i.e., under one month—have exceeded regular placements in private employment. Clearly, if the employment service is to perform its proper function in connection with unemployment compensation there must be a sharp increase in the volume of placements in those industries which are subject to compensation laws. In England the employment exchanges handle between 20 and 25 per cent of the openings filled by persons subject to unemployment insurance.

The rapid development of a strong placement service is a very difficult task. It is much more than a problem of money, organization, and leadership, important as all of these are to the success of the undertaking. Basically, the creation of an effective public employment service depends on three things. The first is the development of a large corps of competent interviewers who understand the industries and occupations of their communities and are skilled in dealing with applicants and employers. The second is the attraction to the office of an ample supply of all types of workers. This part of the problem unemployment compensation will automatically solve for the most part. The third essential is the acquisition of the good will and co-operation of employers, without whose patronage there will be no placement opportunities.

The attainment of the first and third of these requisites requires time and intelligent and persistent effort. There is no available supply of persons outside the service who possess the equipment needed by the successful interviewer. For the most part the personnel must be trained on the job and much of this

equipment must be acquired through experience. The development of employer patronage also takes time, plus vigorous promotional activity backed up by careful selection of the workers referred to openings, for in the end an office must "sell" itself on the basis of efficient service rendered.

There is a real fear on the part of many that the introduction of unemployment compensation may react unfavorably on the employment service, at least for a period. It is quite possible that many of the more competent and ambitious employees of the service may be drawn into the compensation organization, thereby weakening the service at the very time when it most needs strengthening. Also, it is apparent that the handling of benefit operations will greatly increase the load on employment offices. All applicants for benefit must register for employment if they have not previously been registered and must renew their applications at frequent intervals. This will sharply increase the traffic of the offices. Furthermore, compensation will bring sharp fluctuations of load, especially in the smaller offices and in one-industry towns. With long lines of men waiting to file benefit claims, it requires no imagination to realize what the placement personnel must do. Attempts to set up a hard and fast division of work within the office will not avail. Crowds of benefit applicants must be served even though other activities have to be deferred. Under such conditions it is almost inevitable that part of the employment-service personnel will be requisitioned for compensation duties. Experience indicates that employer-contact work is the first to suffer when pressure develops, and then follows sketchy registration and hasty selection of persons for referral to openings. These conditions eventually react unfavorably on the volume and character of placement activity.

Real though these dangers are, they can largely be overcome by advance study and planning. The greatest danger lies, not in the increased burden that unemployment compensation may impose on the offices, but, rather, in the possibility that compensation- and employment-service executives may not have made adequate preparations for handling the load. An attempt

to protect placement simply by insulating the employment service from unemployment compensation is almost certainly doomed to failure. The only way to meet the situation is by close co-operation between the two agencies, thorough analysis of problems, and the development of organization, staff, and procedures suited to joint needs. This involves advance study of the probable size and fluctuations of the load in the various communities, the expansion of the personnel and the office system in advance of the beginning of unemployment benefit operations, the provision of a mobile force to meet emergencies, and the simplification of procedures so far as possible. Underlying much of this planning there must be early decisions as to the degree of decentralization to be applied in the handling of benefit transactions.

Whatever the immediate difficulties presented by the introduction of unemployment compensation, in the long run it should be an immense boon to the employment service. First, by compelling the great majority of urban workers to register with the offices when unemployed it will bring into the files of the service the cream of the labor supply as well as the dregs. In the past fully half of the stock of the offices has consisted of relief clients, and the more highly skilled workers have tended to make the least use of the service. Unemployment compensation will overcome this difficulty. At the same time it will afford the service a better opportunity of soliciting the patronage of the employer. Since the local office will have most of the available workers in its files, the employer cannot but realize that it, better than any other agency, can supply the type of labor he desires if it is actually available.

UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION OPERATIONS IN LOCAL OFFICES

It is not yet possible accurately to forecast the operations in connection with unemployment compensation that will be assigned to the local employment offices. This depends on the policies adopted as to centralization or decentralization of cer-

tain parts of the work. In Europe the handling of benefits has been turned over to the local offices for the most part. In England the insurance activities of the employment exchange may be summarized as follows: first, it takes the claimant's application for benefits and registers him for employment; then an insurance officer on the staff of the exchange determines the claim, subject to review in case of disapproval. In allowing a claim it is necessary to consult the central record office of the insurance system to discover whether the claimant has been employed for a sufficient period to qualify and whether his benefit rights have already been exhausted. Other questions involved in the determination of eligibility for benefits are decided locally. These include such issues as: whether the individual is capable of and available for work; whether his unemployment is due to personal misconduct, voluntarily quitting, or the existence of a labor dispute; and many other related questions. Third, the exchange handles the proof of unemployment, which necessitates the claimant reporting several times each week to sign the register and evidence his continued unemployment. Fourth, in case a claimant refuses or fails to apply for work to which he has been referred by the exchange, the local insurance officer must determine whether the job offered constitutes suitable employment for the individual concerned and, if so, whether there is any sufficient cause for such refusal or failure. Fifth, if the claim is allowed, the local office calculates the weekly benefit to which the claimant is entitled, making proper deduction for earnings from incidental employment, and, finally, it pays the benefit due.

How much of this process will be conducted in the employment office in the American compensation systems remains to be determined. No doubt practice will differ somewhat from state to state. The Social Security Act requires that benefits be paid through public employment offices or in such other manner as the Social Security Board may approve. Hence, other methods of payment are not precluded. Some state laws require local payment and others do not. Existing legislation,

therefore, leaves the opportunity of considerable variety of practice.

In Wisconsin, where benefit operations began a year and a half earlier than in any other state, the work is centralized to a high degree in the state headquarters. The local employment office receives the benefit application, registers the claimant for placement, and takes a weekly renewal of the application which serves as evidence of continued unemployment and indicates earnings from casual work performed. The determination of the claim and, at the time of writing, the decision of all other questions relating to it are made at the state headquarters. The compensation examiner attached to the employment office assembles the facts as to the issues, makes such investigations as may be necessary, and reports the essential information, together with recommendations, to headquarters. The amount of the benefit is calculated by the state office and payment is made directly by it by mail rather than through the employment office. It is evident that under this plan the responsibilities of the local office are much more limited than in England, though there remain the large-scale operations involved in taking claims and handling the weekly reporting of benefit claimants.

It is probable that the American systems will provide a greater centralization of the benefit work than characterizes those in Europe. There are at least two reasons, namely, the greater mechanization of office routines in the United States, permitting a higher degree of centralization of the work, and the desire to concentrate the determination of major issues in the state office to permit of greater uniformity and control during the period when policies are being developed and precedents established. The nature of some of the American systems also necessitates central calculation of individual benefit rates. It is interesting in this connection to note that during the early period of the English insurance law the determination of claims was centralized in a few divisional offices and that this function was not turned back to the local offices until four years had elapsed.²

² *Royal Commission on Unemployment Insurance, Final Report (1932), p. 297.*

CHANGES NECESSITATED BY UNEMPLOYMENT COMPENSATION

Unemployment compensation will require many changes in the organization and operation of employment offices. As already pointed out, a large expansion of the system of offices and the size of the staff will be essential to bring the service nearer to the worker and to take care of the increase in the number of persons to be dealt with. This multiplication of offices will require changes in the plan of organization and administration. It will very likely be necessary to group local offices into districts for purposes of supervision and control to a much greater degree than has heretofore characterized state employment services, both because of the impracticability of direct state supervision of all offices and because of the necessity of having a single directing head for offices operating within the same social and economic area. The increase in the number of offices within the same industrial center will also demand better provision for the clearance of unfilled openings. In addition, it will create new problems as to the division of the work among offices in the same urban community.

With the introduction of benefit operations there must go a considerable enlargement and rearrangement of office quarters. Not only will it be necessary to provide space to house the additional staff, but it will be important to lay out the office in such a way as to expedite the handling of large numbers of benefit claimants and to protect other operations from unnecessary interruption and inconvenience. Eventually the readjustments will also extend to the record system and the operating procedures. Careful attention must be given to the possibilities of dovetailing records and procedures of employment service and unemployment compensation to eliminate unnecessary work and simplify the performance of the functions assigned to the office. All this requires thorough study and co-operation on the part of the agencies responsible for the administration of employment service and unemployment compensation and indicates the necessity of the closest possible co-ordination of their efforts.

THE SOCIAL PROGRAM OF THE LABOR MOVEMENT

*Mary van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial
Studies, Russell Sage Foundation
New York City*

THE social program of the new labor movement has not yet been formulated. It is very evident, however, that the program of social work, especially in its governmental aspects, is receiving immense reinforcement from the present vitality in the trade-union movement. Legislators, government administrators, and even Supreme Court justices are giving new attention to legislation dealing with social problems. Their interest may be traced directly, I believe, to the one vitally new element in the situation of the last seven years, that is, the growing solidarity which industrial unionism generates, and all its implications for the growth in political strength which has made possible the new economic strength.

It may be surprising to talk just now about the solidarity and unity of the workers, since it is commonly assumed that the American labor movement is divided. It is true that the movement has been divided as between the craft unions and the great masses of unorganized workers. Every day, however, brings evidence of the present vital unity. A recent incident may be mentioned—the convention of the International Ladies' Garment Workers. After several days of conference, in which representatives of the American Federation of Labor and of the Committee on Industrial Organization were heard, the final vote was unanimous for affiliation with the forces of industrial unionism. Significant also of growing solidarity was the increase of that union to 240,000 members as compared with 40,000 in 1930.

This movement toward unity of the masses of the workers in economic organization, accompanied by political unity, will have profound implications for the whole program recognized as the concern of social work. The situation may be summarized by saying that at this moment labor is giving its full energies to the task of extending economic organization. But implicit in such a movement, based as it is upon the support and adherence of the masses of the workers, is something new for social work to recognize. The new element is that no social program of government, whether legislative or administrative, will have vitality in the future unless it has the support of the labor movement, which now for the first time is coming into the position in America of the leading group to speak for the social needs of the whole people.

During this same period social work has shifted its base from unofficial programs, privately supported, with the community chest as the symbol of the source of influence and control, to a government program which is now recognized as the major branch of social work. Along with that shift, social workers must recognize that their "bosses" are no longer the same. It is no longer the community chest or its counterpart which will determine the program of social work. That program in its major branch will have to be molded by the same forces which are influencing government in many of its aspects. These forces and their interrelationship are the resultant of developments in labor's economic organization.

It is desirable to sketch at this moment the main points in the development of this industrial unionism and what it signifies. Out of this analysis may come some basis for forecast as to the kind of social program which may be expected to develop out of this situation. Beyond that, certain implications for the future of social work may be foreseen.

The starting-point for mass organization of labor during this period is traceable to the first four years of the New Deal, which were characterized by gains and losses for the labor movement. In the National Industrial Recovery Act, for the first time, clear

recognition was given to labor's right to organize and to bargain collectively. The masses of the workers responded immediately. In a rank-and-file movement they began organization. Many illustrations might be given from different industries in widely different parts of the country, showing how the rank-and-file workers got together and then called in organizers in their own industry or in the labor movement to give them a trade-union charter. This was the history of organization among the rubber-tire workers, as a notable example. Organization came out of a clear sky, without guidance. New and untrained leaders appealed to the labor movement to give them a charter.

The general trade-union leadership was not prepared for this mass movement. On the whole, the American Federation of Labor and the leaders of the national unions moved into Washington in precisely the same spirit which actuated them during the period of the World War. They decided upon a policy of cooperation with government, even to the extent of supporting the appeals of political leaders to the loyalty of labor, which was to refrain from striking during the difficult period of recovery and to rest its case with what could be accomplished by negotiations between leaders and government administrators in Washington.

Meanwhile, the code authorities of the National Recovery Administration were set up, with no representation of the workers in the great majority of the industries. The industries already organized, because of the strength of their unions, were able to protect in some degree the interests of the workers; and it was in these industries, such as mining and clothing, that the greatest gains were made in raising wages. Workers previously unorganized, however, had to face the intense disappointment of being asked not to strike after their efforts to form a union had culminated in a decision to strike as the only effective means, in their opinion, of winning the legally guaranteed right of collective bargaining. The next disappointment was the discovery that government itself was unable to compel the employers to make agreements with unions. Instead, company

unionism spread, espionage and blacklisting of labor followed it, and the labor movement was divided between this basic mass movement and the upper leadership. In such industries as steel, automobiles, and rubber tires, which are characteristically the industries of mass production, the rank and file of the workers tried one form of organization after another and found them all ineffective in the face of the lack of guidance on the part of the American Federation of Labor and the actual checks upon mass organization which the craft unions forced upon the old leadership. Craft unionism was breaking down before the new problems brought by the economic crisis. It was breaking down for the very good reason that the basic conditions of craftsmanship were disappearing in industry.

This is not a struggle between individuals, despite the appearance of a personal conflict between leaders. This is a basic movement, and it must be remembered that what happens today in Flint, Detroit, or Pittsburgh must be traced to its origin in 1933 in the movement of the masses within trade-union organization. What has happened is not so much a change in the spirit of the masses as it is a change in position of leaders who have moved out of the craft unions' closed circle and followed the rank and file toward all-inclusive mass organization. Without this change of position on the part of leaders there could have been no such unity as is now evident, nor could any such victories have been won. Therefore, it is not to be assumed that a division now exists between the upper leadership and the rank and file. On the other hand, no movement could show more clearly that the basis is in mass action and mass initiative. Never has there been a clearer illustration of leadership winning its position by responding to the basic demands and needs of the rank and file. The fact that trade unionism is spreading so fast that one union after another withdraws from the American Federation of Labor and joins the Committee for Industrial Organization simply means that here, as usual, the mass movement is being guided by realism toward a center of

unity which will very soon re-form itself into the new American labor movement.

In the midst of this economic drive we see the background of growing political action. Experience with New Deal administration showed the trade unions that, basically, they had little influence with government. As elections drew near last November, the trade unions began to examine again their political position. The issue was cleared by the fact that the forces of reaction, which had frustrated the effort of the labor movement to win the right of collective bargaining during the last four years, were definitely aligned against the President and the forces within his party which had supported gains for labor. Of course, these reactionary forces manifested themselves also within the Democratic party, but not in its leadership. Thus came the paradox that the very administration under which labor had suffered grievous disappointments became, by virtue of the attacks of its enemies and the organization of the forces of reaction on the other side, the symbol of labor's cause in the elections.

Labor's political action did not yet take the form of a national labor party. Labor's Nonpartisan League developed the program of support for the progressive policies of the Democratic party and for the re-election of President Roosevelt. New York State was an exception, where the League organized as the American Labor party and, with President Roosevelt as its candidate, polled 285,000 votes for him under the emblem of the new party.

The Farmer-Labor party in Minnesota reflected the new spirit. In 1934 the party had adopted a program which, according to newspaper interpretation, was "far to the left." It called for the immediate abolition of capitalism, the reconstruction of society, and the taking-over of industries. In 1936, under the force of the implications of the new position of labor, the Farmer-Labor party based its program squarely upon immediate needs, thus giving a broad basis of unity which was in itself a reinforcement of economic organization of the trade unions.

The idea implicit in all of this was that the first step was to strengthen the trade-union movement, in order to make it able to determine its own social program, rather than beginning with the social program and neglecting the strengthening of the organization of labor. With such a platform and with the influence of the activities of labor's Nonpartisan League in all states, the Farmer-Labor party of Minnesota developed a cohesion which carried the state for its candidates by majorities far outstripping any previous votes in the old party organizations.

It seems evident that the conclusion to be drawn from this experience is that the American labor movement was not, is not, and is not likely to be in the immediate future politically radical. Moreover, certain radical movements have been changing the direction of their efforts, emphasizing the importance of the unity of progressive forces facing the realities of a situation which calls for the growth of a moving, living force of organization rather than votes for a formula.

It was rather extraordinary that labor's Nonpartisan League showed itself capable of directing a political movement without a political platform or a party organization. For instance, in Pennsylvania it is unquestionable that the new political alignment of labor, acting within the old-line Democratic party, revealed the political strength of the trade unions. Along with it went a new demonstration that labor, in the general direction of its demands for civil liberties and for social legislation, however vague its program on these points, was recognized by the great masses of the people as expressing their views. The result was that the popular vote actually represented the unity of labor with what may be described as a people's movement.

It is not true that the labor movement has had no social program. Evidences of it can be traced in the proceedings of trade-union conventions. The report of the meetings of the American Federation of Labor in 1932 asserts the necessity for adequate relief, for unemployment insurance, and for social economic planning in the United States. Incidentally, an interesting fact

appears in those pages, that in the preceding year the expenditures of national unions for benefits for unemployment, illness, and the like amounted to approximately \$32,000,000, following similar expenditures during the preceding three years of depression. The trade unions had been bearing, through their treasuries, many of the risks which social workers recognize today as proper subjects for governmental action. Similarly, the reports of conventions of the United Mine Workers, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, and the statements of labor's Nonpartisan League, give evidence of the concern of labor in these matters.

Consider, for example, the extreme illustration of the sit-down strike. Consider whether any law is applicable. The law of trespass is mentioned, but trespass is based upon an early concept of theft or damage to property by an individual, and it is absolutely unreal to say that such action covers the issue of property rights as between ownership of a machine and the economic right of workers to operate machines. What is really involved is the right of labor to act collectively for the protection of human rights in industry. These human rights are affected by many surrounding conditions. The striker finds his protest for human rights opposed by the employer's opportunity to turn the machine over to a strikebreaker. It is logical, therefore, to withhold his labor, but to continue to sit at his machine.

Again, the sit-down strike is an illustration of mass action. It was not a device suggested by labor leaders or even approved by them, but the mass reaction of those who found by daily experience that they must devise some means of slowing the increasing speed of machinery while at the same time asserting the claim of labor to use the tools of production. After all, it is in the last hundred and fifty years that the present system has developed which denies to the worker the opportunity to use his tools. Thus it denies him his livelihood. The structure of American government is confronted today by the necessity of developing new social concepts to meet these new situations.

These social concepts must be embodied both in administration and in law.

Today's reaction against the sit-down strike and against labor's recent victories is taking the form of a program for industrial peace, with legislation as the means of achieving it. An example of such a proposal is a bill now in the Michigan legislature, supported by Governor Murphy. The bill creates a board of industrial relations. It begins with a sweeping indictment of strikes, referring to "labor disputes which have from time to time taken place within this state" and "have operated to the great detriment of the parties thereto, and in some cases have endangered the welfare and the safety of the public. Such disputes threaten and cause serious damage to both public and private property, and menace the peace and order of the state."

Thereafter it is declared that employers must recognize the right of labor to organize and bargain collectively, taking at this point a leaf from the National Industrial Relations Act. This bill goes farther, however, and prohibits certain acts by employees. It declares that "it shall be unfair, unlawful, and a violation of this act for any employee, any organized group of employees, any representatives thereof, or any labor organization or agents or organizations thereof," to interfere with the individual's right to work or "to declare, or engage in any concerted activity" which is not preceded by an effort to negotiate, giving written notice to the employer and permitting time for the board of industrial relations to investigate and report to the public. Another provision declares that, whether or not an industrial dispute exists, the board of industrial relations shall have the right to investigate all the books and records of a trade union, thus even going beyond the power of the state in dealing with an incorporated business.

The bill has numerous other provisions. The significant point for us is that it is introduced in the legislature of the state which has been the scene of the recent vigorous challenge by the workers on behalf of human rights. This challenge has unmistakably

called for a re-examination of the legal concept of property rights. The very governor who went through all the negotiations connected with these strikes now supports a bill which would postpone the answer to this challenge to government to give new consideration to human rights.

Such a bill, which is likely to be matched in other states, would simply put the forces of government back of the old concepts. It threatens to destroy the movement toward industrial unionism. That movement depends absolutely and entirely upon the right of organized workers collectively to withhold their labor. Since we have no concepts of law and government clearly formulated on these issues, no other means exist for creating a movement which has for its goal the formulation of principles of human relations on at least an equal basis with property relations. The conflict between human relations and property relations is not to be solved by the cry of industrial peace, as though the American people were committed to acceptance of things as they are without protest. On the contrary, the American people are now committed to the great adventure of industrial democracy. The great masses of the workers are taking leadership and showing the direction in which this American movement must develop.

Meanwhile, social workers may count upon the support of the labor movement for legislation. The trade unions' program is not yet formulated in detail, but certainly it will include amendment of the Social Security Act to cover more workers and to extend over a longer period of unemployment. Demands will undoubtedly be made for amendment of those state laws which now require contributions from workers as well as imposing a tax upon pay rolls. Although the workers dislike relief and want jobs instead of charity, nevertheless, pending the giving of unemployment compensation as the right which social insurance would guarantee, the trade unions ask for adequate relief, public works, and the continuance of the program of the Works Progress Administration.

Most of all, labor is concerned with the maintenance of civil

liberties, which constitute the indispensable foundation for labor's right to speak and to influence the processes of government. Only through the maintenance of this right can the new concepts of human rights be expressed through government. In view of the importance of these new concepts which remain to be formulated, legislation for social insurance would appear to be a minor matter. It is not so, however, because activity to improve this legislation constitutes a process of working together and developing the unity necessary for a people's movement.

What, then, are the implications for social work of these developments in the economic and political activities of the labor movement? In the first place, as has been pointed out, social work is rapidly shifting its basis. It is no longer a question of whether social workers will ally themselves with the labor unions, although there can be no better method of gaining insight into the labor movement. Regardless of the position one takes on the issue of trade-union organization for social work, social workers find themselves facing a new situation. They must now listen to the expressed demands of the masses as voiced in a new labor movement which sets forth the basic needs of the people. The role of the social worker becomes thereby more inspiring. The task of social work under these circumstances is to aid in perfecting and developing legislation and administration in fulfillment of a program expressed by the unions.

Here, however, a word of warning must be given. This broad labor movement, expressive of the needs of the masses, is impatient with techniques and will not tolerate any assumption of superior wisdom by experts. This impatience will be the greater if social workers are identified through their institutions with reactionary forces. For example, if a school of training for social work is part of a university which is reactionary in its attitude, social workers identified with it will be under suspicion and may not claim the right to determine policies for the labor movement. The expert contribution which social work ought

to make will not be accepted if labor is suspicious of the philosophy of social workers.

On the other hand, the program of social work is sterile unless social workers can develop a new philosophy guided by insight into the significance of this new mass movement. This movement gives new comprehension of such basic problems as race relations or the position of women in society. Social work must have this insight if it is to make its contribution out of its characteristic technique or craft knowledge.

The implications of these new developments are profound from the point of view of what is needed in the education of social workers. Indeed, it may be said that the social worker of the future, allied with the processes of government, will probably often come out of the labor movement. At present we have a divided society. Labor is denied the right of education, with a period of schooling cut short by work at the age of fourteen. Industrial experience, on the other hand, is denied to those who are able to prolong their education through college and university and to achieve places in the professions. Thus, our society suffers from a split personality. The disadvantages of this condition need not be analyzed before people so skilled in psychiatry as are the social workers of today.

The new day demands new training of labor leadership—as it demands, also, new training of social workers. Both groups must be equipped for the building of a new society. They must know how to design the structure of government and to set in motion the forces which will adequately fulfil the needs of the masses.

SOCIAL SIGNIFICANCE TO MINORITY GROUPS OF RECENT LABOR DEVELOPMENTS

*T. Arnold Hill, Director, Department of Industrial
Relations, National Urban League, New York City*

I SHALL limit my reference to minority groups to the largest minority in our population, namely, the Negro. I do this chiefly because of the quantity and character of the acts of discrimination against Negroes by both employer and employee. The constitutions of various national and international labor organizations definitely state that membership is open to "any white person between the ages of sixteen and sixty-five years," or "all white persons," or to persons "born of white parents." In industry the barrier of race prejudice raises itself so often and so effectively that no recital of the problem is necessary.

Perhaps the most significant development has been in connection with the Committee for Industrial Organization. This movement, backed by the United Mine Workers of America, the International Ladies' Garment Workers, and the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America, represents the labor-union organizations that have been the most liberal in their policies and practices toward Negroes. Thus, the inclusion of Negro members in the various committees of the C.I.O. has been but a continuation of the policies practiced by these groups themselves. In this respect they differ from the American Federation of Labor. Officials of the Steel Workers' Organizing Committee have been unmistakably friendly, both by word and by deed, and this friendliness has won the respect and confidence of Negro leaders in the labor field. A close observer of this

transition has phrased this impression of what is transpiring in the Pittsburgh area in the following language:

. . . . Within the immediate vicinity of Pittsburgh, there are three industrial sectors of Westinghouse: The Foundry, the Air Brake Company, and the East Pittsburgh Central Works Plant. Negroes are employed in all. Most of them are centered in the Air Brake Company at Wilmerding. Estimates run all the way from 200 to 500 workers. . . . Westinghouse has always had a Negro Company Union called the "Wemco Club." They are decidedly conservative and harmless in so far as company interests were concerned. I made an address to an annual meeting of theirs more than a year ago, which shocked them a little, but did little harm. The "Wemco Club" has about three hundred members, most of whom are pro-C.I.O. The latest report is that they are planning to go into the C.I.O. in a body. . . .

The International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers (an A.F. of L. affiliate) has tried, upon orders from the Executive Council, to compete with the C.I.O. In so doing they have made overtures to Negro workers, but Negroes have refused to accept their invitations. They had never before extended them an invitation and the past experience of Negroes with the Brotherhood operates in favor of the industrial union groups of John L. Lewis.

The C.I.O. union now operating in the Air Brake district is Local No. 601. A Negro is now Vice-President of the local.

A summary of this situation might be thus: Negroes are going into the C.I.O. slowly, with none entering the Federation. The C.I.O. is gradually taking the whole field. Attempts to modify the traditional exclusion policy of the A.F. of L. toward Negroes have been of little avail. C.I.O. is in the lead. . . .

From another section of the country comes this report:

The C.I.O. campaign has made substantial progress among Negro workers. A Negro organizer has since August brought about 2,000 Negro steel workers into the union. . . .

This friendly attitude on the part of the C.I.O. apparently has changed but little the orthodox policy of exclusion which the established units of the American Federation of Labor have long practiced. There still remains the unwillingness of labor-union employment offices to send Negroes to employment, even when they are members of the local controlling the office. There are still large or important national labor organizations which deny Negro membership. The friendly attitude of the C.I.O. toward Negroes has occasioned some concern in a few

quarters, but, by and large, the American Federation of Labor units are as adamant and subversive as heretofore.

At the Tampa convention of the American Federation of Labor, four resolutions were introduced on behalf of a more liberal treatment of Negroes by the nationals and internationals comprising the A.F. of L. One of these, a rather innocuous declaration, sought to place the convention on record as favoring acceptance into membership of members of the Negro race in all unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor. But the action taken by the convention was to reaffirm and reindorse a supplemental report of the Executive Council passed at the 1935 convention of the American Federation of Labor. This supplemental report affirmed the existence of discriminatory practices on the part of a "few" national and international unions. It stated:

We are of the opinion that since each affiliated National and International Union has complete autonomy that the welfare of the Negro worker will be best served by a campaign of education of white workers to bring to them the necessity of solidarity in the ranks of the workers and the voluntary elimination of all restrictions against full rights of membership to the Negro. . . .

Delegate A. Philip Randolph presented Resolution No. 79, calling upon the Fifty-sixth Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor to:

. . . . condemn all forms of discrimination against Negro workers and demand the elimination of the color bar from all constitutions and rituals of the National and International unions, making it mandatory that if any union affiliated with the American Federation of Labor with color clauses in their constitutions or rituals failed to eliminate the said clause in their next conventions, and report same to the Executive Council, that the said National or International stands automatically expelled from the American Federation of Labor.

The Resolutions Committee, to which Delegate Randolph's resolution was referred, expressed itself as opposed to any other methods than those of education, for "prejudice cannot be eliminated by any other method." The report of the Resolutions Committee was adopted, but not, however, until after Delegate Myers had delivered a forceful and lengthy argument

in favor of it, and Delegate John P. Frey had delivered an impassioned plea opposing it.

Unfortunately, the Wagner Labor Act does not provide for the elimination of discrimination against Negro workers. This act, as we all know, protects the rights of workers against intimidation and opposition by employers; but it does not guarantee fair and just treatment on the part of labor unions. Efforts to declare discrimination on account of color or race as an unfair labor practice proved futile. The one attempt to bring this subject within the framework of law was an amendment to the Labor Act of the state of Pennsylvania at the present session of the state Legislature. This amendment, sponsored by one of Pennsylvania's four Negro assemblymen, attempts to outlaw a labor union which practices racial discrimination in the following language:

The term "labor organization" means any organization of any kind or any agency or employee representation committee or plan in which employees participate and which exists for the purpose in whole or in part of dealing with employers concerning grievances, labor disputes, wages, rates of pay, hours of employment or conditions of work, but shall not include any labor organization which by ritualistic practice, constitutional or by-law proscription, by tacit agreement among its members, or otherwise denies a person or persons membership in its organization on account of race, creed or color.

It is of interest that the entire measure, whose passage was at one time a certainty, is now held up in a conference between the Senate and the Legislature over this amendment.

Recent labor legislation has left the Negro's status unchanged. There is, of course, always an advantage to accrue to him as the rest of the country moves forward—an advantage like in kind but unlike in degree and equality. The Negro is still unprotected by labor unions, and the Wagner Labor Act does not remedy his specific complaint. In the United States we still have unprotected marginal labor and the Negro is it. Developments which are not legislative are equally discouraging. The public relief organizations have been but little better

than private industry in granting work opportunities to Negroes. The government of the United States throughout its departments, both regular and emergency, is far from free of racial discrimination in employment. Communities that dispense federal, state, and local aid have been in control of the forces which have denied opportunities to Negroes in private agencies and private enterprises. The very fact that the number of Negroes on relief is from two to five times their percentage in the population is proof of the fact that every effort should be made to get them W.P.A. employment and private jobs. A recent check on the relief rolls in certain communities indicates not a decrease in Negroes on relief, but an increase, due to the fact that they have not moved off of the relief rolls to private industry in the same proportion that others have gone off.

If one wants a picture of the social change that has taken place among Negroes recently, he should go to the rural areas of the South. There he will find not only that the Works Progress Administration and the relief organizations have not administered equitably to Negroes; but, according to government reports, there is no likelihood that thousands of Negroes, disadvantaged on the farms, will ever maintain themselves from their own labors.

What, then, is the social significance to Negroes of all the new developments in labor? What effect has labor legislation had upon the economic attitude of Negroes? What has resulted from the continued exclusion policy of the American Federation of Labor and the friendly policy of the Committee for Industrial Organization?

There can be no doubt but that the elevation of collective bargaining as a labor practice to be followed by government and by private business, even though complete or reasonable victory is far off, has given a psychological advantage of hope, encouragement, and security to Negro workers as well as to white workers. Many of the former who distrusted white labor-union leaders and questioned the philosophy of collective bar-

gaining, now feel it expedient to embrace trade unionism, when Washington—both the White House and Congress—have at least provided a corner in which labor may air its grievances.

As a result of this faith, a people who have been traditionally exploited by both the employed and the employer have begun to talk trade unionism and to adapt its philosophy to the problems which they face. The support of the Negro newspapers to the principle of collective bargaining, and their denunciation of all forms of discrimination and segregation within trade unions, have strengthened the faith of the masses in their determination to join forces in defense of the rights of workers of all races. It is not an uncommon thing for ministers to advise their communicants to follow the trade-union banner. Recently I heard a bishop denounce enemies of trade unionism and counsel Negroes to line up in front of their churches and march with banners down the center aisle and demand of their ministers that they support the cause of working classes. Household employees, too, are found among the advocates of trade unionism, as well as college students who today see opportunity for useful vocations in the general field of labor relations. Workers' councils, formed three years ago by the National Urban League, came into existence to provide a technique for workers' education and action, to the end that Negroes might add to their numbers in trade-union ranks.

But the Negro has more than an academic or a philosophical interest in recent labor developments. He has been an actual participant in the four recent major labor disputes. On the Pacific Coast and on the Atlantic Coast he played an important role in the transportation dispute. There were numbers of them in the sit-down strikes of the Detroit automobile factories; and large numbers joined the steel workers' unions in Pittsburgh and were, therefore, party to the agreement signed with the companies. Many are in the independents that are now in the midst of labor-union difficulties, and I venture to prophesy that a significant number will act with labor as against the com-

panies. They have long been members of the United Mine Workers of America, where they have played active and important roles in the development of the labor machinery of that industry. A sizeable number are identified with the orthodox groups of the American Federation of Labor; others are joining the Committee for Industrial Organization; and still others, when involved in controversies like the one now in Atlanta, are deliberating whether to stay with the old guard of the A.F. of L. or move on with Nance and others into the C.I.O. In Birmingham the share-croppers, and other workers identified with the Committee for the Defense of Political Prisoners, have acted well their part against the objection of conservative members of their group and the traditional indifference of the American Federation of Labor.

First, a greater faith in the efficacy and value of trade unionism has resulted. Second, there is the certainty among Negroes everywhere that the chances of securing adequate minimum working conditions are slight unless they and their white fellow-workers realize the oneness of their common cause and fight valiantly together to realize it. Convinced in this position, there is the determination to follow the organized-pressure techniques—the American pattern of securing opportunity—pressure from within and without the trade-union movement, to the end that they will be excluded neither from work nor from membership in the union because of the prejudicial attitude of recalcitrant labor-union organizations.

The social effect of such an attitude expresses itself in the willingness to strike, to boycott, to “sit down,” to legislate, to vote, to sue in courts, and to elect officials whose attitude on race questions is in keeping with the avowed democratic principles of our government.

The recent developments in labor legislation are in line with a progressive order. In most cases they have fallen far short of the ideals which most of us advocate. It is significant to note that much of the recent legislation, if properly and equitably

enforced, would raise the level of Negroes to an inestimable degree. Suppose we could adopt a minimum-wage law for women throughout the country—would not Negro women who are domestics, who are employed in the laundries, and who work in sweatshops making children's and women's clothing (usually at wages lower than the low wages paid whites), benefit to the point of raising the level of existence of a group whose social and economic status is far below that required for normal existence? And would this not automatically raise the average level of subsistence for all workers?

You are aware of the fact that the recent developments in social-security legislation do not encompass agricultural and domestic workers. You know that no trade unions exist for these two groups. You will remember that the N.R.A. did not provide for them. We talk about social security. Social security is a group concept. It envisions a country whose citizens are secure in health, in food, in housing, and in facilities for their physical and intellectual development. Such a condition of satisfaction cannot be obtained unless individual economic security is realized for all its citizens. In the final analysis, social security is the collective economic security which each individual is able to obtain for livable needs and comforts. In this sense, it is an individual concept, since the maximum of social security is only attained when each individual is economically able to pursue an adequately normal existence.

How far can we achieve social security in this country as long as standards for Negroes (ten million of them—one-tenth of the population of the land) are below those of whites, who themselves are not yet socially secure? It is significant that these ten or eleven million Negroes are only a part of the total number of individuals in the country who live below the level of the lowest minimum standard of living; for there are more than this number of whites who, like their Negro fellow-citizens, will hold down social security for the nation as long as they are without the facilities for economic independence.

In the third place, it is certain that these developments (whatever they are, unequally administered as they almost universally are) have tended to awaken in Negroes everywhere the realization of the economic causation of all forms of activity. This, of course, is important. It is the starting-point from which to travel to further developments for themselves and for the country as a whole, in so far as a ten-million minority can affect political and social change.

Whatever may be the immediate repercussions against Negroes who organize and participate in formidable and determined effort to corral their numbers in defense of their economic rights, I see no other technique they can employ effectively. There still seems to be some aversion on the part of Negroes, as well as on the part of whites, to organizing for the things they believe in and want. This formula of expression is felt now so universally that daily we see it in use in practically every activity of the life of the American people. What farmers want they organize for. What consumers want they organize for. We have long been accustomed to organized trade unions and trade associations. Yet it is still unbecoming a Negro, so some people think, for him to marshal his forces and utter his demands. Notwithstanding this, the chief social achievement that has taken root among Negroes as the result of recent labor developments has been their willingness to organize and advance their own cause. As yet such efforts have not become articulate. They have not reached the point where they have won any great laurels, nor made considerable impression upon the persons who have withheld the benefits they seek. It is not too optimistic an observation, however, to note that germination is taking place, with the prospect of identification with the liberal and progressive movements of the country—if these movements are willing to adopt the formula that America remains insecure so long as any part of its population is insecure.

Such a point of view has great social significance for the future. No one doubts but that we shall move forward to other

progressive steps for the care and treatment of the underprivileged of the land. Such a movement will need not only the co-operation of a large block of the exploited class, but it will need the active support of the leaders of that class and of the masses of that class—who, in these days of political shifts, have great power if they would but exercise it. There can be no more powerful social significance to recent labor developments than that a group heretofore exploited and depressed should now be motivated by the high purposes which support our recent labor developments, and which must support our future achievements if we as a nation are to move progressively forward.

THE LABOR RELATIONS BOARD AND LABOR DISPUTES

*Edwin S. Smith, Member, National Labor
Relations Board, Washington, D.C.*

WHEN the depression of 1929 broke, it found the American labor movement, after long years of bitter experience, thoroughly aware of the determination of powerful sections of the employing class to oppose by cajolement, threat, and force the organization of their workers into independent labor unions. These actions by employers ran directly counter to the right established by statute and court decisions of labor's freedom to organize for its collective protection. They ran counter, also, to the most passionately held traditions of our democracy as embodied in the spirit of the Declaration of Independence and the preamble of the Constitution, and, more important perhaps, in the Bill of Rights. How widely and how unscrupulously the American employer has allowed himself to flout these traditions has been amply laid before the country in decisions of the National Labor Relations Board and in the testimony before the LaFollette Civil Liberties Committee.

That the American Federation of Labor should take advantage of the misery brought on the mass of workers by the depression and of the liberal tendencies of the New Deal in order to insist upon practical governmental protection of its right to organize was inevitable. There were immediate reasons from the point of view of national economic policy why the Congress should fall in with such a program. The freedom of employers to organize collectively and the advantages taken of this freedom were apparent before the depression in the existence of large

numbers of powerful trade associations. The National Industrial Recovery Act was specifically designed to foster further collective action by employer groups. In order to bring about some balancing of economic forces the necessity of encouraging organization of labor was recognized. Hence, the appearance of Section 7(a) as a compulsory provision in all codes of fair competition to be adopted under the Recovery Act. Some experience with the kind of administrative machinery needed to make 7(a) effective existed in the record of the War Labor Board and in the current activities of the board administering the Railway Labor Act. Both the National Labor Board and its successor, the first National Labor Relations Board, labored to make the general principles of Section 7(a) a reality for the workers who claimed that their employers were violating its provisions.

The National Labor Relations Act, which clarified, extended, and made permanent the objectives of Section 7(a), became a law on July 5, 1935. Labor organization under the protection of the Act, as under its predecessor, Section 7(a), has grown prodigiously. Reluctantly but decisively employers have been forced to yield ground in their opposition to unions. The inevitability of such organizations has at last been driven home to the American people of all classes, years after England, whose political temperament among European nations most resembles our own, had learned the same lesson.

The National Labor Relations Act was a frank attempt on the part of government to prevent the employers of the country, with their acknowledged antiunion animus, from interfering with the freedom of their employees to organize. Because strikes to enforce organizations have been a potent cause of interruption of production, preventing the transportation of goods in commerce, the constitutional basis of the Act, now affirmed by the decisions of the Supreme Court, was declared to be the protection of interstate commerce.

In defining certain kinds of conduct prohibited to employers, called in the Act "unfair labor practices," the statute draws upon the common experience of the labor movement. The Act

forbids employers to discharge or otherwise discriminate against employees because of their union affiliation or activity. Weeding out the more active union spirits has long been a favorite and very successful device to discourage unionism among the employees. Refusal to hire workers because they belong to unions is another tried and trusted method which also is banned by the Act. Unfortunately, this kind of discrimination is rather hard to prove. The employer will not usually be stupid enough to announce that he is refusing to employ a man because he is a union member. It is harder to cover up a discharge for union activity. If an employee's record can be proved to be satisfactory up to the time he began zealously recruiting for the union, it takes no Sherlock Holmes to discover something flimsy in the excuse that the man was fired for inefficiency.

A more subtle form of interfering with the normal growth of unionism is the fostering of company unions. The common form of company unions in the United States is the employee-representation plan. The history of company unionism is a fascinating chapter in American labor relations. On the one hand it stems from the practice of scientific management which was started by Frederick Taylor and propagated by numerous other industrial engineers. One of the weaknesses of scientific management, which was soon disclosed, was that it paid too little attention to the human equation. A special branch of scientific management grew up to fill this lack. Its current technical name is personnel administration. "Welfare work" was one of its manifestations, although this obviously overpaternalistic designation was found to provoke so much criticism from unions that it was gradually dropped from use. One of the more important offsprings of welfare work was the employee-representation plan, or works committee, a machinery by which elected representatives of employees presented grievances to management, usually through a succession of steps beginning with the foreman and ending with a joint committee of workers' representatives and higher officials of the company. As a managerial device, particularly in large plants where the ordinary worker

is an atom far beyond the ken of all but a few of his more immediate executive supervisors, employee-representation plans have undoubtedly been useful in straightening out individual difficulties and so contributing to plant efficiency.

Another purpose behind the fostering of these company unions is more important for this discussion. In the war period, and more recently in the era of the N.R.A., a veritable rash of representation plans broke out on the industrial scene. Their thinly concealed objective was to forestall the affiliation of workers with independent labor unions. In this respect they have had a considerable success, though it is probable that their ineffectiveness as collective bargaining agencies could not long serve to distract the workers from seeking more economically forceful expressions of their collective will.

The National Labor Relations Act prohibits the employer from giving financial or other support to company unions and from otherwise interfering with or dominating their activities. There is in the Act a general prohibition against any kind of interference by the employer with his workers' self-organization, such as threatening an employee with unpleasant consequences if he joins a labor union.

The Act says that the employer must not refuse to bargain collectively with the agency representing the majority of his employees in an appropriate bargaining unit. The Board is empowered, when a controversy concerning representation has arisen, to determine the appropriate bargaining unit or units and to certify representatives by means of an election or otherwise. Much ink and moral fervor have been spilled by employers and their legal counsel on the subject of the iniquity of majority rule. I cannot enter upon a discussion of this interesting subject. Suffice it to say that the clamor about the alleged injustice done to minorities under this rule is most frequently a subterfuge for the employers' desires to have multiple bargaining organizations, because they offer such tempting possibilities under the old divide-and-rule principle. It is significant that the cause of employee minorities is sponsored almost ex-

clusively by individual employers and employers' associations. The supposed victims of the injustice remain strangely silent.

One fact about the collective bargaining provision of the National Labor Relations Act must be stressed. The Act is not concerned with what the terms of a bargain shall be. It merely requires that the employer shall not deprive his employees of the fruits of their organization by refusing to deal with their representatives in seriousness and good faith.

In administering the Act under the terms of the statute the Board has developed a simple procedure. When an unfair labor practice is charged, an investigation is made by one of the Board's twenty-one regional offices. If the evidence points to a substantiation of the charge, a hearing is held at which the employer, the union, and the government are afforded full opportunity by the production of witnesses and documents to develop the relevant facts. There are provisions for an intermediate report by the official presiding at the hearing. If this report does not settle the matter a formal decision is rendered by the Board itself. When the Board finds the employer in the wrong it orders him to cease and desist, and to make specific restitutions, such as reinstating discharged workers with back pay, and posting notices that he will not henceforth interfere with his workers' efforts at self-organization. The statute provides an appeal to the federal circuit courts, which may be taken either by the employer or by the government. The circuit courts can modify, affirm, or annul the Board's orders on constitutional or jurisdictional grounds, but the Board's findings of fact are final if supported by any evidence. Final appeal, of course, exists to the Supreme Court, which in the cases before it testing the Act's constitutionality affirmed in each instance the Board's findings.

It is interesting to speculate on what the Board's task and its accomplishments would have been if it had been allowed to proceed on its course without excessive judicial obstructions. So great was the faith of employers that the Act was unconstitutional, as applied to almost anybody, that the Board began life

with the handicap of a barrage of injunctions. Under the circumstances it is astonishing that the Board was able to hold many scores of hearings and issue more than a hundred decisions. After considerably more than a year the Supreme Court took what amounted to final action and left us at least free to hold hearings and otherwise pursue the statutory machinery, but in the meantime extremely valuable time had been lost. Furthermore, as long as the scope of the Board's constitutional functions was undetermined by the Supreme Court, effective compliance with its orders was not to be looked for, and, with a few exceptions, was in fact not obtained. Still, the first year and a half of the Act's life was not without beneficial results, which point clearly to what might have been achieved under the more favorable circumstances which now exist.

From the first we anticipated that the real success of the Act would lie in the amount of compliance that could be obtained without carrying through all the successive steps of its formal procedure. Actually, compliance was achieved in several hundred cases without even so much as a hearing and by agreement of both sides. These cases "settled out of court" were the result of the ministrations of the Board's regional directors and the desire of the employer to make his peace with the law and with his disgruntled employees without spending the time and money involved in extensive litigation. If the Act's constitutional application had been clearly and broadly defined from the start, the hundreds of cases so settled would undoubtedly have been numbered in the thousands. Already, since the Supreme Court acted in our favor, the compliance achieved has very notably increased.

What would have been the industrial picture had the Supreme Court been in a position to act more quickly? The great strikes which have marked the industrial revival and the attempt to organize the long-neglected and practically impregnable mass-production industries have in large part centered about practices of employers which the Act forbids. These strikes almost certainly would not have occurred.

The employers in steel, automobile, office-equipment, and other mass-production industries have been most adamant and ruthless in their suppression of organization. For years their policies were successful in nipping unionism in the bud. With the advent of the C.I.O. organization was intensified, and along with it discharge of union members, espionage, and frantic attempts to erect a company-union barrier against the rising tide.

Had the Board been able to enter these situations, had not its way been barred by constitutional doubts and injunctive procedures, the movement for organization would have proceeded more quickly and peaceably and much needless employer-employee bitterness would have been avoided. To say that strikes would not have occurred at all is, of course, an exaggeration. It is not exaggeration, but rather an affirmation of historical truth, to state that once the right of workers to organize and bargain collectively free from employer interference is conceded, strikes are much less frequently resorted to and are much less embittered when they come. A recent illustration is the peaceful agreement arrived at between the Amalgamated Clothing Workers and the men's clothing manufacturers. Yet, before unionization triumphed in this industry, many years since, long and troublesome strikes were common. The same thing is true of the coal industry, the printing industry, and others.

I turn finally, and briefly, to the question of general government policy in respect to labor relations. On the one hand, there is no doubt of the need for governmental protection of the right to organize. This function can be discharged by both federal and state governments in their respective spheres. What is fundamental in such legislation is adequate provision for enforcement and for penalties against the employer who transgresses. As I have indicated, such legislation, even though embodying precise and formal administrative procedure, will in practice prove to be capable of successful application informally. Under the influence of governmental protection against abuses by employers the organization of labor in most fields of endeavor will undoubtedly go forward rapidly. This

will result in a more effective balancing of our economic forces and a substantial raising of the standard of living of the workers. With more complete economic organization of labor will come greater political enlightenment and an ever widening area of progressive social legislation. Organization of the mass-production industries will greatly accelerate such progress.

However, industrial conflict, fundamentally embedded as it is in the capitalist system, will continue, and with it will come the demand for governmental intervention beyond the scope of such legislation as the National Labor Relations Act.

The form such legislation should take will necessarily depend upon whether or not the much-discussed public interest in preventing strikes is to take precedence over other considerations. I believe there is altogether too much emphasis laid on the losses and discomfort sustained by the public as the result of strikes. The proposition is usually so naïvely stated as to convey the idea that strikes mean a net loss all around with the public the chief victim. Actually, in so far as successful strikes mean that the workers (who are decidedly the economic underdogs in our scheme of things) are benefited in their purchasing power and their standard of living, the general public and our whole economic structure are the gainers. The argument is often made that strikes mean raising prices as well as wages and that no advantage accrues to the public or the workers from them. Those who hold this view might as well declare that all raising of wages by strikes or otherwise is a negative step that cannot improve the lot of workers. Yet this is apparent nonsense. We may need legislation to see that increased wages are not entirely compensated for by increased prices, but are taken in part at least from overinflated profits.

If, in fact, our economic structure is economically and socially unbalanced by a disproportionate return to capital, public interest would certainly seem to demand that no obstacles be placed in labor's path when it attempts to redress the balance by using its economic power. Of course, there are many strikes unwisely called which cause unnecessary economic loss both to workers

and the public. There are likewise all sorts of moves made by business men which result in economic disadvantages all around, as when industry makes too much of certain kinds of goods and demoralizes both the wage and the price markets.

The reason that strikes provoke suggestions for restrictive legislation is that labor's bids for economic power by striking are carried on in an open and somewhat sensational fashion which receives wide newspaper publicity. Such publicity focuses a public attention that is lethargic and uninformed when parallel activities are indulged in by employers. If, for instance, an employer cuts wages, this receives scant attention in the press as compared with the day-by-day reports of the progress of a strike. If he fails to raise wages when he should, the press naturally makes no report at all. Yet, if there is public injury in any of these, there is no reason to assume that such injury is greatest in the case of a strike.

As a matter of fact, when industries are well organized, strikes are comparatively rare, although the threat either spoken or understood of a withdrawal of labor power by strong unions is always an important factor in keeping up wages. Legislative proposals which look to governmental investigation before a strike may be called serve to deflate the threat of strike and by so much weaken labor's bargaining power. Labor is likely to suffer by any such legislation. Many unions regularly and voluntarily resort to governmental arbitration by agreement between themselves and their employers. But this is where the unions are strong enough to have confidence that public arbitrators will give their demands due weight. Such a situation exists in the railroad and streetcar men's unions. A weak union can marshal no such respect. If a union is protected by government in its efforts to organize it will soon grow strong enough to command the necessary influence with the employer. In the meantime, minimum-wage legislation to prevent employer exploitation is highly desirable, serving among other things to raise competition to a level of decency.

There are many strikes which become bogged down because

labor is not strong enough to enforce its demands. Such strikes drag along to the accompaniment of much misery and no benefit to anyone. Frequently, governmental mediation can do much to terminate such strikes in a fashion that gets the workers something, if only a return to their jobs on the basis of the *status quo*. No elaborate governmental machinery is necessary to furnish such mediation. Many state labor departments have been mediating strikes for years, and so has the federal Department of Labor. If the present strike epidemic seems to demand more mediation, let this be accomplished by strengthening the conciliation services of the national and state labor departments. Such simple means of governmental help leave labor free to work out its economic destiny without being hampered and possibly hamstrung by elaborate statutory and administrative red tape and by delay which saps its strength. When labor has arrived at a point where the public is astonished to find industrial profits dwindling while industrial wages rise, then may be a time when some more elaborate governmental restraint on labor's economic activities is in order. Meanwhile, there is no dearth of other problems to which legislators concerned with the public interest may profitably address themselves.

CIVIL SERVICE TESTING FOR SOCIAL- WORK POSITIONS

*Lewis Meriam, Staff Member, Brookings Institution for
Government Research, Washington, D.C.*

FEW problems in civil service administration are more difficult than perfecting adequate tests for social workers whose duties involve dealing directly and intimately with human beings. The heart of the difficulty is that the successful performance of such duties calls for marked skill in delicate human relationships, in addition to comprehensive knowledge of the various subjects that are involved in social work.

Unfortunately, so far as I have been able to learn, no one has yet discovered a method for testing, in the examination room, those skills in human relationships and those basic attitudes toward life and work that are the heart of the profession. Some evidence suggests that oral examinations skilfully conducted by experienced social workers who have themselves trained and supervised case or field workers are of real value, provided sufficient time is given to each candidate. Some experience in personnel interviewing suggests that about half an hour to each candidate is the very minimum for an effective oral examination. Obviously, the amount of time required dictates that the oral interview be held after the formal written tests and that only those who have qualified in the written tests be admitted to the oral examinations.

In some civil service testing no effort is made to give a grade on the oral examination. The candidate is either accepted or rejected. Because of the importance in the profession of social work, of skill in human relationships, I am inclined to favor real

grading on the oral interview, at least to the extent of placing the candidates in a few broad categories such as (1) obviously superior, (2) above average but not obviously superior, (3) about average, (4) below average but still acceptable, (5) unacceptable. To each of these broad classes a numerical or percentage weight could be attached for the purpose of arriving at a general average to be used in ranking.

The oral examinations should be given by a committee of not less than three experienced professional social workers who have themselves directed and trained social workers. They will take the assignment with professional seriousness, study the technique used by others in such oral examinations, develop and apply a technique of their own, and, I hope, report the results to the American Association of Social Workers and to the Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada. Both the American Association and the Civil Service Assembly should, I think, strive to develop and perfect a technique for oral examinations in social work, because such examinations are one of the few ways of getting at skill and the requisite personality and character.

The best existing device for securing persons with the requisite skills in human relationships and the right general attitude toward life in general and the profession in particular is to admit to the tests only those who have already demonstrated the possession of such qualifications; or who at least have demonstrated the high probability of being able to acquire these qualifications under such conditions as the agency in which they are to work can reasonably supply. Where can such skills and attitudes be actually demonstrated?

I should say, first, in schools of social service administration that place strong emphasis on field or case work. Civil service examiners should demand complete and detailed information regarding the candidate's experience and record in actual field case work in such a school. They should seek to find out not only what field- or case-work experience the candidate had in the school but also how well the candidate did in it. The candi-

date might well be required to give the names of the agencies for which field or case work was done and the names of teachers and supervisors. The civil service examiners might well get from these teachers and supervisors their evaluation of the candidate, possibly using a questionnaire that calls for rating of the candidate on each of the major component parts of the field work. Statements as to how the candidate compared in each of these major points with other students the teacher or supervisor has had would be of value, especially if the raters were professional social workers with knowledge of the schools, agencies, and teachers.

You will note that, in discussing the training in the schools of social work, I am stressing the case work and other field work that involves human relationships, and not the subject-matter knowledge secured in the school. I am not stressing subject-matter knowledge for two reasons: (a) because it can be tested in the examination room with reasonably satisfactory results; and (b) because the desirable educational requirements, such as graduation from a college or university of recognized standing and at least one year's work in a recognized school of social work, tend, I think, to assure knowledge perhaps more than they assure skill.

In connection with the rating of education in general, let me express the hope that civil service commissions will always find it feasible to expend time and money enough to get and to consider systematically the transcript of the academic records of candidates. I am afraid that in a good many civil service competitions the candidate who gets through school by the skin of his teeth receives just as high a rating on his education as the candidate who was in the upper tenth or upper quarter of his class; and yet certain studies have shown that the student in the upper quarter has materially better chances of success. The transcript shows, moreover, whether the candidate did particularly well in the special subjects which are valuable in fitting him for the type of work he is to do.

The second main source of evidence regarding skill in human

- relations and attitudes and habits of mind is practical experience in a recognized social agency. The candidate should be required to give in considerable detail the nature of the duties performed, the names of supervisors, and so forth; and the examiners should send the supervisors questionnaires designed to make them evaluate the professional skill of the candidate.

Really to rate experience in a social agency, one should know almost as much about the agency and its personnel as one learns about the candidate himself. Some years ago an applicant for a position in the United States Children's Bureau swore that for seven years she had been head resident of a settlement house. Nobody around the Children's Bureau seemed to know anything about that particular settlement house, and therefore we did a little quiet investigating. "Settlement house" turned out to be a camouflage name for a boarding-house located in a low-rent and otherwise not very desirable section of the city. The agency did not, as a matter of fact, do any neighborhood work. The candidate was not admitted to the examination, for she needed that experience to qualify. A recruiting agency that strives to do a real job in grading experience must have on file reasonably complete data about the social agencies within the area from which it draws, and know about them.

A closely allied difficulty lies in rating on the basis of length of experience. For entrance positions or positions a little above entrance, a few years of successful experience, demonstrating the possession of skill and the necessary personal qualities, are just as valuable, if not more valuable, than ten years of experience in the same type of position. Long experience in an entrance position, and long experience in the entrance grade of many different agencies, raise questions. They do not answer them. We are, I fear a little inclined to work out rather neat schematic devices for grading length of experience, so many points for each of the first few years, an additional smaller allowance for each year for a certain number of additional years, and perhaps no allowance at all for years above a certain maximum. Such devices have the advantage of being objective, easy

to apply, and, perhaps, easy to explain to a candidate or his influence. I think, however, that in many instances, especially for the lower grades, length of experience is often greatly over-emphasized. Quality of experience, which is harder to rate, is more important. Persons who know the field of social work well should be able to establish certain limits within which most successful workers can demonstrate that they have the necessary skills and attributes. That minimum amount of experience can be required. The announcements can specifically state that no credit will be allowed for length of time above a fairly low maximum, unless with the added experience have come higher duties and higher responsibilities. If announcements clearly state that experience above a certain number of years will not be counted, part of the difficulty will be overcome.

If civil service commissions are to do good testing for social-work positions, if they are to search for and grade skill and attitudes as well as knowledge of subject matter, they must permit experienced, reliable, professional social workers to participate in the examining processes, particularly in drafting the questions for written tests, in holding oral examinations, and in rating of education and experience. In this country, because of the necessity for eliminating the spoils system, a theory has crept into some of our personnel literature that appointing officers should not be permitted to participate in the examining process; and that theory was undoubtedly sound when the appointing officers were partisan politicians appointed for political reasons. It is not, in my judgment, sound if the heads of the departments are career professionals striving to render efficient public service. Such career professionals are just as intent on recruiting able personnel as the best civil service commission. Frequently they are better informed than the civil service examiners regarding the nature of the duties and responsibilities of the position, the qualifications required, the sources of supply of good candidates, the training schools, and the agencies where valuable experience may be attained. They are, thus, better qualified to set examination questions, to rate

training and experience, and to conduct oral examinations. Cooperation between the civil service commission and the career operating officers is in my opinion the best possible arrangement under existing conditions, for then the civil service commission can contribute its skill and experience in testing techniques and can safeguard against possible partiality, while the professional operating officers contribute their specialized knowledge of the field of social work.

Civil service commissions confront a real problem when they are asked to admit to an examination only persons who have qualified for membership in a voluntary professional organization that itself sets high standards, such as the American Association of Social Workers. In a comparable situation, the United States Commission was once asked to require membership in either one of two voluntary associations, each one of which admits only on professional examination. The proponents of the restriction were asked: "Are there several possible candidates who could qualify for the associations but have not done so?" The answer was "Yes." Under such circumstances a public agency is, perhaps, scarcely justified in requiring membership in the private voluntary organization; but nothing whatsoever prevents it from adopting as its minimum qualifications for entrance into its tests the same qualifications demanded for entrance into the recognized and established professional organization. Civil service commissions should, I think, give careful consideration to the membership requirements of voluntary professional organizations and be very slow to establish lower requirements unless conditions are such that they cannot get an adequate supply of candidates for the existing positions.

If the supply of qualified workers is so low that professional standards cannot be rigorously applied, I favor the use of the commissioned personnel system of the Army, the Navy, and the Public Health Service, whereby officers, after a given term of years, must qualify for a higher grade, and if they do not qualify are automatically dropped from the service or else are

barred from promotion. Under such conditions the service must give or provide for training after entrance, and thus it is entirely fair to make the employees take appropriate tests at the end of such a training period.

I favor the wider use of state examining boards and the establishment of registers of qualified licensed workers exclusively entitled to use a definitely prescribed legal title. Such provisions afford protection to the consuming public as well as protecting the trained worker against the unfair competition of the untrained. In hiring a stenographer for private work in Washington, I prefer the girl who is United States government examined and passed to the one who has not satisfied those rigid requirements. For a professional position such as that of a social worker, the employer, whether public or private, should know that the appointee has at least satisfied the requirements of a state board, and those legal requirements should be reasonably high. If and when social workers are examined and registered by the state, governmental bodies can very properly refuse to admit to any competitive tests candidates who have not passed the state board. In the profession of social work such requirements are particularly important because of the personal services which the practitioner renders other human beings, and these services call not only for knowledge but for skill and judgment and involve a high degree of personal responsibility.

IN-SERVICE TRAINING

*Agnes Van Driel, Chief, Educational Division
Bureau of Public Assistance, Social
Security Board, Washington, D.C.*

BECAUSE the phrase "in-service training" evokes so many different concepts in the minds of interested people, it may be well at the outset to define the term as it will be used throughout this discussion. As we understand it, in-service training refers to those educational efforts planned by an agency and given to its staff members for the purpose of improving the services which constitute the agency's function. This definition implies at least two things: first, if in-service training is of any value, it should not be restricted to any specific individual or groups of individuals on the staff, although certain staff members may have greater need of it than others; and, second, that it is neither identical with nor a substitute for professional education. If the point of need for wide coverage of staff is not accepted and is not borne in mind in planning an in-service training program in a particular agency, there is danger that smugness may develop on the part of staff members who are exempt, they having been given encouragement to believe, because of their exemption, that their preparation for the performance of this specific piece of work is perfect and that they have no more to learn.

Disastrous effects to staff morale are almost certain to follow under such circumstances, by focusing attention upon staff differences and encouraging friction between individuals or groups. Furthermore, it would be difficult under such circumstances for an in-service training program to meet with any real success, since those who would be enrolled in it would be likely to have the attitude that they were being penalized by being obliged to

carry certain duties from which a favored group were exempt. This is not to say that an in-service training program should have one content only, in which all employees would be enrolled. Rather, the thought of having all employees participate in an in-service program implies differentiation of the material which will be taught to different staff members, depending upon their present equipment for the performance of their respective assignments.

We have said that an in-service training program is neither identical with nor a substitute for professional education. If there is any real validity in professional education under school auspices, where there will be opportunity in a professional atmosphere to establish philosophy and principles upon which the profession is based, as well as the teaching of content and method, then it seems reasonable to believe that the same results could not possibly be expected through a teaching process which does not give opportunity for this professional atmosphere and for the establishment of a philosophy and practice which has a broader base than that of mere courses.

It would appear at the outset that the nature and content of any in-service training program, if it is to be effective, should be determined by at least four factors: what the function of the agency is, whether the agency is engaged in an emergency program only or a long-time program, the qualifications of the personnel which staffs the agency, and the qualifications of the person or persons who will be expected to plan and to direct the in-service training program.

Concerning the first of these factors, the need for clearly defining the function (not alone for the agency, but for the workers in each of the various positions in the agency), seems a first requisite. Yet, strangely enough, it appears that it is by no means rare to find agencies, private as well as public, which are not clear as to their scope and function. With reference to tenure of agency, it would appear reasonable, if the program is an emergency one of temporary nature only, that any in-service training to be of real service to that agency must be so planned

and directed that it will quickly reach the persons who are most immediately concerned with the administration of the service. Because any educational process, be it formal or informal, is time consuming, an in-service training program in an emergency agency may find itself obliged to limit its efforts to such a restricted group from its staff as appear most urgently to need help in getting the job done. If the agency is engaged in a long-time program, there is need for shift in emphasis regarding in-service training. To be sure, concern must be had for helping staff members to improve their services here and now, but the long-time view must be kept in mind in planning not alone method, but choice of persons in the service who will first be included in the staff-development program.

With reference to personnel qualifications, it seems obvious that the need for in-service training stands in inverse ratio to the adequacy of professional competency of the staff—for, if one is well-grounded in the philosophy and principles which underlie social welfare, then adaptation to a new agency, the acquiring of new skills, and the ability to handle new routines is relatively simple. Conversely, a person new to the whole field of service and its implications needs to be helped to learn at least a certain indispensable minimum of general and special knowledge which is basic to the work before he can safely undertake the application or interpretation aspects demanded by the job.

As to the persons who are to plan and direct an in-service training program, it would seem clear that anyone carrying such responsibilities should not only be well-grounded in the field of service, but that he should also have the ability to teach. For anyone who has tried his hand at teaching knows how difficult an undertaking it is to make of it a truly educational process—stimulating thought, challenging ideas, developing strengths, encouraging growth.

Another element which needs particular attention in any consideration of in-service training programs is that such an undertaking presupposes trainable people on the staff. That is to say, one needs to face the issue squarely that no in-service

training program, however well it may be organized and no matter how competent the directors are, can work miracles and produce the proverbial silken purse from a sow's ear. This has particular implications for the field of public welfare, calling for keen awareness on the part of those responsible for in-service training of the fact that, either through ignorance or through deliberate political patronage, the best available people have not in every instance, in all places, been brought into our public welfare programs, and that incompetent and untrainable persons may be found there. If those responsible for planning and directing in-service training programs are not sufficiently aware of this danger, or if they are not sufficiently courageous to insist upon standards of admission to in-service training programs, we will find ourselves in the position of pulling down personnel standards by giving certain persons status who, instead, should be helped out of positions they are holding.

With reference to the content of in-service training programs, it has already been indicated that the possibilities are many and varied. However (and while this is probably true of any service in any field, it is certainly true in the field of public welfare), the best single method of staff development comes through intelligent use of supervision. The gains that came from decentralizing authority, we assume, are generally accepted as a matter of principle. Decentralization of authority, however, cannot be undertaken except as one has qualified personnel competent to accept responsibilities and adequately to discharge them. Competency is a relative term, but in a large organization work can never flow through an agency unless there is at least a certain amount of decentralization, for the limitations of body and mind of any human being are real and one individual cannot do more than a certain restricted amount of work. Therefore, in the hierarchy of authority which exists in any organization, it seems reasonable to believe that attempts to strengthen the service in any long-time program must come from the top down. If any other practice is

followed one is pursuing emergency methods, and is concentrating on fragments of training which may be valuable in themselves but which have little relationship to the organizational structure of the agency as a whole. Also, they are fraught with the serious danger of injuring whatever of necessary organization may exist through having persons on low rungs of the organizational ladder developed to a point beyond that of those in authority over them.

The development of use of supervision as a means of staff development cannot be discussed here. It is to be remarked in passing, however, that the use of supervision as a concrete and positive method of staff development is as yet very little understood, much less used. There appears to be the impression in certain quarters that it is academic or theoretical to talk about supervision as a method of staff development, and that in reality in time of need one must fall back upon formal teaching of content, usually through "short courses." In other words, there seems to be the impression that an in-service training program should attempt to duplicate as nearly as possible, while at the same time diluting and pruning, the content of certain courses (particularly case work) offered in the curriculum of school of social work.

What we have said is meant in no way to question the value of formal classes in an in-service training program—nor, indeed, to question the value of teaching a course in case work (or certain case-work principles) as a part of an in-service training program—if it is done after serious consideration resulting in the conclusion that for certain individuals in a particular situation such a course or courses is the best method and content. What is being proposed is a consideration of the need for determining what the function of the agency is and what methods can best be used to bring the various members of the staff to the highest possible degree of rendering that service. And, further, to emphasize that "supervision" is not a theoretical process but that it constitutes the very essence of getting the job done.

One further word should be said regarding supervision, and that is concerning the need to relate its services to policies and procedures. Obviously, one cannot teach in a vacuum. The content of the educational process of supervision must be drawn from the day-by-day work which grows out of the application of the agency's policies and procedures. However, any long-time in-service training program can scarcely be considered worthy of the title of "education" if it limits itself to teaching the staff how to write grocery orders faster, how to complete clients' application blanks, or the like, important as these activities may be.

The possibilities of content of an in-service training course are almost limitless, if one considers the planning of material not alone at various levels of the staff, horizontally speaking, but according to vertical groupings of the staff as well. The use of staff meetings, of individual conferences, of group conferences, of directed reading, of discussion groups, of formal and informal classes on a possible wide range of subjects—all are possibilities. The choice seems to depend upon the factors mentioned at the beginning of this discussion: the nature and function of the agency's work, the personnel qualifications of the staff, and the competency of the person responsible for the in-service training.

Any consideration of in-service training means a vivification of what we all agree upon, what every earnest worker in the field of social welfare knows: the need on the part of every person for better professional equipment, of which nothing can take the place. If we are to be worthy of the privilege of being servants of the people, then we need a strengthening of sound professional education, and we also need to continue our growth on the job, striving through in-service training, in one form or another, to keep dynamic not alone our potentialities for service, but also its realities.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND DESIRABLE STANDARDS OF STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

*Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's
Bureau, United States Department of
Labor, Washington, D.C.*

IT IS the essence of the plan of federal and state co-operation under federal grants-in-aid that primary administrative responsibility shall be vested in a state agency, which exercises supervisory control over such local units as are brought under the program. Since 1911 practically every new federal-aid act that has been passed has placed upon the administrative agency of the federal government some responsibility for the development and maintenance of reasonably adequate methods of administration. The amount of control that may be exercised by the federal agency under the different federal-aid statutes, and the federal policies and methods that have been developed, range from very general supervision to very specific control over certain aspects, at least, of state and local administration.

Before considering the ways in which the federal government may act to promote desirable administrative standards, let us outline the major phases of administrative practice which are involved. These comprehend at least the following: (1) type or character of organization; (2) extent of state control and supervision; (3) personnel standards and practices, including in-service training; (4) content of program; (5) co-operative relationships with other agencies and organized groups; (6) public interpretation and support.

With reference to all these points the federal agency has an

opportunity and an obligation to stimulate, encourage, guide, or control. Whether the role of the federal government is one of information, suggestion, and counsel, which the states are free to accept or reject, or whether it controls through its power to grant or to withhold funds, depends upon (1) the degree of authority given under the statute and (2) whether the federal agency conceives its function to be that of authoritative direction or that of co-operation and participation with the states in the mutual development of policies and standards.

The question of personnel is, of course, the crux of good state and local administration. Prior to 1937 only nine states and the District of Columbia had state civil service systems operating, and during the last session of the legislatures three additional states passed civil service laws. The tendency to bring public administration under the patronage system has made it essential that, in the administration of federal aid, special attention should be given to personnel practices. The great variation in the extent to which the federal government exercises control over this aspect of administration is illustrated by the Wagner-Peyser Act establishing the United States Employment Service, and by the Social Security Act.

The Wagner-Peyser Act provides that the United States Employment Service shall "assist in co-ordinating the public employment offices throughout the country and in increasing their usefulness by developing and prescribing minimum standards of efficiency, assisting them in meeting problems peculiar to their localities, promoting uniformity in their administrative and statistical procedure. . . ." Under the administrative policies that have been developed, competitive examinations are conducted in the states by the United States Employment Service, and state administrative officers are required to make appointments from lists of eligibles provided by the federal agency, selecting in each case from the three highest on the list.

The Social Security Act, on the other hand, in the unemployment compensation, public assistance, maternal and child health, and crippled children's sections, specifically provides

that the selection, tenure of office, and compensation of personnel shall not be included in the methods of administration necessary for efficient operation which must be shown in the plan submitted by the state agency for approval.

Brief description of the methods adopted by the Children's Bureau in the administration of Title V, Parts 1, 2, and 3, will indicate some of the problems and methods involved in a type of administration in which direct control by the federal government is kept at a minimum under both the terms of the statute and the administrative policies that have been developed. It is interesting to note that in the administration of Part 3 (child welfare services) the Children's Bureau is not limited by the provisions with reference to personnel found in Parts 1 and 2 and in other titles of the Social Security Act. Title V, Part 3, instead of specifying the items which must be included in the state plan and made subject to the approval of the Children's Bureau, provides merely that the plans shall be developed jointly by the state agency and the Children's Bureau. In the administration of all three parts, however, great flexibility of approach to the states has been maintained, and uniform minimum standards have not been drawn up for promulgation by the Secretary of Labor under the power to make rules and regulations given her in the statute. All the states, Alaska, Hawaii, and the District of Columbia are co-operating in the maternal and child health program, forty-five states and territories in the crippled children's program, and the same number in the development of child welfare services.

An early step taken by the Children's Bureau in the development of administrative policies under the Social Security program was the creation, under appointment by the Secretary of Labor, of advisory committees representative of different professional and lay interests. The Bureau also availed itself of the opportunity presented by the annual meeting of the State and Territorial Health Officers Association to obtain their advice as to the methods of administration which were necessary to the

development of good state and local maternal and child health programs. Recommendations adopted by the advisory committees and the State and Territorial Health Officers Association were not made mandatory on the states through incorporation in rules and regulations, but were used by the Bureau in the field-consultant service which preceded the development and submission of state plans. Moreover, standards adopted by recognized national professional groups, such as the American Board of Orthopedic Surgery, were made use of extensively. Where standards adapted to work for crippled children were not in existence, such professional groups as the National Organization for Public Health Nursing and the American Association of Medical Social Workers were asked to develop them.

The key to the establishment of such relationships between the federal government and the states as will promote the development of good standards of administration is the field-consultant service. Field consultants were at work before the first appropriations became available, and all plans which were submitted were preceded by careful review of the situation in the state by the field consultant and the responsible state officials. Such consultant service is available throughout the year and precedes the development of each annual plan. National and regional conferences are supplementary to the field service.

Illustrations of the problems and procedures relating to the development of administrative standards in state and local agencies are as follows:

In June, 1934, one year prior to the passage of the Social Security Act, thirty-one states had divisions of maternal and child health in their state departments of health, and only twenty-two of these divisions had full-time directors.

In June, 1935, anticipating the passage of the Social Security Act, a conference of state and territorial health officers considered and adopted a report prepared by a committee of that organization, outlining a plan for the development of local,

state, and federal programs for maternal and child health. The Advisory Committee on Maternal and Child Health, meeting in December, 1935, considered this report, made certain interpretative additions, and recommended that the report be given careful consideration by all state agencies in the formulation of their plans. One of the recommendations was that in every state there should be a division of maternal and child health under the directions of a full-time medical director, who should have thorough training in pediatrics, obstetrics, or both, and preferably public health training. These recommendations were considered by the state health agencies in drawing up their plans. The fact that they had been adopted by the organization of state health officers added greatly to their effectiveness.

By April 1, 1937, every state and territory had a division of maternal and child health, and 43 were headed by full-time directors who were physicians. Provision for such a director was included in the budgets of 5 other states, and in 3 states the director, who was a physician, was giving only part-time to maternal and child health work. In 28 states the present directors have been appointed since social-security funds became available. Of the present directors (as of April 1), 23 have had pediatric training, 4 have had training in obstetrics, and 17 have had public health training.

The Social Security Act, in Title V, Part 1, required state plans for maternal and child health to show "co-operation with medical, nursing, and welfare groups and organizations." The advisory committee to the Children's Bureau, at its first meeting, concluded that the purpose of this provision of the Act could best be met by the formation of one or more advisory committees on which there should be representatives of the various interests concerned. Such committees have been named in all states. While some have not been in effective operation, the frequent comment in the states has been to the effect that social-security programs have brought about greater co-opera-

tion among the interested groups, both lay and professional, than ever existed before.

The sections of the Social Security Act authorizing services for crippled children prescribe the broad scope of the services which must be included in plans submitted for approval. They must provide for locating crippled children, diagnostic services, hospitalization, and after-care. In few states had any such comprehensive program been developed prior to the passage of the Act. Emphasis had been placed for the most part on hospitalization. The Children's Bureau had a major problem of interpretation of the character of the state organization that was needed and the content of the program that should be developed. This work was carried on chiefly by the medical field consultants, with the counsel and assistance of physicians, medical social workers, public health nurses, and others on the headquarters staff.

Many problems relating to standards of medical, surgical, and hospital service and to public health nursing, physical therapy, and medical social work involved in the various aspects of the program were also encountered, and the question of fee schedules for clinics or medical and surgical service presented many difficulties. At its first meeting the Children's Bureau's advisory committee on services for crippled children suggested that it would be desirable for the American boards of certification to make available to the states suggestions as to qualifications for physicians and surgeons, and that subcommittees of the advisory committee should be appointed to study questions of training of nonmedical personnel and standards of hospital care. At its second meeting specific recommendations were made concerning the use of standards adopted by various national professional organizations, minimum standards of hospital care, and medical and surgical fees. The work has been carried forward at regional conferences and at a third meeting of the advisory committee.

These recommendations, and those relating to crippled chil-

dren adopted by the State and Territorial Health Officers Association, have been of great value to the states in establishing and maintaining adequate standards for medical and hospital care. Hospital and surgeons' charges have undergone continuous study and revision in consultation with state technical advisory groups. The responsibility of the official state agency and its advisers for such study and revision in the light of experience has been constantly emphasized. With reference to personnel, also, the states have come to realize that technically qualified persons are required for the administration of programs for crippled children.

As a further means of assisting the states in developing a well-balanced program, the Children's Bureau is undertaking a study of intake procedures and discharge policies of hospitals and agencies for convalescent care.

Social work is as yet a less standardized profession than medicine or nursing, and standards of training and experience are more difficult to interpret and apply. It was accepted from the first that services for the protection and care of dependent and neglected children and children in danger of becoming delinquent, especially in areas predominantly rural, would be effective only if they were carried on by persons with special understanding and equipment for the work. Programs of staff training and, in a limited number of cases, educational leave for short periods of professional study were needed in view of the inadequate supply of fully qualified workers in many parts of the country.

The system of federal grants-in-aid to the states is probably better adapted to long-time than to emergency programs, though when a foundation has been laid in a particular field of service it can be expanded to meet emergency needs. Its effectiveness as an instrument for long-time planning and service depends upon: (1) the extent to which clear-cut general objectives can be developed, utilizing in their formulation the conference method and the aid of technical groups and of groups

representative of various interests; (2) the character of the field-consultant service, which is the chief means of disseminating and interpreting general objectives and policies, and (3) the flexibility of planning and procedure permitted in the several states under the law and the administrative policies followed. The understanding and support of the general public, particularly with reference to the fundamental ethics of personnel practices based solely on the principle of merit, is essential. Federal grants-in-aid, thus administered, may prove to be one of the most important and valuable devices in the entire field of government operating in a territory as far flung and as diversified as that of the United States.

THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT AND DESIRABLE STANDARDS OF STATE AND LOCAL ADMINISTRATION

*Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public
Assistance, Social Security Board
Washington, D.C.*

SINCE the administration of assistance under the Social Security Act is the responsibility of the states and localities, the objective of the Bureau of Public Assistance has been, through counseling and special services, to further local efforts to develop adequate and continuing programs.

In any discussion of standards of public assistance, it is important to recognize that the subject should be viewed from many different angles, constantly keeping in mind the total field of public welfare. Legislation, organization, methods of administration, type of program, personnel, financing, public education, etc., are all parts of one program in relation to which standards must be developed. If there is a deficiency in or over-emphasis of one aspect, the total program may be jeopardized. The first consideration, then has been adequate standards in relation to legislation. If there is not a satisfactory framework in which to operate, public agencies are seriously handicapped.

While the Social Security Board does not formally pass upon legislation, it does have responsibility for approval of state plans based upon law. Because so many states this year have amended old laws to conform with the federal act, or have proposed new legislation to change their temporary activities into permanent organizations, our staff has had an unusual opportunity to review legislation and to formulate opinions with regard to what is desirable.

There are a few specific requirements in the federal act with which state legislation must conform. However, in general, experience has shown that it is not wise to include in law detailed administrative procedures, restrictions making impossible decisions in accordance with individual needs, or limitations preventing the establishment of an efficient and economical administration.

No attempt has been made by the Bureau to set a pattern for state legislation, organization, or methods of work. Local conditions and traditions make variations necessary and advisable. However, general principles can be evolved and these adapted to particular situations. This is what the staff has tried to do in co-operation with other federal agencies and the American Public Welfare Association.

In developing standards of state and local organization, the requirement of the federal act of state-wide operation of a plan must be taken into consideration. This entails either state administration or supervision of the program, and, in the latter case, the state agency must have authority to establish rules and regulations which are binding upon the local political subdivisions.

Nonconformity by a local unit in any essential features of the state plan may make impossible further federal grants to the state. For this reason it is important that there be clear understanding as to what is involved in a state plan and what organization on both state and local levels will make possible the giving of adequate assistance and service to individuals in accordance with their needs.

To have a separate organization for each category of assistance has seemed entirely unnecessary. We have recommended, therefore, that one state department of public welfare and one local department have responsibility for the three categories of assistance, general relief, and child welfare services. If the state is small, institutions have also been supervised by the same state department. For the public assistance activities, it has been found advantageous to have one integrated state

field staff. This is usually composed of persons with good educational background, professional training, and successful experience in social work. In addition, there must be available from the state office persons with skills in other fields, such as accounting, statistics, etc., as the program, involving as it frequently does millions of dollars, is a large business operation.

Representatives of service bureaus of the Social Security Board as well as of the Bureau of Public Assistance help the states in developing proper fiscal, statistical, and other reports so that information will be available currently to provide the basis for sound planning and judgment as to the efficiency and adequacy of the administration of the state plan. Specialists in these and other fields are continually available for consultation with the states and for checking results of particular aspects of the administration.

The Bureau has deemed inadequate any state program which has not included service, as well as assistance to persons in need. Stress has been laid upon the need for preventive work and rehabilitation, especially in relation to the blind. Also, the importance of proper guidance for dependent children has been indicated, as it is from this group that our delinquents have been recruited so frequently in the past.

It is possible to have very good laws and plans and yet have most ineffective administration if state and local personnel are inadequate. The whole success of the program, we believe, depends upon the understanding, sympathy, knowledge, and skill of those who actually come in contact with persons in need. States have been urged, therefore, to set up minimum objective standards for the selection and maintenance of personnel. The Social Security Board will not now approve a plan which does not contain such standards for both state and local personnel. It is unfortunate that there is little recognition of the need for skill in this work. The employment of incompetent persons in the states and localities has often meant not only waste of funds but, more serious still, unnecessary suffering of persons in need.

The necessity for the state agency to establish a program for staff training has been indicated, and representatives of the Bureau are assisting in the development of such plans. It is clearly understood that such in-service training is no substitute for professional education. As Miss Lenroot has pointed out, the Children's Bureau and the Bureau of Public Assistance have been fortunate in securing a committee of the Association of Schools of Social Work to advise upon the development of these technical training programs. If properly qualified persons are not available in sufficient numbers for both local and state staffs, the importance of having at least the state staff well qualified is constantly stressed by the field representatives of the Bureau. Also, the necessity for employing personnel who have possibilities of development and who can be admitted to schools of social work for training is emphasized.

Inadequate financing on a long-time basis has greatly handicapped the development of many assistance programs. There is not sufficient information available currently in most states about the fiscal capacity of local political subdivisions to make it possible to plan adequately even on a yearly basis. While the method of procuring funds to finance the public assistance programs is entirely a matter for state and local decision, through the assistance of the American Public Welfare Association financial experts have been made available to the states to advise with them on their fiscal policies.

The importance of better understanding of the program is repeatedly pointed out to the states and the informational service of the Social Security Board has made available personnel and information to help the states in planning their programs of public education. In many different ways and on all possible occasions the staff of the Bureau, the executive director, and members of the Social Security Board have urged the states to consider their total public welfare program and carefully to consider the cost. The importance of such planning is indicated when there is recognition of the fact that very vocal

pressure groups are urging the adoption of provisions for one group which may make impossible, financially, the care of other groups similarly in need.

Many misunderstandings concerning the federal act must be pointed out. The term "pension" has so often been used in relation to the aged that applicants are under the impression that they are entitled to a flat amount quite irrespective of their particular needs. The Social Security Board has insisted that there be investigation as to need and that the grant of assistance be given in relation to such need. Insufficient funds in most states make it impossible to give the same type of adequate care to all needy persons.

In attempting to assist the states in developing adequate standards in respect to all aspects of the program, the Social Security Board has made available various types of services. Drafts of proposed bills are reviewed and comments are made to the states so that they may have our suggestions in mind when the laws are put into final shape. State commissions have been appointed by governors to study the total public welfare needs so that sound legislation and organization might be developed. Service has been given through field representatives to such commissions. In addition, state plans have been developed in close consultation with the various field representatives. Advice upon methods of selecting personnel, the development of merit systems, technical training programs, policies, and procedures, has been given to the states by specialists in these fields employed by the Bureau of Public Assistance.

Administrative studies of the actual operation of state plans are being made continually in an effort to put into the hands of responsible state and federal officials information as to whether or not the proper type of service is being rendered to needy individuals, in accordance with federal and state laws. In these varied ways, the Bureau of Public Assistance has tried to assist the states in the development of desirable standards of administration.

PROBLEMS OF STATE ADMINISTRATION

*William Haber, State Relief Administrator
State Emergency Relief Commission
Lansing, Michigan*

THE first obstacle which the state administration faces in setting up standards and methods of administration of state and federal funds arises from the fact that the state is a relatively new agency in welfare administration. With few exceptions, state public welfare departments before the depression had very little to do with actual administration or with the determination of standards of public relief. Since 1930 the state's function has been enlarged. Its interest in administration has become direct. In many instances the bulk of the welfare funds have come from the state and not from the local treasury. It, therefore, is a relatively new experience for the state and the federal government to act as controllers, custodians, and trustees, and to "allocate" moneys for broad welfare purposes. It is, similarly, a new and not a welcome experience for counties to "apply for funds" and to have their "ability to contribute" and their tax structure scrutinized—and, perhaps, criticized by strange auditors representing the state. It is, likewise, a new thing for the state to enforce accounting procedure and to stipulate forms, records, and statistical terminology.

The state administration has not always, and certainly not everywhere, succeeded in getting itself accepted by the counties. The turmoil in many states indicates that, the depression and the emergency character of the relief job being over, the counties have expected and hoped that the state would get out of the picture and permit a return to the tried and tested methods of local administration. In this the county authorities are probably going to be disappointed, for the state will continue

to finance the job, particularly for those categories of aid which come under the Social Security Act. I doubt whether the fund-disbursing agency will be satisfied merely to disburse, without laying down some basic conditions of administration. Therefore, the "yoke" which the state has thrown around local relief will not easily be thrown off.

Nevertheless, the state administration is on the spot. It must bear the brunt of criticism of four years of emergency relief administration, involving hastily set-up operations and staffs and unheard-of sums of money. To it are blamed all of the shortcomings of the federal works program. The local community is still resentful of the period of dictation and bitterly opposes the controls which have been set up. In many instances local effort and local institutions were obviously usurped during a period of emergency. The state administration has inherited all of the local prejudices which grew out of past mistakes. It is receiving the local criticisms which may exist against many of the federal works agencies—wage rates, the feeding of strikers, the presumed shortage of farm labor, the questionable quality of some types of projects.

The existence of these attitudes is, in a sense, a measure of the failure of the first of the state's responsibilities, namely, public relations. The state administration has not been sold—it has been imposed. Only here and there and in the larger communities, primarily, has the state and local administration been able successfully to interpret the job and to secure local support, or at least local understanding. In such instances there is recognition of the necessary relationship, financial as well as administrative, between the community, the state, and the federal government.

The first job, and probably the most difficult one, is for the state to appreciate the set and drive of articulate community thinking and gauge the reaction to federal and state concepts of public welfare administration. We may never succeed in convincing county superintendents of the poor, and not all county boards of supervisors, but the job, and the place of the

state administration in the job, needs to be understood locally. The states' task from this standpoint involves more than the power to distribute funds and the coercion which that power entails. We must come to realize that the citizen is quite aloof and that he takes little part in influencing public opinion at home or at the state capitol unless he is energized to do so. Under a successful democracy it is the local public, the citizen, who is the crux of our problem. He is the foundation upon which successful administration depends. The measure of his articulate acceptance or rejection of the administration is the measure of administrative effectiveness in the public field.

The reaction which has taken place in several states gives tragic evidence of how easily four or five years' wholesome experience in building state standards can be overthrown in a short time when public good will has not been built up, and when understanding of the state's job is not present.

There are, of course, vast differences of understanding found within the states. The economic pinch, competitive pressure, the stark and realistic struggle for existence in many communities produce a kind of geographical, community rationalizing. While the public mind is to some extent accustomed to all of this as a fact of competitive living, nevertheless the geographical and regional differences become a serious problem for both the state and the federal administration, particularly in any effort to secure uniform standards. Regional economic situations within the state, rather than broad-gauge generalizations, determine how far the state can go. The federal government faces the problem of states needing more as compared with states needing less. The state faces the problem of counties economically helpless and counties economically prosperous. These economic differentiations produce, at times, cultural differences, and certainly differences in understanding. It is this clash of culture which is seen in the farmer feeling that the relief recipient should welcome opportunities to work on farms for sums ranging from 50 cents to \$1.00 per day and room and board. It is likewise this clash of culture which produces a re-

action against the same standards of relief for colored workers as for white workers.

One of the shortcomings of the past few years has been the lack of awareness to the need of local growth. Effective administration without the principles of representation—that is to say, local participation—is well-nigh impossible, except on an emergency basis, with the imposition of standards rather than education to standards.

Specifically, the state administration must concern itself with matters of personnel, budgets and grants, records and statistics, principles of administration and organization, and problems of planning. It would have been much simpler if the Social Security Act would have given the Board power to inquire into the qualifications, tenure, and remuneration of personnel. Having not done so, it has placed the great burden upon the state, and one which the state cannot so effectively carry out. The local communities have been especially critical of their experiences with the personnel practices of the emergency relief programs. It is dangerous to be too flexible in matters of personnel standards. If competent investigation requires substantial experience and training, there is no reason why that requirement should be any less insisted upon for a small-town community of five thousand people than it is for a large urban center. Nevertheless, the molders of public opinion in a small town are there. The local fear of imported social workers is terrific. The prejudice that persons with business experience and age maturity are best qualified to distribute public funds for welfare purposes is too great to be overcome by a mere edict. Progress is being made in the establishment of merit systems in the selection of employees. Whether these systems stick and whether the community accepts the workers and the methods depends to some degree upon due weight being given to the differences in types of problems between the small and the large community.

The Social Security Board field staff has, in spite of congressional restrictions as to their powers in regard to personnel, been of tremendous help to the states. The emphasis which the

Board has given to methods of administration has made it possible to raise standards of personnel, for the two are closely bound together.

Constructively, of course, the state can be of great service in the training of personnel. Training must be carried into the desert. For years to come the schools will not graduate the workers needed, and the state administration must take the leadership, possibly with the co-operation of schools. It must reach out into the communities and meet the situation as it is.

Even more controversial are the issues involving budgets and grants. The fairness of a public welfare budget is, of course, subject to the same differences of opinion as are frequently found in the various estimates of costs of living and standards of living among employed persons. An inflexible, standard formula obviously cannot be enforced. The local public official who resents the fact that the relief recipient has coffee included in his budget, while he, an independent farmer, does not have sufficient cash income to afford coffee, presents a point of great local effectiveness. Again, the Social Security Board program has made the problem of working out a budget based upon need, with a tendency toward uniformity throughout the state, much simpler. Recipients of old age assistance will sooner or later secure an average sum, in the economically able states, of at least thirty dollars per month. Likewise, the Board's grants for aid to dependent children have already materially increased the funds available on individual budgets for this type of aid in the states.

Outside of the categories of public welfare covered by the Social Security Act, the state's problem is extremely difficult, for here rigid formulas for the distribution of state funds are of little help. The economic differences between counties within a state are too great. The state administration, without an equalization fund with which to aid hard-hit counties in excess of standard sums, must be aware of prevailing low standards and be unable to do anything about it.

The federal program has been especially helpful in securing

uniformity of record-keeping, statistical procedure, and accounting practices. The aim ought to be in the direction of simplification and state and national uniformity. The emphasis ought to be toward all possible reductions in number and in coordination of records. Statistical records need to be revalued in the light of changing conditions as to their accuracy as well as to their usefulness.

There is less quarrel with the state in this aspect of administration than in the others. The danger arises in the fact that, the farther administration is removed from the community the more interest there will be in the collection of records and data for purposes of research and statistics broader in scope than the needs of immediate administration. There is, therefore, undoubtedly a great hazard already apparent in increasing the demands for record-keeping in order to be able to account to the last split copper for federal funds granted to the state and state funds granted to the counties. Since the public is justifiably touchy on the matter of cost of administration, the emphasis put upon too comprehensive record-keeping and statistical reports introduces a special caution. There is no limit to the quantity of records which can be kept, providing the director of research, either in the state capitol or in Washington, has an imagination fertile enough to plan in advance a ten years' research program. But there is a limit to the local understanding of the purposes for which records are kept and statistics tabulated. There is a danger of building up record and accounting machinery far in excess of its administrative utilization.

Finally, the state's function as a planner can be subject to relatively little criticism. But, as in all else, planning is useless, unless for academic purposes, if it cannot get itself accepted. There is need for a reasonably adequate inventory of the depression damage, for a reanalysis of the relief situation, for a reappraisal of the methods employed in handling the so-called "employable" and "unemployable," for an examination of the training possibilities of those who are public dependents.

There is need, in the second place, for factual estimates as to the financial and social implications of the problem after the inventory has revealed them. Forecasts carefully built up, properly interpreted, can go a long way to prevent the financial chaos in which many states found themselves during recent years. The interpretation job needs to involve more than statistics—it needs, also, some of the comparison of what it costs to do the job and how much more or less it costs not to do it. The state can provide the leadership in community collaboration, in planning out the facts needed to be broadcast, in energizing the local groups to do the broadcasting.

In brief, the problems of state administration are more difficult today because of the opportunities which have been overlooked during the past four to five years. In planning, in determining personnel standards, in arriving at minimum standards for need, for budgets and grants, in requiring records and statistical reports, it behooves the state to consider its job from a twofold point of view. Since it does control many of the purse strings it can write the laws, make the rules, impose the regulations. In the long run, the democratic process calls for somewhat less rigid techniques. The problem of state administration is, therefore, one of determining what it can afford to postpone until the process of educational understanding is more successful and what are those minimum essentials which must be secured even at the risk of being imposed. One cannot generalize too freely about it. The problem presents a great opportunity, for, with the federal program and the effective pull bait which federal grants present, there is an unequalled opportunity for working out a co-operative program based upon a joint understanding of the issues involved.

INVALIDITY ASSISTANCE AND INSURANCE IN THE UNITED STATES

*R. Clyde White, Professor of Social Economics
Graduate School of Social Service Administration
University of Chicago*

IN THE United States we have been so much concerned with the discussion of compensation for loss of wages because of unemployment that, barring old age, we have to a large extent neglected adequate consideration of the problem of loss of wages because of temporary or permanent invalidity. For many years invalidity assistance and insurance have existed under varying definitions in other countries, and in somewhat disguised forms we have had them to a limited extent in this country. Although workmen's compensation laws have been in operation for about thirty years in the United States, they are not even approximately adequate in most states. The federal Social Security Act has augmented efforts to establish a system of survivor's assistance and certain minor forms of disablement assistance, but it leaves much to be done in the way of co-ordination and extension of existing services. It, therefore, seems appropriate to review the American achievements in the direction of invalidity assistance (noncontributory) and invalidity insurance (contributory) and to indicate the points at which extension is necessary.

Plans for the organization of invalidity assistance and insurance have two definitions of invalidity: (1) medical, and (2) social-economic. From the medical viewpoint invalidity means reduced efficiency of the individual because of illness, injury, or physical or mental deterioration. The social-economic concept of invalidity directs attention toward the absence or decrease of earning capacity because of widowhood, orphanage,

or statutory old age. The conventional picture of an invalid represents somebody as bedridden or traveling in a wheelchair. While the invalidity insurance laws of other countries have recognized the fact of ill health as a cause of the symptom, invalidity, they have been more concerned with the social-economic effects which result in inability to work at the normal occupation and, consequently, to support the worker and his dependents. Invalidity assistance and insurance, then, are ways of assuring a minimum standard of living to those who by ill health, decree of custom, or statute have been deprived of a means of earning a living.

The discussion which follows is limited to the subject of cash benefits. The provision of medical care is an important part of all social insurance systems, and the prevention of permanent invalidity where possible is a matter of first-rate importance, but perhaps the two problems will be clearer if they are treated as discrete aspects of the status of the invalid individual. For that reason consideration of the problem of medical care is omitted in this paper.

THE NATURE AND MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEM OF INVALIDITY

Conditions of health are the most common causes of invalidity. The period of invalidity may vary from a few days to the remainder of life. In most cases of sickness and accident the duration of incapacity to pursue the usual occupation is short—that is, it is a week or less—but the burden which falls upon the small percentage whose incapacity lasts for more than a week is heavy and contributes much to the creation or perpetuation of a condition of destitution among American families.

The amount of temporary invalidity due to illness is unknown in the United States, but a number of efforts have been made to estimate it. The difficulty which these estimates usually present is that they are for the whole population regardless of economic status. In thinking of invalidity assistance and insur-

ance we are concerned largely with the lower-income groups in the population, and the only way to arrive at an estimate of the wage loss to these groups is to make calculations based upon sample studies of illness in wage-earners' families. One of these studies which was rather carefully done was made by the Illinois Health Insurance Commission (1919). A "disabling illness" was defined by the Commission as an illness which incapacitated the worker for a week or more; no attempt was made to determine losses due to illness of members of the family not gainfully employed.

Assuming that this sample study represents reasonably well the frequency and duration of illness among wage-earners, we may extend the conclusions to that gainfully employed group in the population which will in the near future be covered by unemployment compensation laws. The number of individuals will be about 25,000,000 under the type of laws now being enacted. If the earnings of this group are spread over forty weeks and average \$800 per year, the total wages payable to them would be about \$20,000,000,000. About 5,220,000, or 20.9 per cent, of the 25,000,000 wage-earners will lose a week or more from work because of illness. The duration of illness will vary from slightly more than a week to the remainder of life. Let us assume that some kind of cash benefits will be provided for a maximum of thirteen weeks during illness, but that for the first two weeks of illness no benefits would be paid. On that assumption there would be for the wage-earning group within the thirteen-week period a total loss of wages for 24,276,000 weeks, which at \$20 per week, or \$800 per year, would represent a loss of wages of \$485,520,000. Under present conditions these wages are a total loss to the worker, except as he receives relief. An insurance or assistance scheme which assured the worker a benefit equal to half of his wages, not to exceed a certain maximum, would offer some protection to his standard of living. For this group of workers it would cost about \$242,760,000 per year. Of course, many wage-earners lose much more than thirteen weeks from work. In fact, of the estimated 5,220,000

wage-earners losing more than one week from work about 390,000 would lose twenty-six weeks or more. If the duration of illness were the same for all workers, the loss of wages might be borne by the individual, but the heavy losses fall upon a small percentage of workers, such as those who are incapacitated for half a year or more.¹

The amount of incapacity due to illness is better known in countries with health insurance than it is in the United States. They have records. For purposes of illustration we shall use the German system, which so horrifies the politicians of the American Medical Association. In 1930 the membership in this system was about 21,900,000 and there were 9,129,000 cases of illness.² The average number of sickness days per case was 27.3. In the United States it has been the observation of relief agencies that loss of wages for any reason which extends to three weeks is likely to necessitate an application for relief; consequently, under comparable conditions in Germany, if the country had had no sickness insurance scheme some millions of these cases would need poor relief because of illness.

Loss of wages due to accidental injuries can be fairly reliably estimated, because all states now except Arkansas have workmen's compensation laws and because for many years the National Safety Council has been attempting to collect accurate statistics of accidents. Many accidents occur which are in no way connected with remunerative occupation, and may or may not cause loss of wages. Without attempting to include the nonoccupational accidental injuries, we can still get a picture of the economic loss due to loss of wages which is sufficient to outline the problem sharply. The National Safety Council³ estimated that occupational accidents in 1934 were distributed as follows: 61,000 cases of permanent disability, 1,300,000 cases of temporary disability, and 16,000 fatalities. These accidents

¹ These computations are based upon the *Partial Report of the Illinois Health Insurance Commission* (1919), chap. v, pp. 11 ff.

² *Statistisches Jahrbuch für das Deutsche Reich* (1932), p. 382.

³ *Monthly Labor Review*, April, 1936, pp. 991-94.

occasioned a wage loss of about \$400,000,000 (by analogy with figures given for 1932).⁴ The duration of disability in case of accidental injury is important. If the injured person recovers within a day or a few days, he sustains small loss of wages, but the individual who has a serious injury soon exhausts his own resources. In 1934 there were 201 accidents on trains or in train service resulting in nonfatal permanent disability which resulted in an average loss of time of 2,260 days per case—9 of the cases involved permanent total disability, and the probable duration of life was estimated. It has been estimated that out of every 100,000 accidents 932 are fatal, 110 result in permanent total disability, and 4,765 result in permanent partial disability.⁵

The number of persons who are incapacitated for work because of physical or mental deterioration is also unknown. This group includes the aged, the senile, and the mentally ill. Physical age differs, of course, from chronological age. Hence, the age distribution of those whose physical and mental powers have declined is rather wide. During the month of January, 1937, 1,145,047 persons received old age assistance under the federal-state system, all of whom were past sixty years of age and most of whom were over sixty-five. They were unable to earn a living and were, therefore, entitled to receive old age assistance. In a medical sense many of them were undoubtedly invalid. Excepting the number of persons receiving old age assistance and the number of seniles in institutions, we have no further measure of physical and mental deterioration in this country, but the total number would be much larger than the number of individuals receiving old age assistance.

In the future many persons will be classified as aged on statutory grounds rather than medical. Under an old age insurance plan, such as that which is created by Title II of the Social Security Act, all persons who are covered can receive their pensions only by retiring from remunerative employment. Under

⁴ See Walter F. Dodd, *Administration of Workmen's Compensation* (Commonwealth Fund, 1936), p. 1.

⁵ I. M. Rubinow, *The Quest for Security* (1934), p. 47.

the present old age assistance law in Colorado any person who reaches the statutory age can receive old age assistance without a means test. Almost all of those receiving old age assistance in all states can satisfy the means test, but many of them are not disabled to such an extent that they could not work if there were jobs available. The extent of statutory invalidity among persons over sixty-five years of age could not be determined without subjecting every recipient to a medical examination. If unemployment should continue to be a major problem for a number of years, there is likely to be a tendency to relax the qualifications for old age assistance in order to remove the older members of the population from the labor market. But, under any circumstances, there will be an increasingly large number of people receiving old age assistance or old age benefits who are invalid only in a statutory sense.

Another class of persons who by definition are in some countries put under the invalidity insurance scheme are the widows and orphans—that is, the survivors of a deceased wage-earner. They are declared incapacitated for remunerative employment by statute, because society believes that children should not work but should go to school, and believes that the interests of the community will be served best by encouraging the widowed mother to make a home for them. Hence, survivors' assistance or pensions are provided for them. In January, 1937, 292,018 children in 114,853 families were receiving the "aid to dependent children" which has been made possible by the federal-state plan of survivors' assistance which is now in operation.⁶ Within a few years the number will probably be twice as large. Under a survivors' insurance plan it would be even larger, because there would be no means test.

TYPES OF INVALIDITY ASSISTANCE AND INSURANCE

The problem of invalidity assistance and insurance in the United States can be seen more clearly against the background

⁶ Social Security Board, *Public Assistance Statistics for the United States*, January, 1937, p. 3.

of what has already been done in this country and elsewhere. For this purpose a summary statement will be made concerning Great Britain, Germany, and France. All of these countries have a rather complete plan for taking care of those who for either medical or statutory reasons are excluded from the labor market.

Under the British Health Insurance Act the worker who is temporarily incapacitated for work receives cash benefits in addition to medical care, and a small lump-sum maternity allowance is provided. If a member of the health insurance system is permanently and totally disabled, he receives a disablement pension until he is sixty-five years of age, after which he receives old age insurance benefits. In 1934 the number of workers covered by the Health Insurance Act was 16,548,000 in England, Wales, and Scotland. The Widows', Orphans', and Old Age Contributory Pensions Act, 1936, covers the same workers as the Health Insurance Act. In 1934, under an earlier act, 1,849,700 persons received benefits, and in addition 1,605,000 aged persons received pensions under the noncontributory old age pension act.⁷ In 1928 the British workmen's compensation law covered 7,576,534 persons and assured benefits to the injured workman and, in case of a fatal accident, to his dependents for a specified period.⁸ The weekly amounts of benefits and pensions under the British laws are often very small, but after a fashion the British have faced the problems of invalidity and have devised a systematic plan for mitigating the distress due to invalidity.

Within the categories of the population which are insured Germany provides insurance benefits out of contributions for all persons who are excluded from the labor market for either medical or statutory reasons. In addition to medical care, the German sickness insurance provides cash benefits for the worker, for women before and after confinement, and for members of the family during the disability of the wage-earner for a statu-

⁷ *Public Social Services*, Cmd. 5310 (November, 1936), Part I.

⁸ Barbara N. Armstrong, *Insuring the Essentials*, p. 174.

tory period of twenty-six weeks, which may be extended. In case of industrial accident or occupational disease the worker receives cash benefits from the sickness insurance for the first thirteen weeks of his disability, and the usual allowances for dependents are available. If disability lasts longer than thirteen weeks, the worker is transferred to the accident insurance for benefits and is given allowances for dependents; the benefits under the accident insurance are somewhat higher than under the sickness insurance. Workers past the age of sixty-five, those suffering from a fixed percentage of permanent disability, and widows and orphans of insured workers receive pensions from the invalidity and survivors' insurance. Approximately two-thirds of the German population are covered by these three branches of the social insurance system. There is no noncontributory public assistance for invalidity. Over 200 persons per 1,000 population received some kind of benefits in 1930 because of their inability to earn a living from their labor; about 133 of this number received sickness benefits during temporary disability. Benefits are always a percentage of the basic wage which relates the standard of living during invalidity to the customary standard of living, whereas the British beneficiary receives a fixed allowance, depending upon age and somewhat upon the number of dependents. Better provision for dependents is made in Germany than in England.

The French accident insurance system has been in operation since 1898, but the general social insurance system, which includes invalidity insurance, was established by an act passed in 1928. The accident insurance provides, in addition to medical care, cash benefits to the worker and allowances for dependents. The Social Insurance Act of 1928 provides medical care, cash benefits during temporary disability due to illness for the worker and for members of his family, an invalidity pension in case working capacity is reduced by more than two-thirds, a cash maternity allowance, old age pensions after the age of sixty-five, allowances for widows and orphans, and a lump-sum benefit to survivors upon the death of the insured worker. The sys-

tem is contributory, and the contributors include the state, the employer, and the employee.

Provision of cash benefits for persons unable to earn a living because of medical or social-economic invalidity in the United States is made through two systems, one a system of noncontributory public assistance and the other a contributory social insurance system: Under invalidity assistance come old age assistance, aid to dependent children, and assistance to the blind; and under invalidity insurance come workmen's compensation and old age benefits. Public assistance allowances are made upon the basis of a means test—with the exception of old age assistance in Colorado, which does not require a means test. In January, 1937, there were 1,466,485 recipients of public assistance under the federal-state plan.⁹ Some kind of a workmen's compensation law exists in all states except Arkansas at the present time, and certain groups of workers are covered by federal laws. About 26,000,000 workers are covered by the old age benefit provisions of the Social Security Act. Under workmen's compensation laws the employer is required to pay the premium on insurance, except in Oregon, where the employee pays a small part of it. The employer and the employee contribute equal amounts toward the provision of old age benefits.

ADDITIONS REQUIRED FOR THE AMERICAN SYSTEM

In the light of the review of invalidity assistance and insurance in Great Britain, Germany, and France, it is obvious that our system in the United States has some large gaps in it. Within the income and employment classes covered in these European countries a minimum standard of living is assured during periods of inability to work. For the most part the European laws have a broader coverage than our social insurance laws, although our public assistance scheme is intended to meet the minimum needs of any person, regardless of previous occupational history, provided that he is eligible under the

⁹ Social Security Board, *Public Assistance, Monthly Statistics for the United States* (January, 1937), pp. 2-4.

means test. Nevertheless, the following categories of persons in the United States are excluded from participation in either public assistance or social insurance: (1) persons suffering from permanent total disability (excepting a few state workmen's compensation laws), unless they are past sixty-five years of age; (2) widows without children, in most states, unless eligible for old age assistance; (3) dependents of the incapacitated worker, unless they can qualify for "aid to dependent children;" and (4) sick persons who are temporarily incapacitated. The following classes of persons are excluded from participation in contributory social insurance: (1) farmers, domestic servants, seamen, public employees, social workers, religious workers, and scientific workers are excluded from the old age benefit scheme; and (2) many of the same groups are excluded from workmen's compensation.

The following additions are suggested to the present plans for invalidity assistance and insurance:

1. Changes in the public assistance laws:
 - a) Amend Title IV of the Social Security Act to cover widows as well as children
 - b) Amend the Social Security Act by adding a public assistance title for permanent invalidity, subject to a means test
2. Changes in the contributory social insurance laws:
 - a) Amend Titles II and VIII of the Social Security Act (by imposing an additional tax) to include as many of the present excluded categories of workers as is administratively possible; to cover survivors of a deceased wage-earner for a specified time or during the period of incapacity for remunerative employment; and to cover permanent invalidity defined in terms of a percentage loss of earning power
 - b) Amend Titles III and IX of the Social Security Act (by imposing an additional tax) to provide cash benefits during unemployment because of illness for a period similar in length to that now provided in state laws for ordinary unemployment

No European country, with the possible exception of Russia, has found it possible to draft contributory social insurance laws which cover all possible cases; either the country has provided a national system of general public assistance, as in England, or it has left the ineligible persons to local poor relief, as in

Germany and France. So far the American development has followed more along the lines of the English experience, and, because of our own useful experience with public assistance, it is reasonable to assume that we shall continue this policy. However, the contributory system should be extended. The proposal to incorporate as many categories of need as possible into the contributory system follows the experience of all other countries, and the suggestion to put old age insurance, survivors' insurance, and invalidity (permanent) insurance in a single administrative bureau is in conformity with the experience of many other countries. The suggestion that provision be made for cash benefits during illness within the scheme of unemployment compensation is a departure from the administrative organization of other countries, but for a number of years there has been a considerable body of opinion in Germany and some other countries that cash benefits should be administered separately from medical care, and that they are, in fact, benefits in lieu of wages because of involuntary unemployment. Sooner or later we shall have a health insurance system in this country, the orators of the American Medical Association to the contrary notwithstanding, and it is not too early to think seriously about the best kind of organization for the administration of cash benefits.

In this paper I have regarded old people, injured persons, sick persons, persons permanently and totally incapacitated, widows, and small children as having an invalidity status in so far as employment is concerned. This status may be determined by either medical diagnosis or social-economic considerations, but the common characteristic of all these categories is their exclusion from the labor market. Hence, it seemed logical to think of all of them as being involved in a system of invalidity assistance and insurance.

NECESSARY SUPPLEMENTS TO UNEMPLOYMENT INSURANCE

*Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization
Department, Russell Sage Foundation
New York City*

WE NEED not congratulate ourselves that the passage of unemployment insurance laws in a given state, or even in all forty-eight of them, will have solved for the worker the whole problem of how he is to be maintained in the event that he loses his job. Briefly considered, some of the hazards that will still face a member of the working population are the following:

He may be ineligible for insurance. Self-employed persons, from doctors to pushcart vendors, are not insured. The workers in seven lines of employment listed in the Social Security Act are not insured. If insured at the time the law is passed, he can draw no benefits should he lose his job within the first two years after it goes into effect. If his employment has entailed working in several different states, his right to benefit when unemployed may be clouded by disagreements between states as to procedure; and part of his claim may be lost if some of the states concerned have no unemployment insurance law and no machinery for administering it.

He may work for an employer who customarily employs fewer than eight persons. While holding this job, no premiums will be paid on his behalf, and no account can be taken of it in computing his later right to unemployment benefit. On the other hand, employers of casual labor may employ a sufficient number of persons to become liable to the tax, but the individuals on whose behalf it is paid (e.g., longshoremen) may be employed so infrequently by such employers that they cannot

accumulate the requisite number of weeks of insured employment.

If his unemployment is due to illness or invalidity, the jobless person will receive no unemployment benefit in states which demand that he be "able to work and available for work."

Although employed by a large commercial firm, the status of an insured person may be denied him. Examples of this which have already come up in some states are: (1) Insurance agents (regarded as independent contractors because they work on a commission basis). (2) Employees of fish hatchers, fox farmers, nursery gardeners, maple-sugar producers, cane-sugar processors (regarded as being engaged in agriculture). (3) Employees of banks in the Federal Reserve or Federal Farm Loan systems (regarded as employed by governmental instrumentalities).

Some workers may be covered by unemployment insurance in some part of their duties, but not in others. Examples of this are chauffeurs who drive the same employer, partly on business for his company and partly on private errands; or crews of fishing schooners who are insurable while icing cargoes ashore but not while catching them at sea.

An important group of temporary disqualifications for benefit of insured people center around discharge for misconduct, participation in labor disputes, voluntary leaving of employment, and refusal to accept employment while in receipt of benefit. In most state laws the penalties for such actions take the form of extending the waiting period by a varying number of weeks, but in some states the worker is ineligible for benefit during the entire current period of his unemployment, and the period thus lost may not be figured in as time insured in calculating later unemployment benefits. In one state refusal of suitable employment automatically cancels all past accrued rights to benefit.

Not to raise here the questions of social and industrial justice that might be involved in these provisions, we merely point out that all such periods of disqualification mean that relief,

which has on principle been granted to needy strikers' families in this country for the last four years, will be called for to fill in many of these gaps in benefit.

But what about the vast majority of insured people who will escape these hazards and actually draw benefit when unemployed? In all but two states and the District of Columbia, they will receive a weekly allowance of 50 per cent of the last weekly wage. Only the District of Columbia makes provision for added allowances for dependents, but promptly negates this advantage by putting a maximum limit of \$15 on the weekly benefit. When laborers' families of whatever size have to live on \$12.50 or thereabouts a week in an era of rising prices, it is not difficult to visualize the burden of supplementary relief which will be laid upon localities if many of these families are not to suffer privation.

And, finally, there is the hazard that unemployment benefit payments may cease before another job is found. In about half the state laws already passed, the number of weeks during which payments will continue varies with the duration of previous employment; that is, with the number of contributions chalked up to the worker's credit. In these states, the person frequently out of work is heavily penalized. In the remainder, a fixed maximum number of weeks is established during which any unemployed person may continue to draw benefit. These maxima vary from twelve weeks in West Virginia to thirty-three weeks in California, with the majority centering around fifteen or sixteen weeks. Note that this is the utmost period which any person may hope to have covered; which means that for most of the insured, their claim will expire in less than these periods.

In February, the National Industrial Conference Board estimated that approximately eighteen million out of thirty-nine million workers in the thirty-five states and the District of Columbia, where unemployment insurance has gone into effect, were covered by its provisions. Percentages of workers covered ran from 69 per cent in Michigan to 13 per cent in Mississippi.

Eveline M. Burns¹ estimates that not more than half our working population will be covered under the present act, and points out that the occupations excluded are those which employ the largest numbers of women and Negroes; so that the gibe which has already been leveled at our scheme is not altogether undeserved—that it offers some security to some white males.

It appears with sufficient clearness, then, that many millions of American workers will be excluded altogether as uninsurable under the Act, that the insurance status of additional hundreds of thousands is doubtful, and that such insured as fall out of work during the first two years of insurance will receive no benefit. For those who do qualify, half the customary wage (which is the figure set by most states) will not meet the needs of the man with many children, except on the principle that "malnutrition is better than none." And, finally, we have to keep in mind that the right to draw benefit is quickly exhausted under most state laws.

Can we draw any lessons from Great Britain's experience with unemployment? I think we can. It is true that many of the factors are lacking here which have contributed to such success as they have met with over there in operating their scheme, but we can develop their American equivalents.

We are handicapped at the start by lack of a widespread nationally supervised system of public employment exchanges ready to administer unemployment insurance. But the British exchanges were created only in 1909, two years before unemployment insurance went into effect. There is still time, before the full burden descends upon us, for our system to be strengthened and more adequately financed.

We are further handicapped in comparison with England by lack of a tradition of public service which demands that the personnel to operate our scheme shall be trained, chosen for fitness, and protected against political venality. But we are beginning to see the light; and recent progress toward state-operated merit systems has been encouraging.

¹ *Toward Social Security* (McGraw-Hill, 1936).

We have an honorable tradition of volunteer service in private welfare work, as had the British, but they, unlike ourselves, have carried this tradition over into the public service. It would be impossible for the British insurance schemes to operate without the volume of devoted, unpaid service which they receive from auxiliary citizens' committees. Through them, public opinion is brought to bear upon bureaucratic tendencies, and interpretation by them in turn molds public opinion. We must rescue and redevelop this interpenetration of lay activity with administrative efficiency, if our system is to be kept close to the needs of the people.

We are handicapped by the lack of any complementary system of health insurance. The English workman who loses his job because of illness is as amply protected against distress as when he is simply laid off. If he becomes ill while out of work, his unemployment benefit ceases but his health insurance payments begin at once, and his medical care is assured him as a matter of right. When we speak of socialized medicine in this country, the factor of free medical care is all that we are usually considering; but health insurance, in addition to this, guarantees the missing family income which illness of the breadwinner entails. Socialized medicine, indeed, we must have, with whatever ingenious devices we may develop to preserve the personal relation between doctor and patient; but it must be supplemented by a scheme underpinned with government funds to provide income for the workers when wages vanish or unemployment benefits are withdrawn because of illness.

We are handicapped by the wide areas of occupation not covered by our unemployment compensation laws; by coverage for too brief periods; by lack of flexibility in amounts of payment when compared with family needs. But the original British scheme suffered from all these defects, and British experience, though hardly gained, shows that it is possible to remedy them.

We are handicapped by the numerous complexities and contradictions involved in a constellation of state plans, and there

we cannot draw upon British experience, for theirs has been a nation-wide scheme, uniformly administered by the central government. We have something to learn from British experience in retraining and transfer from stranded communities, but I hope we shall not be as long getting about it as they were. We have already the N.Y.A., with its emphasis largely upon cultural and vocational training of youth. We have the Resettlement Administration, with the major duty of getting people out of blighted areas and rehabilitating them in agriculture. We need further means of retraining adult industrial workers and removing them from stranded communities and occupations where the machine has taken their places.

We are handicapped by the persistence of the idea that unemployment is a temporary phenomenon, calling only for emergency treatment. The British know better. They realize that once unemployment seriously attacks an industrialized capitalist economy, its grip cannot be completely loosened again. As in the case of a mortal disease, its inroads can be held in check over long periods, but its eradication demands more drastic measures than a capitalist system can stand. The British have decided to live with unemployment, checking it by all means possible, and cushioning its inroads by means of the social services. If our economic system continues unchanged, we shall have eventually to reach the same conclusion.

So far we have been Anglophiles, admiring the record of our British cousins at our own expense. Now let's be Anglophobes for awhile.

I hope our scheme will not bog down into acceptance of the British concept that a man can have only one trade or skill. Let me give you an example. I was in the Canning Town Exchange in London one day some years back when an eager, intelligent appearing lad came to the desk to apply for a position listed on the blackboard as stock clerk in a wholesale grocery. The agent pulled his card, and said, politely enough, "Why, you're a vanman; they want a stock clerk; I couldn't send you there." The young man urged that his experience had been

with a grocery firm; that he knew the stock; that he would simply be handling indoors what he had handled outdoors on the truck; but still the dogged answer came back, "Whatever would Mr. So-and-so think if I sent him a vanman?" And after awhile the boy turned away, the bright look on his face quenched.

This is not the American way; we want to preserve the versatility of our people. The American workman has, or should have, several strings to his bow. In so far as it is the tendency of trade unionism to clamp the worker into one compartment of activity and hold him there, it goes counter to the American pattern. Most of our laws state that the worker receiving unemployment benefit shall be required to accept "suitable occupation"; this should be broadly interpreted as far as range of jobs is concerned. By taking work outside the exact channel of his previous experience, the worker's skills are increased, his experience broadened, and his risk of future unemployment lessened.

Again, I hope that we shall not accept at face value the British dictum that work relief is an outworn and discredited method of dealing with unemployment. One of their own economists has recently made a strong plea for planned public works during depressions, to be financed by government borrowing instead of taxation, as being the soundest method to inflate price levels and stimulate recovery.²

And, most important of all to the development of sound public welfare in America, I hope we shall not so badly confuse insurance with relief as the British did over a period of more than a decade.

What would be an integrated system of care for the unemployed in America? Let us keep our feet on the ground and set down only what might really come to pass. First, of course, would be a combination of health insurance with liberalized system of unemployment insurance. These should be com-

² R. F. Harrod, *The Trade Cycle* (Oxford, 1936), chap. iv, "Public Works and Public Finance."

petently administered, not as social services, but with the help of social workers, where their particular skills could be useful. Trained employment personnel, selected and protected by the merit system, will be demanded for the administration of unemployment insurance. It will be set up and financed so that income and outgo will balance over a period of years.

The second line of defense for the able-bodied unemployed should be a work program, to absorb as many as possible for a second limited period after right to cash benefit is exhausted. Such a program should be headed up in a federal department of public works, which should have funds to distribute on a grants-in-aid basis to states and through them to localities. Administration should be on the state-local basis, but should be in the hands of a permanent staff protected by civil service. Workers should be assigned through the public employment bureau which had up to that point been administering the worker's unemployment benefit. It cannot be too emphatically urged that this second line of defense should be simply a prolongation of unemployment insurance for those who, within the limited period covered by their cash benefits, had been unable to find regular work.

Jobs in this "supplemental public service" should be diversified so that unemployed persons could be assigned to assist in any department of government—federal, state, or local—for which they had skill and experience. For ordinary labor, the customary public construction works would continue; but clerical, legal, medical, educational, engineering, and other scientific work should also be made available, in connection with regular public agencies, as the needs of the unemployed might dictate. Since under our ideal system all regular employees of government departments would be protected in their civil service status, none of them could be displaced on account of these new assignments, and extra work of real usefulness, which had been held in reserve for some such contingency, would be given them. Undoubtedly this would mean some reduction in the volume of needed public service to be done by regular gov-

ernment employees. A realistic view of the past seven years compels the admission that it is impossible to administer work relief on a wide front without in some degree occupying areas previously pre-empted by "regular" jobs under government or even under private industry. It would be desirable, in setting up such a program, to face these facts, and deliberately to set aside certain jobs as those which should be routinely operated as part of the revolving supplemental public service, and no longer looked upon as jobs which could be permanently filled by one individual.

The wages for this work should be maintained at or slightly above whatever figure was last being received as unemployment benefit, and the hours adjusted to make the wage rate approximate that current for the particular job.

Workers in this supplemental public service would be in a position analogous to those formerly receiving the British "transitional benefit," except that they would work in return for what they received. No questions would be raised as to any of their needs except the need to be employed. Their placement in regular jobs as speedily as possible would be a special responsibility of the public employment bureau. Failure to obtain regular work within a limited time—say six months—would, however, terminate their assignment to the supplemental public service. The governmental agency employing them would also have the right of discharge for unsatisfactory performance at any time after the first four weeks of employment. Refusal to accept a suitable regular job should also terminate their assignment.

There would remain four classes of unemployed persons for whom further provision would need to be made.

1. Those who had been excluded from the insurance system altogether, or who, although insured, had in some way forfeited their legal claim to benefit.
2. Those whom, by reason of lack of skills or depletion of the work fund, the employment exchange had been unable to place in the supplemental public service.

3. Those who had been discharged from the supplemental work service for unsatisfactory performance, or for refusal to accept suitable private employment.

4. Those whose period of assignment to the supplemental public service had expired.

In so far as these persons remained unemployed and signified that they were in need, they should be encouraged to apply to the third line of defense, which should be that nation-wide, federally supervised and federally subsidized system of public welfare for which we have been clamoring for so many years.

The national public welfare setup should be equipped with the means to treat persistent unemployment through the provision of work and opportunities for training. In fact, I am of opinion that vocational training, retraining, and resettlement are all more closely connected with social work than with education, industry, or agriculture; and that while such a program must needs be co-operative, its management should head up in the federal department of public welfare.

Relief agencies should have nothing at all to do with managing public works, or the supplemental public service sketched above, or even with the task of assignment to them. Such work programs as are managed in connection with public welfare should have the aim of increasing working capacity, giving vocational training to the young, or simply providing the opportunity to participate in useful work. The distinguishing feature of public assistance enterprises should be that no wages are paid, relief on a budgetary basis being given instead, if relief is needed. To obviate the possibility of forced labor, participation by relief clients should be entirely voluntary, although when they agree to participate they should place themselves under such rules and regulations and put in such regular hours as may be required.

It would then become the task of the social workers in these departments to stimulate their clients to avail themselves of the opportunities provided, not as a return for the relief they were receiving, but as a chance to obtain or maintain skill, partici-

pate in a common activity, and put themselves in position to return more readily to "regular" jobs. The basic relief grant should be the same whether the client elected to work or did not so elect.

Other inducements, however, might be provided. Gardening, sewing-rooms, and various small factory projects, would make up the bulk of the program. The goods produced should not, of course, compete through sale with those of private industry. They should, rather, be handled as surplus commodities, and given in addition to the basic relief grant to those participating in the work program as well as to those whose physical or social condition would make it unreasonable to expect them to do so. Denial of surplus grants to those who, though able, refuse to participate would be the only disciplinary measure applied by the public agency; but the force of public opinion developed among the clients themselves could be expected to be a much more potent force in bringing pressure to bear on those who refuse to participate. A close liaison ought to be maintained between the public welfare and the public employment agencies, with frequent and regular conferences and reports on the progress of "borderline" cases.

Single welfare departments, or combinations of them within a single state, might thus develop a system of farm colonies for aged and homeless, trade schools for the young, day centers for the able-bodied unemployed, sheltered workshops for the handicapped, and producer-consumer co-operatives for the superannuated and "technologically" unemployed. The aim should be to give these people the chance to work, not for wages but for their own satisfaction and improvement, plus the consciousness of producing useful goods for their own and their neighbors' needs; and meanwhile to lose no opportunity to return them equipped to take their place as self-supporting units in the nation's industrial framework.

HEALTH INSURANCE IN A NATIONAL HEALTH PROGRAM

(PUGSLEY AWARD)

*John A. Kingsbury, Associate Fellow
New York Academy of Medicine
Yonkers, New York*

I

THERE is no greater need today, in promoting the welfare of our nation, than a comprehensive national health program. Within the framework of our economic system and under existing conditions of social insecurity, compulsory health insurance must have an important place in any such program.

The Social Security Act of 1935 provided for the development of more adequate federal, state, and local public health services than we have hitherto possessed. In the year and a half which have elapsed encouraging progress has been made, especially through appropriations made under Titles V and VI of the Act.¹ Such preventive services as the public health and the public welfare authorities can furnish to communities as a whole have been greatly strengthened, and more may be expected in the years next ahead; but no provision was made to enable self-supporting families of small and moderate incomes to budget against the loss of wages suffered on account of disabling illness among wage-earners and salaried workers, and no provision was made to give people protection against the costs of medical care. If, while that important act was before Congress, the social workers

¹ Title V authorizes appropriations for grants to states for maternal and child health studies, services for crippled children, child welfare services, and for vocational rehabilitation; Title VI authorizes appropriations for grants to states for public health services and for investigations by the Public Health Service.

of America had been organized to serve their cause with half the zeal with which the American Medical Association served its vested interest in sickness, wage-earners and others of small means would not have been left unprotected against the serious economic consequences of illness. A small, selfish group so contrived that America's program for social security was brought into being without health insurance. Accordingly, our system of social security lacks completely that unit which long experience abroad has shown is the first essential in social insurance. We are still without protection in this country against the costs of sickness, despite the fact that in ordinary times sickness is the principal cause of poverty and dependency.

A comprehensive national health program should be designed not only to protect all the people from contagious disease, to promote their health and vitality, to give special protection to mothers and children, but also to furnish protection against wage loss and to make good medical service available to all the people. Our health services have grown up without plan or design. It is time that this was reduced to order and the glaring deficiencies were made good.

There are five broad elements in a national health program: (1) public health; (2) protection for maternity, infancy, and childhood; (3) public medical services; (4) medical-care insurance; (5) disability and invalidity insurance.

No one of these is a substitute for any other. If we would have real protection of the nation's health, if we are to see the mass of our people safeguarded against sickness, we must have all five.

The five elements are not sharply separable, one from the other. Each overlaps one or more of the others in scope, in content, and in administrative method. I will not undertake to elaborate the details of a comprehensive health program, but I will briefly characterize each of the main elements:

1. A strong, co-ordinated public health program—co-ordinated among the federal, state, and local agencies. The Surgeon General of the Public Health Service is our recognized leader in this cause. He has mapped out his campaign and the nation is following him enthusiastically.

2. A comparable public service for maternity, infancy, and childhood. The Children's Bureau, under the leadership of Miss Lenroot, has the vision and the courage to fight this cause. We are giving her our earnest support.

3. A tax-supported development of those medical services which only government can furnish. This means principally state action, aided financially and technically by the federal government. It deals with mental disease, tuberculosis, care of the handicapped, provision of specialized and expensive medical centers, etc.

4. Medical-care insurance, state-wide in scope, with federal financial and technical aid, and broad enough to guarantee comprehensive service of high quality to people of small and modest means and—through contributions made on their behalf from tax funds—to cover people without income.

5. Compensation for wage loss from temporary and permanent disability. The machinery of the federal-state system of unemployment compensation and of the federal system of old age benefits can deal with this program.

There are other elements to be considered in a national health program. The special health aspects of education and nutrition, the provision of decent and healthful housing, the means for vocational rehabilitation of the handicapped, the care of the halt, the lame, and the blind—these and many others all have appropriate places within the broad framework outlined in the five categories which I have enumerated.

No sensible group in our national life would object to four of my five cardinal points. A particular group objects to the fourth—medical-care insurance. They have fought every move to modernize our health program. Latterly, these persons have attempted to hide their real purpose by pretending to take a positive instead of a negative and obstructive position. They are now shouting for public health and for medical care of the indigent. But this, if I may be permitted to mix my metaphors, is only a red herring. They now say they want a public health program—because they know that an aroused public has already decided we shall have it; they say they want a system of medical care for the indigent—because they are asking for their system and they know there is little likelihood of getting it. What they really want is to divert public attention from the greatest need of all—a social insurance system which will give medical care to all who need it.

II

I do not propose at this time to present in detail any particular plan of health insurance. I laid such a plan before this Conference at its Kansas City meeting in 1934, and my proposals may be found in the *Proceedings* for that year. I do not advocate any hard-and-fast plan. Nor do I favor compulsory health insurance as an alternative to public medicine or as an alternative to an extension of federal, state, and local public health facilities. We now have public medicine, notably in the care of the insane, the mental defectives, and the tuberculous. It is not a question of whether we shall have public medicine, but whether we shall have more of it—and I favor more of it. Public medicine is meeting a great need, and, in the main, it is efficiently administered.

I am in hearty accord with the plan for extension of public health facilities favored by the Surgeon General, by most of the leading state and local health authorities, and by many voluntary health agencies. Of course, we need more and better-equipped health centers; more clinics for specific preventive functions; more centers for the diagnosis and treatment of tuberculosis and of the venereal diseases; and more maternity centers and baby and child welfare stations.

We are making progress both in the direction of public medicine and public health service. But our progress is too slow. We are reaching hundreds of thousands through these facilities and by voluntary health and hospital insurance, group medicine, and contact practice; but we must meet the needs of tens of millions of our fellow-citizens. While we are cogitating wisely, while we are debating cleverly, while we are splitting hairs, tens of thousands are dying from preventable causes and millions are suffering from remediable sickness. I am convinced that we can meet the needs which confront us, and do this within the near future, only through a comprehensive national health program which includes compulsory health insurance, supervised and subsidized by the federal government.

A national health plan should be flexible enough to permit the several states to decide whether their local conditions require greater or lesser emphasis on public medicine, on the extension of public health facilities, or on compulsory health insurance. But federal aid—financial and technical—should be available to the states equally for all three procedures. Within broad limitations laid down in federal statute, the choice of each procedure and the extent to which it is applied should depend upon conditions in each state and should fall within the sphere of state action.

III

We now spend in any normal year nearly four billion dollars (or thirty dollars per person) for health and medical services; and this is nearly enough to buy adequate medical care for everyone. The basic problem is not to find more money than is now spent for these services, but to find new and better ways of directing customary expenditures into more productive channels and of reducing the burdens caused by unequal costs. It seems to me obvious that we are not going to obtain, in the near future, any considerable portion of this four-billion-dollar sum from tax funds.

Before the Social Security Act was adopted, the Public Health Service had from time to time received appropriations of only negligible sums for subsidies to state and local health services. The Act authorized annual appropriations of \$8,000,000 for allotments to states. I understand that there are now pending before Congress requests for similar purposes amounting to approximately \$60,000,000. It would be optimistic to assume that one-half or even one-third of this sum will be appropriated this year. Furthermore, it would be absurdly optimistic to assume that within the next five or ten years Congress would add to the funds available to the Public Health Service so much as \$500,000,000 or \$200,000,000 or even \$100,000,000. Yet almost \$4,000,000,000 are required to bring adequate medical care to all the people. Expand the tax-supported public health program as we will, the complete answer to a great national need

is not to be found along this road. Something more than taxation must be invoked to meet this need.

It is my judgment that the most promising and productive channel into which we can direct customary expenditures for health and medical services is a nationally subsidized system of contributory, compulsory health insurance. The combination of public health tax funds, public medical service tax funds, and health insurance contributions is the only answer to America's need for health security. Add provision for contributory insurance to give workers protection against disabling sickness and invalidity, and the broad framework will be fashioned to furnish substantial security against sickness and its dreaded consequences.

IV

It seems to me there can hardly be disagreement, at least among social workers, as to the need for a comprehensive national health program. Nor should there be disagreement among others not blind to the facts so convincingly presented in the scientific studies which have made their appearance within the past decade. Surely everyone, even the most politically minded member of organized medicine, who has read these studies must be aware that the time is ripe for a change from the present chaotic system of medical organization to an integrated health program for the nation.

"Here is one-third of a nation ill-nourished, ill-clad, ill-housed—now," said the President of the United States in a recent address. Social workers of the nation know this is not an overstatement of the deplorable condition in which over forty million of our fellow-citizens find themselves today.

In that striking speech of his at the "Victory Dinner," the President, pleading for a higher standard of life for the American people, must have had in mind that the principal cause of the poverty he uncovered is due to sickness and ill-health which he himself has referred to as one of the major hazards and vicissitudes of life. Surely this must have been in the President's mind. And surely, in order to guard against this largely

preventable cause of undernourishment, inadequate clothing, and bad housing, he will take appropriate steps to secure a suitable amendment to the Social Security Act as soon as the time is propitious to move forward in carrying out the mandate the people gave him last November.

One may find reassurance in the President's message of January 17, 1935, transmitting to Congress the report of his Committee on Economic Security. He said, "I am not at this time recommending the adoption of so-called health insurance, although groups representing the medical profession are co-operating with the federal government in the further study of the subject and definite progress is being made." These words were reassuring, but I think the President will pardon some of us for becoming impatient for action now.

In that report, the Committee on Economic Security said: "As a first measure for meeting the very serious problem of sickness in families with low income we recommend a nation-wide preventive public-health program," to be "financed by state and local governments and administered by state and local health departments, the federal government to contribute financial and technical aid." The Committee then went on to say "The second major step we believe to be the application of the principles of insurance to this problem." The Committee informed the President that it had enlisted the co-operation of advisory groups representing the medical and dental professions and hospitals management in developing "a plan for health insurance which," it said, "will be beneficial alike to the public and the professions concerned." These advisory groups had, the Committee stated, requested an extension of time "for the further consideration of these tentative proposals, and such an extension has been granted to March 1, 1935." The President was further informed that the Committee has effected arrangements for a close co-operative study between its technical staff and the technical experts of the American Medical Association. Are we being inconsiderately hasty if we now call for action on health insurance?

V

It is very significant that when the President's Committee on Economic Security set up its professional advisory committees this was the first time in the history of social insurance that the professions concerned with health insurance were brought in at the beginning by the government to help formulate an official program. In Germany, more than half a century ago, health insurance was virtually established by the edict of Bismarck as a measure not only of economic, but also of political, security. In Great Britain, a quarter of a century ago, hardly consulting the medical profession, Lloyd George put the National Health Insurance Act through Parliament while the doctors remained aloof or in opposition until the eleventh hour. Today it is very difficult to find a physician in Great Britain who is not making at least a decent living or one who would consider for a moment abandoning health insurance, the *Journal of the American Medical Association* and other American medical journals to the contrary notwithstanding. Indeed, the British Medical Association and the local panel committees of doctors all over Great Britain have gone on record over and over again for extension of the benefits of National Health Insurance to embrace not only the workingman but all members of his family as well, and also to extend the medical benefits to include hospitalization and the services of various specialists.

Listen to the following quotations from a statement by Dr. G. C. Anderson, Medical Secretary of the British Medical Association:²

Soon or late, I predict, every modern civilized community must acknowledge its duty to make provision for the health of its members if they cannot secure it for themselves. In America and elsewhere, there are large numbers who suffer from this disability.

I think that, after twenty-two years, we may be said to have passed the experimental stage in Great Britain and are able to evaluate the merits and defects of our health insurance plan. That it has some defects may be freely admitted, but they are emphatically not those which the American Medical Association has thrust into the foreground.

² *Detroit News*, September 29, 1934.

Chiefly, the American Medical Association and its members who oppose national health insurance allege that it has proved to be a failure and detrimental to the interests of both profession and public. It is said that the so-called "panel system" has tended to stifle initiative and reduce all professional service to the same level of mediocrity.

Nothing could be farther from the truth. . . . As a matter of fact most of our physicians are eager for panel service. . . . Without such steady income many would have found it difficult to earn a living by the exercise of their profession alone.

Continuing, Dr. Anderson says:

From the viewpoint of the public, the insurance act has been equally successful and any attempt to represent it as being otherwise proceeds from a misapprehension of the facts. . . . The benefits of the scheme are evident to the public and the public pays its share cheerfully.

I have already remarked that, in the formulation of a national health insurance plan, the United States is the only country where the professions were let in on the ground floor. Here they were invited and urged to participate in the formulation of the plans. The President's Committee on Economic Security delayed its final report—until now it is long overdue—to give the doctors, the dentists, the hospital administrators, the nurses, and the public health authorities not only every opportunity to be heard but every facility for criticism and suggestion concerning the program under consideration. How did they utilize their opportunity? The dentists helped; the hospital people helped; the nurses helped; and the public health people helped. Each gave intelligent and critical advice and counsel. But the doctors "co-operated" with the President's Committee with a technique which has its own unique effrontery. While certain of their leaders and officers were in the full confidence of the official studies which were still in progress, and while the President's Committee and its staff were still deliberating, the American Medical Association held a special session of its Houses of Delegates—the first since the World War—and passed resolutions condemning compulsory health insurance and important health and welfare sections of the then pending Social Security Bill! There were members of the Medical

Advisory Board, be it said to their credit, who were independent of this action and were not party to this political trickery.

Like certain other big business organizations, still endeavoring to defeat other aspects of the New Deal program, the American Medical Association is exerting all its power to prevent compulsory health insurance from taking its proper place in the Social Security Act. So-called "organized medicine" is using every device known to pressure groups and politicians to prejudice the country against a comprehensive national health program, and particularly against compulsory health insurance. The American Medical Association and its satellite societies have printed in their medical journals false and misleading statements concerning the operation of health insurance in England and other European countries. And this campaign of misinformation still continues. They have passed resolutions based strictly on selfishness and their vested interests. Like ordinary lobby groups, while the Social Security Bill was pending, they saw to it that thousands of telegrams were sent to the President and to the Congress, seeking to exert pressure without reference to the merits of the proposals under consideration; they used personal influence on those in high places; they spent tens of thousands of dollars in publicity campaigns of misinformation; they spread false rumors and resorted to scurvy attacks on individuals. They even pulled the purse strings of reputable research agencies in an effort to curb the freedom of speech of their opponents on the staffs of such organizations.

VI

One has wondered how long the real leaders of the medical profession, and the rank and file of the various auxiliary professions—dentists, nurses, hospitals, and others—will permit the medical politicians, who too often control medical societies and the editorial columns of the journals, to continue to obstruct progress and to delay and forestall sound legislation. A ray of hope has just begun to shine over the horizon of organized medicine, shining from a massive report recently issued by the American Foundation, entitled *American Medicine: Expert*

Testimony Out of Court. Most strikingly it presents the doctor's dilemma in the testimony of 2,200 representative leaders in every branch of American medicine from every state in the Union, most of them in practice over twenty years.

The concensus of opinion of the American men of medicine who are credited with the authorship of these volumes is clearly that the doctor "is no longer concerned exclusively with the care of the sick, but also with a guardianship of the health of the nominally well"; that "the present costs of medical care are tragically out of reach of a large part of the population"—that the State has a stake in the health of its people. This is progress, and much of it is quite obviously contrary to the official views of the American Medical Association. Keep in mind that the authors of this report, with apparently few exceptions, are members in good standing of the Association.

The *New York Times*, commenting editorially on this report of the American Foundation, says:

Not social workers despised by the American Medical Association but doctors themselves, a veritable "Who's Who in Medicine," wrote the Foundation's report. . . . It is now doubtful if the entrenched officers of the Association truly speak for organized medicine. The 2,200 representative physicians demand far-reaching, socially-conceived reforms in medical education and practice because "the best is not yet good enough." But the Association through its journal advocates a policy of letting medicine evolve naturally (while millions lie ill without adequate care or die because it costs too much to have a doctor) and regards the practice of medicine as a vested interest akin to that of a plumbers' union in the installation of bathtubs or kitchen fixtures. On many a page the Foundation's report refutes a Bourbonism which holds that all's well with the general practitioner, that medical care is adequate on the whole. . . . If, as the Foundation makes it clear, the practice of medicine needs continual revision in the light of new community needs it is evident that social and economic changes cannot be ignored. Yet the American Medical Association would have us believe that the old *laissez faire* evolution is good enough today because it was supposedly good enough yesterday.

The report of the American Foundation was eminently worthwhile if for no other reason than to elicit from one of America's leading newspapers this editorial comment.

It now remains to be seen whether these medical leaders, members in good standing of the American Medical Association,

will take an aggressive position in the ranks of organized medicine, or whether they will continue to permit themselves to be represented (and misrepresented) by officers and editors who obviously do not speak for them and who are today the chief, if not the only, real obstacle in the way of realization of a comprehensive national health program.

It remains also to be seen whether the social workers of America will continue to be intimidated and to remain almost inactive in the face of selfish opposition to a measure which promises as much as any other single proposal now before the country to deal with an underlying cause of poverty and dependency. How can social workers expect the President and the Congress to act on a controversial issue, in the face of such vociferous and politically powerful opposition to health insurance, if there is no organized expression of public opinion in favor of it?

I venture to say that, in this great fight of 1935 and 1936 for one of the principal measures of social security, the social workers of America were asleep at the switch. They fell down on their job. This was partly because they were not organized for a conflict with such powerful and unscrupulous opposition, but also partly because such organizations as the American Association for Labor Legislation and the American Association for Social Security were too busy with other aspects of the social-security program. Furthermore, it was because the organization which had been the spearhead of the movement to include health insurance in the Social Security Act was blackjacked and was unable to offset the mischievous misrepresentations of the clique which controls the machinery of organized medicine. Even the American Federation of Labor, whose members had so much to gain from sound measures of social insurance, were too much absorbed in the problems of unemployment and old age. However, the Federation is to be congratulated upon the resolution adopted at its annual meeting in November, 1936, indorsing health insurance and disability compensation and calling for a federal commission to further advise on sound legislative measures.

VII

One of the greatest needs of the nation today is a comprehensive national health program. There is today no long-range plan before the social workers of America more important than concerted action for a health program. They know better than any other group the devastating effects of illness and the inability of the people of low income to budget against sickness except as large groups. The social workers must line up against the entrenched officers of organized medicine; they must align themselves beside the leaders of organized labor and beside the real leaders of the medical professions. Together with these groups, the social workers of America can bring to pass a real national health program. They can bring into being a program broad enough in its scope to enable the industrial states and areas to protect themselves through compulsory insurance, and the rural and the sparsely populated states and areas to protect themselves through public medicine. They can bring into being a program to authorize the federal government, which must subsidize any comprehensive plan, to set up standards and to provide effective leadership and guidance.

Let us put our shoulders to the wheel. We can have, as we should have, a comprehensive health program to meet a crying need of the people. It can be sufficiently flexible to meet the different needs of the several states: public health services for all, adapted through different techniques to urban and rural needs; public medical services where these are most appropriate; medical-care contributory insurance for the wage-earners and salaried workers, and, for those who cannot themselves pay contributions, public provision of contributions instead of humiliating hand-out medicine; contributory insurance against temporary or permanent loss of earnings from disabling illness; and federal aid and guidance over all.

Marching behind the banners of such a program, the social workers of America can sound a clarion call for action in a cause worthy of their highest traditions.

PUBLIC FUNDS IN PUBLIC HANDS?

*Kenneth L. M. Pray, Secretary, Pennsylvania
Committee on Public Assistance and Relief
Philadelphia*

ONE of the most significant evidences of a really new day in social work in America is the fact that social workers are finding it necessary to turn their serious attention to the somewhat prosy and disagreeable problems of public finance. Governmental budgets and the administrative programs they express have suddenly become, in some respects, the most dependable indices of the dominant trends of social policy.

While it is probably true that as social workers we cannot expect, in our own right and by reason of our special training and experience, to play a decisive role in determining the general fiscal policies of government, we do increasingly recognize an obligation to be aware of the problems that arise in the formulation of those policies, and to avoid, at least, the role of glib and clamorous claimants of governmental bounty or proponents of governmental action, without being willing to accept any share of responsibility for the difficult fiscal planning which these propositions entail. An increasing army of social workers, those who are directly engaged in public welfare administration, cannot evade this responsibility. The rest of us must not, for the destiny, immediate or ultimate, of all social work, public and private, and of the social policies and viewpoints it embraces, is often necessarily at stake in these decisions.

The special topic of this discussion raises only one issue of public fiscal policy in relation to social work, but that issue goes to the heart of one of the most pressing of all present problems in the social-work field. It is the relation of public to pri-

vate enterprise. Neither in its functional nor in its financial aspects is this problem new to us, nor is it confined to our particular field of interest and activity. One of my earliest recollections of the National Conference is of a report upon public subsidies to private charities submitted by a distinguished committee under the chairmanship of Dr. Frank Fetter of Princeton University. For fifteen years afterward that subject commanded frequent attention upon Conference programs.

Recent developments and others in prospect have revived and intensified some of the problems then viewed with more or less academic alarm. Private agencies, faced with unparalleled expansion of public social services, are challenged as never before to justify their existence and are pressed and harassed in their efforts to find means to sustain their activities. Public authorities, unhappily struggling with unbalanced budgets and increased taxation, are tempted to view with no little hope any potential revival of voluntary philanthropic responsibility for the intensive cultivation of large areas of recent public welfare service, and these authorities are by no means impervious to the suggestion that public financial encouragement of going private concerns is a more economical and satisfactory program than the creation and maintenance of huge public organizations. In more than one state legislature proposals to restore complete local autonomy and responsibility for vast systems of public assistance are linked with the confident assurance that the use by these local public authorities of privately managed agencies will at once relieve the present burden upon the public treasury.

In my own state, long conspicuous among the forty-eight for its consistent adherence to the lump-sum subsidy plan of meeting certain of its public welfare responsibilities, notably in the field of medical and hospital service and in the care of dependent children, renewed pressure for the expansion of this program, to meet some of the aftermaths of the depression, is clearly in evidence. At the same moment, the struggle to find adequate funds for the full maintenance of services for which the state has definitely accepted primary responsibility and which

the state alone can satisfactorily discharge is by no means assured of successful outcome.

The time has come, then, it seems to me, to face again, candidly and courageously, these ancient problems of public policy and to discover, if we can, a logical and consistent basis for a sound future program in this area of public-private financial relationships.

There are three principles of sound public administrative policy that seem to me to point the way to a sensible answer to the question posed in our topic:

First, the fundamental concept that public services supported by public funds must be equally accessible and available to all those in equal need of the service. Public funds, gathered by taxation, direct or indirect, of all alike who are subject to the law, cannot properly be applied to the service of some but not all who are in the same circumstances. Anything short of this universal and equal coverage, within the terms of a given service, necessarily opens the way to unjust discrimination and invites an intolerable abuse both of the taxing power and of administrative authority. Arbitrary distribution of public benefits, either by legislation or administration, and arbitrary selection of beneficiaries, in the absence of objective criteria by which needs and rights can be measured, are essentially and necessarily unsound. We have seen enough of horse trading and logrolling tactics; we need more of scientific analysis and appraisal of the really decisive factors governing the need for public expenditures, and the acceptance and application of honest objective formulas of distribution, related to these measurable requirements.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the only way in which this universal coverage and equal accessibility of public services can be assured is by the creation and maintenance of public agencies for the expenditure of public funds. Private agencies do not grow up in exact proportion to their fundamental value in community life. They spring from leadership that extends larger or smaller areas according to the strength and

breadth and depth of that leadership. The only leadership that extends to every corner of every community is the leadership of public authority. If a service is necessary for the well-being of the whole community, then the whole community must guarantee it and sustain it, and must provide the mechanisms that extend it throughout the whole community. A mental picture of the inevitable inadequacy of a system of compulsory, universal education which remained dependent upon public aid of private educational enterprise is all that is required to disclose the inherent defects of such a plan applied to any essential public service.

The second principle of sound public administrative policy in this field, it seems to me, is the principle that it is necessary to have a policy as to the nature and extent of the social needs to be met from public funds—a policy based upon reasonable foresight, purposeful planning, and honest budgeting. Much of the confusion that surrounds this problem of determining the distribution of public funds grows out of the fact that public expenditures in this field are the result of accident and drift rather than purpose and plan. A certain amount of experimentation and ice-breaking in the field of social action is necessary and desirable, and public authorities are not to be greatly blamed for making a start in a variety of directions, under the pressure of particularly articulate and earnest groups, or in response to a vigorous, though often sporadic, public sentiment. But when a quarter to a half of all public expenditures are devoted to public welfare enterprise, a prudent regard for the public interest requires that the relative values of different forms of public benefits shall be weighed, and that a program based upon informed judgment and deliberate choice shall underlie all public effort in this direction.

If the principle of universality and equality is to prevail in the administration of services and funds that are public in character, it is obvious that the selection of the particular services that are to have this public character must be made not at random, but with reference to specific factors of expediency,

logically analyzed and appraised. The federal Social Security Act of 1935, with which most of the states are now concerned through financial and administrative co-operation, is an example of such deliberate determination of policy. From among all the wide variety of circumstances conceivably requiring aid, certain ones were chosen as within the present area of national policy. Federal appropriations were limited to these areas. Similar state policies and local policies are indispensable elements of a truly logical program directed to the thoughtful promotion of the general interest through public welfare action.

There can be nothing final, of course, in such an honest and deliberate policy. It will change and grow under the pressure of events and the tests of experience. It will be modified from time to time by lowly considerations of political expediency, by transient currents of public opinion and feeling, rational and irrational, and by the conflicting claims and shifting weights of varied community interests. But at a given time and place it will express the considered judgment of those then responsible for the protection of the public interests. It will impose definable obligations for whose discharge responsible authorities can be held to account. It will not be a patchwork of little aims and scattered efforts, but a consistent plan of action, with prescribed ends and appropriate means for their attainment.

Again, it is obvious that such a logical and consistent plan of public expenditures is impossible upon any other assumption than that of coherent, direct public administrative as well as financial responsibility. There is no other way in which the specific limits of public obligations, as defined in public policy, can be observed. In no other way can the importunities of particular groups and sections and organizations be prevented from diverting the public resources from judiciously chosen channels into byways and eddies, where their central purpose is overlooked or obstructed.

The third principle of public administration which clearly applies to the problem in hand is that which commands the direct and specific accountability of public officers for the execu-

tion of public policies and the administration of public funds. This is not merely in the negative interest of avoiding corruption. It is rather, or chiefly, the positive basis of all progress through political action in a democratic system. Division or evasion of responsibility, which prevents informed public judgment of governmental policy, and which therefore frustrates democratic control of governmental action, is subversive of democracy. Only by strict accountability of public officers for administrative action can intelligent social purpose be clarified and brought to ultimate realization by the power of a democratic electorate.

Again, I submit that no such direct accountability can be established and enforced if public funds are not administered by public agencies.

I am willing to concede that there are times and places where contractual relations can properly be sent up between the public authority and a privately organized and managed body, whereby, under definitely agreed conditions, subject to definitely prescribed public policies and standards, special services may be purchased for the public benefit. Under such carefully safeguarded conditions, open to the public view and applicable to all who can meet the terms imposed, the three principles we have enumerated can still be followed. Reasonable equality and universality of public service, as well as thoughtful planning of public welfare action, can still be maintained, provided these contracts supply, within particular areas, services made available through other public funds to other parts of the public. Direct accountability of public officers can still be maintained, provided the terms of the contracts are available for discussion and the public authorities accept direct responsibility for the results.

Two conditions are essential for the effectiveness or the propriety of any such arrangement. Every proposal for supplementation of public service by the use of private agencies, and every proposal for the substitution of private administration for public, must be scrutinized with exceeding care lest it be

accepted, not as a means of discharging a proper public responsibility, but rather as a way of evading a part of such responsibility, or of using public funds not for the equal service of all but for the special service of a few. Furthermore, the provision of strict and continuous central supervision of these services rendered under private contract is even more important, if that can be possible, than the competent central supervision of direct local public administration.

Rarely, may I add, are these two conditions fulfilled. The exigencies of politics, the power of special interests, the inertia of public opinion, all conspire against the effective exercise of public authority in relation to organized private enterprise. The individualism and the provincialism that have characterized much of the growth of American democracy put further obstructions in the path of responsible public authority at these points. It is only the most vigorous and fearless public administrator who can be trusted to meet these issues firmly, and to fulfil the conditions that alone justify the private administration of any public funds.

Apart from these considerations, which from the standpoint of public policy command the administration of public funds through public instrumentalities, equally weighty concerns, from the standpoint of the private agency, justify the same conclusion. None of the arguments we have recited cast the slightest doubt upon the distinctive and important contributions of the private social agency to the well-being of the community. But it is, for that very reason, essential that the conditions under which private social work operates shall be such as to protect and promote those values in the highest possible degree.

It is the genius of America to refresh our common purpose from the constantly replenished reservoir of individual interest and energy inherent in the broad membership of a democratic society. No thoughtful person would sacrifice that fine dynamic force which finds outlet in voluntary philanthropic and civic enterprise upon the altar of finespun political theory. But it is

precisely the spontaneity and individuality that distinguish earnest private effort which are threatened by a foggy dependence of private activity upon public bounty. These qualities tend to give way to a spirit of caution or of complacency, when the aims and methods of voluntary effort must be subjected to the final judgment of a majority public opinion. Private organizations yield to the bonds of limitation and standardization when they are subjected to those specific definitions of policy which must govern public action rather than to the free initiative and control of a few earnest and convinced sponsors.

The need for experimentation in specific measures of social amelioration was never greater than now. And the available means, ready to be devoted to such constructive purposes, were never greater. It is at those points where there is confusion between the objectives of private agencies and those of government, where the scrambling of public and private funds without clear definition of policy or differentiation of function has made supplementation appear like duplication, that community support of private social effort has most seriously lagged or dwindled.

The problems that confront this nation in the protection of the public health, the promotion of the economic independence, and the achievement of the social security of the hundred million people who compose it are sufficient to challenge the full powers of organized political institutions at every level, federal, state and local, as well as all the vital initiative and imagination of these hundred millions, acting as individuals and in their multitude of voluntary co-operative relationships. The earlier we can organize our affairs to facilitate the fullest and freest exercise by our citizens of all their powers, in every sphere of action, public and private, according to the natural conditions and limitations that govern effective action at each level, the earlier shall we approach the mastery of the social problems that beset us.

CO-OPERATION OR OBSTRUCTION IN DETERMINING FIELDS OF ACTIVITY

*H. Ida Curry, Assistant Secretary, State Charities
Aid Association, New York City*

I AM assuming that the "fields of activity" which we are to discuss are limited to those fields which relate to the administration of care to needy persons by public and private agencies. Only as I endeavored to break the subject up into component parts did I begin to realize that in spite of its complexity certain principles were pretty widely applicable.

No one, I think, would question the principle that the community, through its governmental agencies, has a direct responsibility to administer certain types of care to persons who are in distress. A second principle which would meet with all but universal approval is that it is the function of government to protect the recipients of relief by devising some system whereby satisfactory standards of care can be assured to the beneficiaries. A third principle which is scarcely debatable is that both public and private charitable agencies are desirable, but should be so co-ordinated that they will not in any sense become rivals.

There is no possibility of arriving at a clear-cut yes or no answer to the general problem of what the public-private relationships should be, nor can we be dogmatic in answering any one of the innumerable questions which might be raised.

Before considering a specific program for any state or any single locality, and the part various agencies are to play in it, it certainly would be wise to ascertain what public and what private agencies already exist, the present limitations of their services, the quality of their work, the stability of their direction and of their financial backing, their capacity to undertake

new or enlarged programs, and many other things. In fact, a complete understanding of the particular community to be served, its resources, and its needs would be essential as the basis of any co-operative consideration of the position of each agency in relation to an inclusive welfare program.

It does not appear that our philosophies in regard to what welfare services government should or should not undertake have as yet entirely crystallized. Child care is the branch of social work which I have followed most closely, and in that field more than in any other, perhaps, pronouncements as to the relation of public and private effort have been put forward from time to time, some of which have come to be pretty generally accepted.

What are some of the factors which will determine whether co-operation, or obstruction is to be the watchword in this period of developing programs? We are seeing various types of social work undertaken under public auspices at an amazingly rapid rate, and in some instances entering fields which heretofore may have been considered areas of private operation. What shall we do about it?

In the first place, I would say we should base our thinking on an inclusive welfare program—inclusive both as to its content and its ability to reach all who require the various services—and equally on a recognition that, even with complete co-ordination and a 100 per cent efficient administration of all the public and all the private welfare services which now are available, the whole field will not be covered. The problem, then, becomes one of possible readjustment of functions, rather than of the elimination of agencies.

Second, we should be more analytical in evaluating, in the light of the here and now, the services of our existing organizations, as to their present functions, their personnel, the extent to which they do or do not completely cover the particular fields engaging their various interests, with emphasis on the question of where each one fits into a picture of the total need of the communities in which they operate.

In the third place, those who guide the destinies of social agencies, be they public or private, must be open-minded—and there probably is nothing more difficult to maintain during a period of stress than open-mindedness. We must stand ready to accept—or to advocate—modifications of programs if they have become desirable. We must be willing to work out our individual programs jointly, avoiding any attempt to arbitrarily superimpose our opinions upon other interested agencies.

And, in the fourth place, we in private agencies must recognize that public agencies have an authoritative position which we lack, and to which we will have to adjust, whether we like it or not. Of course, if the public program is really wrong, we can, through the democratic channels of public opinion, bring about its modification.

We all know too well that we can find equally good and equally poor welfare work in public and in private agencies. Neither can afford to cast stones when the whole field, rather than one particular instance of success, is considered. Public officials have been seen to assume an air of superiority just because they had a degree of authority. In the rapidly growing personnel in the public welfare service we have seen the inexperienced attempt a substitution of newly acquired authority for the assured understanding and knowledge which the situation needed, but which they themselves lacked. I can think of no more obstructive process than a misplaced exercise of authority.

Political or other pressure, or a poorly functioning civil service, confront many public authorities in the selection of personnel. Frequently such forces result in the selection of persons unfitted by a lack of those skills and those personal qualities which alone will bring a kindly and a just consideration of the difficulties confronting those seeking help. We must recognize that public welfare is restricted by the laws under which it operates, by lack of appropriations, and similar factors. Also, that the public administrator cannot "limit his intake" arbitrarily as can a private agency. He must accept all calls

within the legal range of his responsibility, whether he has full facilities to care for them or not. All who apply have an equal right to his consideration. Even so, public administration need not be a formal, routine, impersonal, or heartless process, and has not been in the places where its administrators have recognized the danger of its becoming so.

On the other hand, there is equally no ground for a private agency to assume that its program or its standards are necessarily better than those of the public agency just because they are unofficially determined. Frequently they are just as bad as those of the public agency they criticize, and with less reason. They presumably are free from those pressures which hamper the public agencies in the selection of suitably skilled personnel, as well as being free from the legal restrictions of a public program. Very often they fail to exercise their freedom wisely, and many become more rigid than are public agencies, and their staffs may be little or no better than those of the public agency. Private organizations often restrict their own programs and then, with rigid determination, refuse to modify them.

As a rule, private agencies have had a sporadic beginning. Each originated because of a particular need felt at the time to exist, and usually with but little consideration of a complete welfare program and the relative place their new agency would or should fill therein. All too many such private agencies have failed to note the developments of time and have stood still, and in some instances have slid backward a bit. They have not noted that, whereas their organization may have occupied the center of the stage at an earlier day, it now fills but a small role in the modern drama which is unfolding. They may have, for understandable reasons, limited their intake according to geographical area, sex, race, age, religious or fraternal affiliation, or scarcity of financial resources, without facing the reality that the services they are rendering each a bare fraction of those in the community who would benefit by similar care. Private agencies cannot afford to overlook the limitations of their activi-

ties, when faced with the development of similar work on a broader base.

A will to consider the whole problem, and to arrive at the most useful division of responsibility possible between public and private agencies, is what the situation obviously requires. Too largely the thinking has centered on the administrative setup. How many public bureaus and how big a personnel, something like a delusion of grandeur, has been seen on the part of public agencies. On the other hand, the private agencies have thought of how to conserve their present setups and unmodified activities, and a very real defensive mechanism has been developed. The only logical and well-balanced basis for intelligent consideration of any new or modified welfare program is inevitably the various needs of the people to be benefited—how many of them there are, and how and by whom their interests can best be served in order to bring to all of them the required diversity of services which they should enjoy. Of course, there will be obstacles to overcome, as there are in every co-operative effort. Let us consider a few typical obstacles in determining the various fields of action.

To illustrate one type of obstacle: Certain private child caring agencies have taken unto themselves, or have permitted to be thrust upon them (either with or without the payment of public funds), full and permanent responsibility for children, only later to find themselves saddled with the long-time care and support of children for whom free home or adoptive placements are quite impossible. Such a situation is a complete reversal of the oft-laid-down principle that the private agency should furnish short-time care, while the public one should carry the long-time liabilities. This kind of burden seems to me entirely undesirable as a privately financed enterprise, and it has delayed the development of sound public programs for the care of all needy children in the area. In instances it has all but completely blocked the service which the private agency could acceptably render. Private agencies should ponder the situation well before substituting themselves for a public service

which exists, or which should be brought into being. The private agency frequently does not scrutinize in sufficient detail the circumstances of those it is taking under care to be privately supported. These will constitute a definitely selective and limited group, accepted because of the willingness and the ability of the private agency to furnish some sort of specialized care which is needed.

A duly constituted private agency, meeting the standards of the state and privately financed, should, I think, be entirely free to carry forward its own program for whatever group it may have selected as its beneficiaries. It should not be expected to take over what should be a public responsibility. The assumption by private agencies of types of support which should rest with the public authorities is not to be excused on the ground that the public is doing nothing about it. Who is the public but us? And who should be molding public opinion in the welfare field if not those sponsoring private agencies?

At the same time a great responsibility rests upon all of us to see that the public agencies are not permitted to institute services beyond those for which relatively adequate public appropriations have been made available. Private agencies can do much to influence public appropriations as well as public programs. Nothing would be more disastrous, for instance, than for states and localities to assume the difficult task of providing foster-home care, either on a boarding or on a free-home basis, unless a sufficient number of persons can be employed who are familiar with the technique of good placements and the dangers of poor placements. A too rapid assumption by public agencies of this, or any other equally technical function, is apt to be disastrous.

Some of the most troublesome adjustments may prove to be between public agencies and private agencies which receive public funds, either in lump sums or for services rendered on a per capita basis. Even in this field, ways have been found to coordinate the services of the public and private agencies on an equitable basis.

One instance can be cited where a private agency actively promotes local public child welfare programs. At the same time it agrees to assist public welfare officials by finding free foster-homes—frequently adoptive homes—for suitable children who have been permanently separated from their families for good cause. It makes no charge for its services, either for placement or for supervision. The private agency does not accept guardianship, nor does it guarantee the permanent care of the child. It may accept the child for preplacement boarding care at an agreed-upon weekly payment to cover, in whole or in part, the actual cost of board. From its private funds it pays for all service, frequently also for medical and other special forms of treatment, but the public welfare officer retains primary responsibility. In other words, the private agency assists but does not supplant the official agency, and it emphasizes the necessity of an adequate local service. If successful placement ensues, all is well and the official in time gives consent to adoption. If the child proves too difficult for this type of placement, he is returned to the official for some other type of care to be provided locally. Such co-operative effort has extended over a period of many years and in co-operation with a vast number of individually elected public officials.

In other circumstances, children publicly supported have been placed in approved private institutions on an agreed weekly payment for board, and conflicts have then arisen between the official responsible for the support of the child and the management of the institution. The institution has assumed, because the child was intrusted to it for care, that full authority as to his length of stay and his ultimate disposition had been transferred to it (the private agency).

If public authorities are to accept responsibility for support, then the public official and not a private agency must be expected to determine who are to be so supported and where and for how long such support shall be given, for only a public authority can legally contract public financial obligations. Such conflicts of authority can be avoided through courteous co-opera-

tive procedures based on an understanding between the public authority and the private agency as to exactly what services are to be rendered by the private agency for which public money is to be paid.

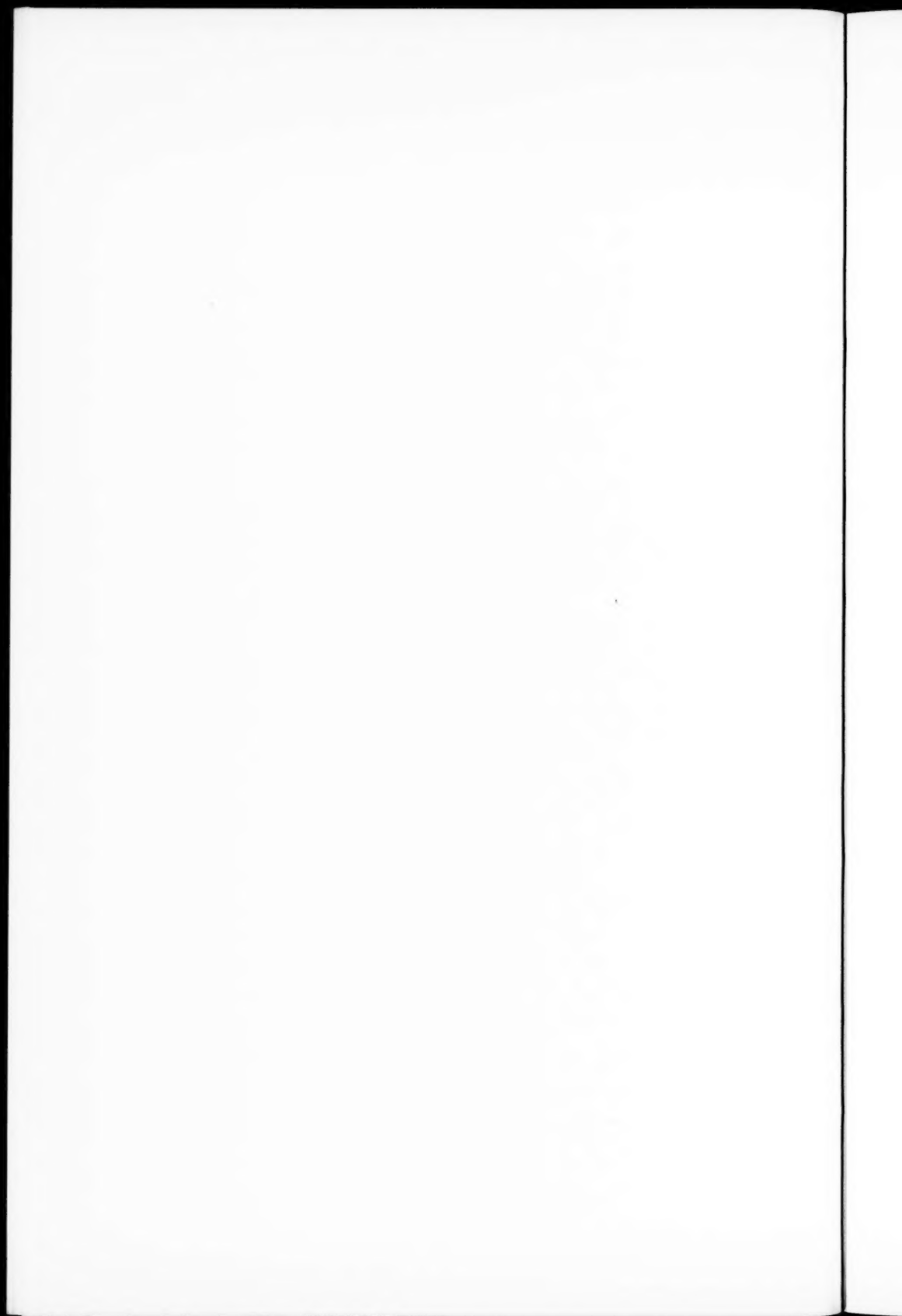
Difficulties arise when no such agreement is mutually understood. The private agency may even have assumed that the public should pay for individuals accepted on its own initiative, and without consultation with the authorities. The public agency may have assumed the right to dump upon the private agencies the care of those it should not accept. The public agency may arbitrarily, in order to save money, remove the child without consulting those who know him best by reason of the daily care which is being given him by the agency. Generally, action which is for the best interests of the child will result from a joint consideration of him as an individual and of his present and future needs. In instances where the public authorities are to utilize the facilities of privately managed agencies, confusion will be avoided if the relative responsibilities of the two agencies and the nature of their co-operative services are on a contractual basis—public money being paid only for service rendered, and private organizations not expected to operate privately at the expense of the public treasury.

It is essential that we think in terms of the people whom we would serve, with an eye solely to their present and future needs. We must avoid letting traditional form of procedure hamper our willingness or our ability to think constructively as to just where our own agency's place is to be in the present welfare movement.

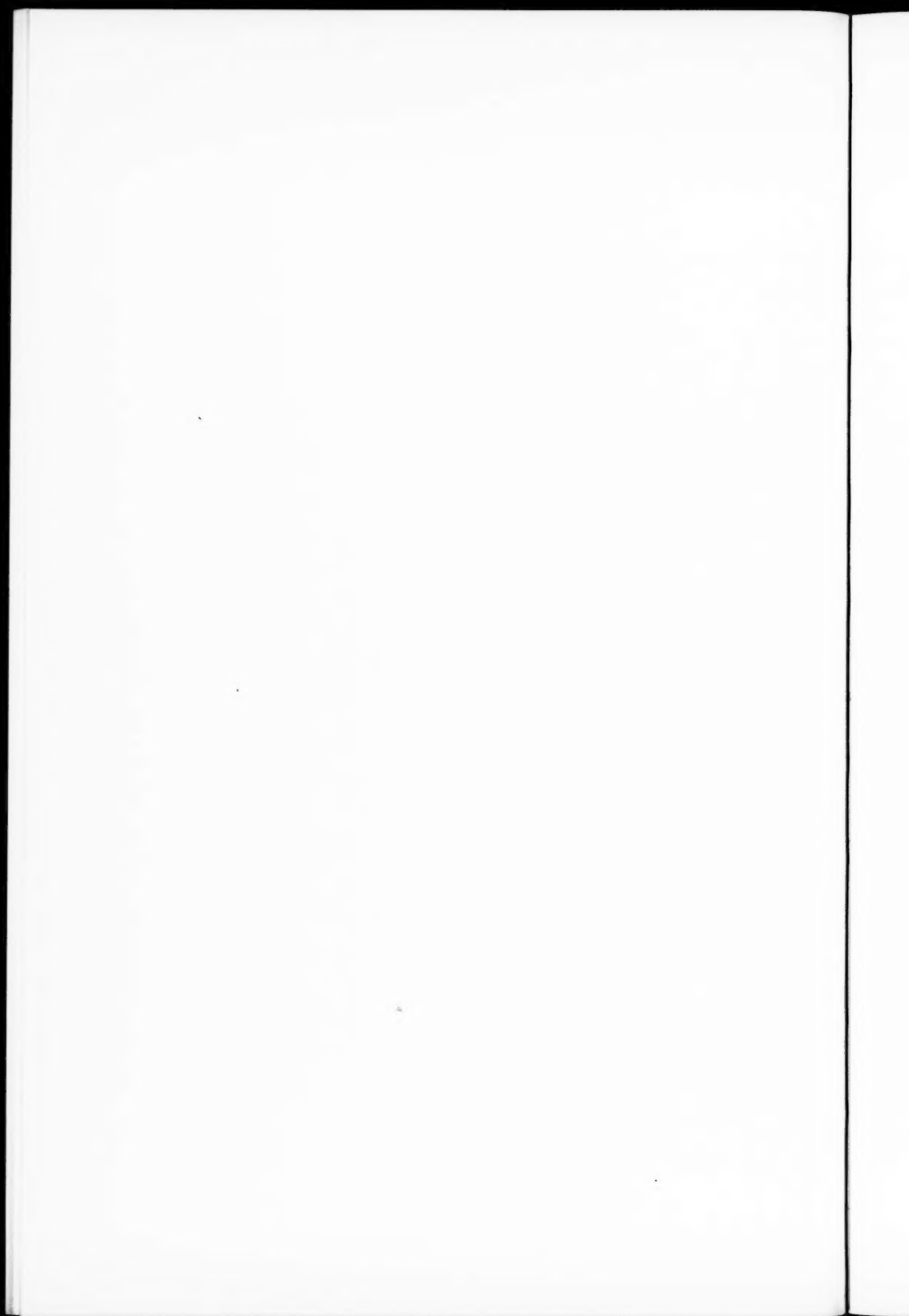
If we can accept the premise that it is the primary duty of our governmental agencies to see that those in need shall be helped, and to support those actually in want when other support is not available—then, with an openness of mind on the part of all the agencies concerned, we should find it possible to determine the character and extent of the welfare services needed within the area of discussion, the extent to which these services already are available, and what, if any, new agencies or programs are

desirable. We should be able to arrive at a definite and mutual agreement as to relative responsibilities and immediate public and private fields of operation in any given community. The programs of the private agencies will be an essential supplement to whatever public provisions have been made, but they will be subject to modifications from time to time as public facilities are developed.

In this field of public welfare—in which few, if any, private or public agencies really do an inclusive 100 per cent job in any given territory—are we not on safe ground if we say that we, in our governmental capacity, must see to it that a full 100 per cent of the people in need are served; that there should be co-ordinated thinking on the basis of the whole field, in an endeavor to bring a reasonable degree of assistance and comfort to all those who require service or support; that private agencies will have to supplement and fill in the gaps in public programs for a long time to come; that public agencies should be guided to do well whatever they undertake; that both public and private agencies are apt to be hampered by insufficient funds, so that their co-operation should extend to each influencing more substantial financial backing for the other; and that private agencies should lead the way, and not lag behind, in progressive thinking as to just what really does need to be done and who can best do it, realizing their good fortune in being able to keep their program more flexible than is possible with a governmental agency and utilizing that flexibility to amend, to extend, to limit, or to completely change their activities according to circumstances, at any given period in this changing world, either now or in the future?



SPECIAL COMMITTEES



OLD AGE ASSISTANCE ADMINISTRATION: VARIETIES OF PRACTICE IN THE UNITED STATES

*Elizabeth Long, Staff Member Committee on Public
Administration, Social Science Research Council
Washington, D.C.*

VARIETY is one quality which the administration of old age assistance in this country unquestionably has. Even the names by which it is known vary from state to state. In addition to such alliterative titles as "aid to the aged" and "state social security" are the more common titles "old age assistance," "old age pension," "old age welfare," "old age security," and perhaps others. Old age assistance is administered in the various states by boards, commissions, councils, departments, divisions, bureaus, administrations, authorities, and units. It is financed as variously, from general taxes or from special taxes—poll, sales, excise, and what not. The articles or activities named as special subjects of taxation for old age assistance are a motley lot. The following list was gleaned from a summary of the characteristics of state plans made last November by the Bureau of Public Assistance: chewing gum, slot machines, horse racing, inheritances, franchises, luxuries, amusements, gasoline, motor vehicles, distilled spirits, beer, incomes, and public utilities.

The eligibility requirements which state laws set up, although tending to become more standardized than before the federal law became operative, are still amazingly varied, especially in the points not covered in the Social Security Act. The applicant is not eligible in some states if he has failed to pay certain taxes;¹ if he has been convicted of a felony within ten years; if

¹ Poll tax, usually.

he has deserted wife or minor children within a given period; if he has been a professional tramp, beggar, or a habitual drunkard; if he is supporting an able-bodied adult other than his spouse, and so on.

There are reasons, of course, for all this variety. In the first place old age assistance is a comparatively new activity. Forty-two² states have submitted plans for the administration of old age assistance which have been accepted by the Social Security Board, but in few of these has the program been in operation for as much as five years. The twelve states selected by our survey group for special study contain most of the states with longest experience, and in all of these the law has been radically changed in several particulars since the passage of the original act. It takes time for any program to become stabilized and to reach any considerable degree of uniformity in a country where such diversity exists as in the United States. The diversity in thought of the groups that have been largely responsible for establishing social security in this country is an extremely important factor. To some, old age assistance is a substitute for a social insurance plan, an approximation of social justice in economic terms; to others, it is a pension, the reward of the pioneer and empire builder who gave his strength to the building of a new community and to whom in consequence the community (or state) owes an obligation; to still others, it is an expression of *noblesse oblige*, the duty of the young, strong, and fortunate to care for the old, poor, and weak. These points of view are not always clear-cut and distinct but shade into each other. Other factors—history and tradition in government (local and state), social custom and tradition, political trends, opportunism, accident, and even a considerable amount of sentimentality—have gone into the shaping of both the laws and the administration of the laws.

It is impossible, within the limits of a short paper, to cover the whole range of variation in the administration of old age assistance. Primarily my attention during the past year has

² This figure includes Hawaii and the District of Columbia.

been focused on the service program. The service program, as we have defined it, includes those activities carried on in the operating units which involve personal contacts with the applicants: the receipt of applications, the establishment of eligibility (including the determination of the extent of need and the appeal of decisions), the rendering of any incidental or additional services to the recipient. It also includes the control or supervision of the service activities, especially the control exercised by the supervising unit, the state agency.

I have already given you some indication of the variety of requirements which are specified in state laws with regard to eligibility. Variations occur, for the most part, in requirements which are not covered in the federal Social Security Act. The items which vary are the less important ones, and, if I am any judge of trends, are those most likely to be altered either by amendment or by becoming "dead letters" through a decreasing amount of attention being given to them. Variation in these items has, therefore, little significance. Requirements with regard to age, citizenship, and residence, on the other hand, are tending to become standardized within the limits set forth in the Social Security Act. In any case, procedures and practices with relation to those factors which we have conveniently termed the "absolute factors" in eligibility present fewer and simpler problems than do those involved in the "relative factor," the determination of need—particularly the extent of need.

Time will not be given here to a discussion of the methods of investigation used in determining eligibility. Methods of social investigation in old age assistance are much the same as in other welfare programs. Variations in investigative practices as observed in old age assistance are largely matters of the degree of expertness of the workers employed for this purpose. Evaluation of the facts after they are obtained, though closely related to investigation, is a somewhat different process. With regard to the absolute factors the process is comparatively simple and fairly uniform. Significant variation, however, is found in the

methods used to determine the extent of need and to set the amount of the grant. In general, the methods seem to be of three types: (1) the use of a standard budget, (2) the formula method, and (3) the method of income deduction.

The first method, the use of a standard budget, is one which has long been employed by relief agencies. Probable expenditures for a given period are calculated and set down in itemized form and in monetary terms on a budget sheet. The probable income for the same period is itemized and also entered on the budget sheet. Under a strict budgetary system all items furnished in kind are shown in monetary terms on both the income and expenditure side. If the estimated income exceeds the estimated expenditures the applicant is presumably not in need. If, however, the sum of estimated expenditures is greater, the difference is counted as a "budgetary deficiency" and is used as the basis for determining the grant.

The estimates of necessary expenditures are not easily made by the inexperienced person. Fortunately, experts in nutrition and household economics have through years of study and experimentation determined the amount and quality of food necessary to keep a person in a satisfactory state of nutrition, and what deviations are necessary because of such factors as age, sex, and extent of physical activity. They have also determined what garments, supplies, and equipment are needed for personal and family use and how often these need replacement. These quantities may be translated easily into monetary terms in accordance with local prices. The range of items may be limited or generous and the scale on which individual items are estimated may be minimal or it may be liberal. The scale or standard adopted is applied to all cases and deviations are calculated in accordance with individual requirements. If a maximum amount set by law controls the amount which may be granted to any one individual, and if this figure is low, a number of cases may show a budgetary deficiency in excess of this maximum. Some states avoid the obvious administrative difficulties involved by arbitrarily adjusting the budgetary scale so that

the maximum deficit cannot exceed the maximum grant. When this is done, however, the state has actually departed from a strictly budgetary system.

The second, or formula method, implies the possibility of greater standardization of individual requirements than does the budget. The first step in setting up a simple formula is the establishment of an amount which we will, for convenience, call a "norm." This norm is usually somewhat less than the maximum allowed under state law and represents the amount which will be paid to any applicant, otherwise eligible, who owns his home but has no other property, no income, no legally liable relatives able to support him, and no spouse or other person with whom he may share living expenses. Applicants who have a spouse or housemate will receive a definite amount less than the norm; income, in the amount received, will also be deducted; and persons who are ill or who are above a certain age will receive a specified amount above the norm. Applicants who must pay rent may be allowed a specified amount above the norm, but this additional sum will be a fixed sum regardless of the amount of rent paid. A differential for rural or urban cases may also be calculated. A formula is simple to apply; it allows some individualization; but it may be vulnerable if the values arbitrarily adopted do not bear a close relationship to actual needs of individual applicants in terms of the cost of living. In other words, its rigidity is both its strength and its weakness.

A further elaboration of the formula method which some states have adopted has all of the disadvantages of the simple formula and none of its advantages. Selection is made of the factors most frequently entering into need, such as age, physical condition, economic environment, income, and ability of relatives to assist. These items are given arbitrary values which are mathematical ratios, and which must be converted into monetary terms by further calculation. The values assigned are supposed to indicate the relative significance of each item. The plus and minus items are totaled and the result is translated into monetary terms in relation, usually, to the maximum grant.

The difficulty with this plan is that of determining correct ratios between the various factors, and likewise in setting up the scales by which each factor is evaluated internally. If good physical condition, for instance, is rated as "minus 5," should absence of income be "plus 50" or "plus 90" or what? Within the factor, "physical condition," should a severe heart ailment be rated "plus 8," and if so how should a cancer case be rated—"plus 8," "10," or "12"; and how should a diabetic be rated? If it is possible to express relationships between such factors, or within them, in the case of complex factors, it could only be done after scientific research had established the fundamental facts from a study of a large number of cases. If the scales are unscientific or if they are so incomplete that subjective judgments must be employed by the rating clerks, calculations will result in compounding errors. The resulting inequalities in the grants are rendered all the more serious because they are concealed. The mathematical complexity of the calculations lends a scientific aura which unduly impresses applicants and their friends and which also tends to keep at a distance inconvenient inquiries from curious citizens.

The third method, which I have here called "income deduction," consists of the setting of a definite amount as the standard of need, and the deduction from this sum of any income received by the applicant. The resulting deficit determines the grant. This sounds simple enough; the difficulty comes in arriving at a satisfactory definition of income. Shelter furnished in kind is usually counted as income, given a "reasonable value," and deducted from the total in the same way as cash income. Assigning a value to shelter when the home is owned, especially if subletting complicates the question, involves the question whether income is net or gross and, if net, what the proper deductions are for arriving at the net amount. Support received from relatives is counted as income, and in some cases a definite deduction is made if legally liable relatives are able to support even though they may actually not be giving anything. On the whole, however, deductions are made only in a

nominal amount unless a definite regular cash income is received. The burden of proof for making deductions is definitely on the administrative agency, and grants under such a system tend to show a high average and a narrow range.

The variety of methods used for determining the amount of the grant illustrates what was said earlier in this paper about the influence of various ideas on the administration of old age assistance, and the influence, also, of state history and tradition in government. The first or budgeting method is commonly found in states in which both the tradition of *noblesse oblige* and the social-justice theories of the economist group have strongly influenced thinking; and is especially likely to be found in states that have had a long history of public welfare administration. Income deduction, on the other hand, is found where the pension group has been especially influential. The formula, however, is likely to be the method used in states in which the influence of no group has been decisive and where no strong tradition with regard to state responsibility for public welfare prevails. This method appears, in fact, to be the refuge of folks whose ideas are in conflict between the new and the old. These people reject the idea of public charity for their pioneers, but are not yet ready to surrender the old poor-law restrictions, which they fear may still be needed to guard public treasuries from raids of enfranchised "paupers." A device so simple that any clerk can operate it and so complicated that even an actuary cannot explain it looks like "the answer to prayer" to an administrator who is not sure whether he is administering a program as reactionary as poor relief or something as radical as a pension system, and who is open to attack from advocates of both kinds of programs.

The volume and cost of the old age assistance program in a state are largely determined by the number of cases accepted and the amount paid to each. If the state is to have any control over the program, it must establish control over the processes which determine the number of cases accepted and the amounts paid. Standards of eligibility which limit the intake of cases

are set up by the state supervising agency. Standards of investigation, the kind of evidence which will be accepted as proof of eligibility, may also be set up by the state. The methods used in determining the extent of need and the amount of the grant which we have just been discussing are practically always determined by the state agency. At this point, however, considerable discretionary authority is still left to the operating unit. In addition to these general controls, therefore, most states have set up some controls on individual case decisions. The Social Security Board requires, in fact, that all state plans include a provision for a "fair hearing," which permits the state to alter the decision of the operating unit in appealed cases. In some states this is the only control exercised over case decisions. At the other extreme are state agencies that review every decision of the operating unit. In a few highly centralized programs, the case decision is actually made by the state agency.

Review of individual case decisions, for brevity termed "the social audit," is usually made by inspection of case records. Some states attempt to make the audit entirely from recorded material sent to the state office by the operating units. Others, finding the "desk method" unsatisfactory, send reviewers into the field so that they may supplement the recorded data with additional material, largely oral, obtained by conferring with local workers and officials. In some states the supervising agency even sends its workers into the homes of the recipients. In a number of states, as we have already noted, a review of every case is made; in others accepted cases are reviewed, and decisions in denied cases are considered only when complaints or appeals bring them to the attention of the state staff. In still others the social audit is used as an incidental rather than the chief supervisory method and is exercised only when need for it is indicated, or on a "spot-check" basis.

The operating units should be—and, indeed, usually are—capable of making correct decisions in the majority of cases. All virtue does not reside in the state staff. Moreover, most

local staffs are aware that they have serious problems to solve and are really eager for the constructive service which the state agency should be in a position to give.

State agencies have found many ways in which they can provide such service. Manuals and handbooks which include copies of the state old age assistance law, the officials rule and regulations, decisions of the courts and of the attorney general, copies of all official forms and blanks with instructions for using them, procedural instructions and directions, and other useful data have been prepared by state agencies and used by their operating units to improve their methods. Some state agencies have also provided service in searching official state records for data needed in establishing eligibility. Some agencies that do not render such service directly have gone to a great deal of trouble to ascertain what sources are available and how they might be consulted and have transmitted this information to the operating units. Co-operative arrangements useful to the operating units have been worked out with other agencies and with groups operating on a state-wide basis. Special help has likewise been given to individual units in working out co-operative relations with local agencies and officials. Problems of interunit co-operation (intercounty or intertown) have been smoothed out by setting up suitable procedures. Help with out-of-state correspondence has also been provided by state agencies. Skilled advice on difficult cases and on special administrative problems of the service program have been supplied by state field supervisors. State agencies have also, to some extent, furnished the smaller units with expert service of the kind commonly available in large units where the volume of work justifies greater specialization, such as expert legal and medical-social counseling, advice on insurance adjustment and other problems of property, and advice of trained home economists on living costs and special diets. Several state agencies have furnished expert guidance in publicity to local units, resulting in improved public understanding and support of the

old age assistance program throughout the state. A little work has been done also in the field of staff training, with excellent response from local staffs.

A number of states have also established more or less control over the selection of personnel in their operating units. Selection of local personnel is important, because the effectiveness of the whole program is so largely determined by the intelligence, skill, and devotion of the individuals who man the operating units. If, as I believe, the efforts of these workers are of paramount importance in the administration of old age assistance, and if, like other human beings, their efforts are stimulated by opportunity and choice rather than by restriction and regimentation, then the supervisory efforts of the state agency will be more effective if it provides service and offers guidance and stimulation than if it depends too much on negative controls, such as the complete social audit.

Supervision of service activities as we have seen it in the states as is characteristically varied as the rest of the program. We should have more occasion for alarm if this were not so. At this stage the program should be experimental and fluid, not stereotyped. A fluid program adjusts itself to crises more readily than a static one, and undoubtedly the next few years will produce a few crises.

THE USE OF FRIENDLY VISITING

*Charles F. Ernst, Director, Washington
State Department of Public Welfare
Olympia, Washington*

THE state of Washington has been providing old age assistance to elderly persons only since July, 1935. This program, which has grown from 5,000 grants during the first month to 32,000 in June, 1937, has brought a measure of security to the state's elderly citizens. In developing the program, however, those who have been interested in its success have felt that there are characteristics of old age which no legislation and no cash grant can alleviate. The loneliness and helplessness which too often come with poverty and old age were recognized as problems which a true program of old age assistance must combat.

From this feeling there has developed a program of friendly visiting. It is based on the activities of volunteers and its organization was perfected through state-wide fraternal service, and church groups whose individual-service plans seemed to fit in well with the desired objectives.

Very often the visitors of the department found that the recipients of old age assistance grants were in need of a great deal more than the monthly check. The visitors themselves were carrying heavy case loads and were overwhelmed by the initial work of determining eligibility. They had only limited time for a service program. Many of the elderly persons had lost their community contacts—they were no longer able to attend church on Sundays, or the weekly lodge meeting, and consequently little needs which might have been taken care of by friends in these groups were neglected and they, too, lost all opportunity for service to others. To re-establish these community and per-

sonal contacts, and to perform some of the small services which usually go with neighborliness and which these elderly persons were unable to do for themselves, was the twofold aim of the friendly visiting program.

The pioneer past of the state of Washington has left its toll of loneliness and dependency among many of its elderly persons. Attracted by the gold rush to Alaska in the early days and by the promise of greater opportunities in a new state, many people left their families and friends and came West in search of better things. While they were seeking their fortunes, they made little or no attempt to reunite with their kin, and now in their old age they find themselves without family ties and deprived by their roving existence of any sort of financial security. We have found that 20 per cent of the persons receiving old age assistance in our state are living alone, with family ties almost forgotten.

Early in April, 1936, state leaders of such organizations as the Eagles, Lions, State Federation of Women's Clubs, Knights of Columbus, Rotary, Kiwanis, St. Vincent de Paul, State Grange, State Federation of Labor, and church organizations began with working out plans for participation in the volunteer program. Each group offered enthusiastic co-operation with the State Department of Public Welfare, which served as the co-ordinator for the plans and provided the necessary clerical assistance and "leg work." In many cases, local sponsorship was by the welfare council, groups of lay persons recently organized to co-ordinate welfare programs in their respective communities.

The volunteers who have been drawn into the program have some very tangible problems facing them. They often find housing arrangements quite unsatisfactory; there are health conditions which need to be reported; besides loneliness and lack of outside contacts. Many of these elderly persons feel that they do not belong to the community; there is no one left to care—no one depending upon them or expecting anything of them. There is nothing to get up for in the morning and still nothing to make the day worth while.

Friendly visitors are finding opportunities to read to their

elderly friends when failing eyesight has deprived them of the comfort of books and magazines. They write letters to friends and relatives, take them for automobile rides, arrange for them to attend their church or lodge, bring books from the public library, and help them with their hobbies, whether it be piecing quilts or growing flowers. In fact, there are a hundred and one little services—none so important in itself, but, taken together, of tremendous importance to the happiness of this group of elderly people. They have also found a helpful part to play in taking care of the details of funeral arrangements in the absence of other friends or of the family. There is no prescribed technique for friendly visitors.

To aid the friendly visitors in seeing the whole program and their specific relationship to it, a *Manual on Friendly Visiting* was prepared in the state office of the Department of Public Welfare. Copies were made available to the counties where the program was being organized. The manual explained the purpose of the program, gave basic information on the old age assistance law with which the volunteers could answer questions, and outlined the functions of the regular visitors of the state department so that the friendly visitors would understand their respective responsibilities.

Realizing that to many of the elderly persons in the state their pioneer experiences were the most important or interesting things in their lives, the state department has been carrying on a Washington historical project, to gather from persons receiving old age assistance, as well as other pioneers in the state, their reminiscences of the early days when the West was a new country. The value of the information which has been gathered is apparent, but equally important has been the interest displayed by these elderly people.

The Christmas season has also meant greater activities for the volunteers in planning parties and sending greetings to their elderly friends. These holiday affairs have been particularly successful in some of the rural counties, where distances keep elderly people apart except on such special occasions. They have tried to plan such affairs not alone for recipients of pen-

sions but for all the elderly members of the community who might be interested. In addition, an effort was made to include younger people as well. It was the feeling of the friendly visitors that people in their late fifties and early sixties might well need and enjoy the same companionship as the older group.

One of the most important phases of the friendly-visiting program has been the interpretation of the old age assistance program by the volunteer visitors. In the process of answering inquiries from their elderly friends and others in the community, the volunteers themselves, as laymen, have come closer to all parts of the social-security program. Thus, this knowledge of the total program has become more common, and political propaganda and pressure for categorical assistance has become less effective.

The experiences in King County, with its present total of 7,415 old age grants, and Pierce County, with 3,347—the two heaviest in old age grants—might indicate how the spirit and philosophy that inspired the program have been put into practical operation. At the present time, King County reports 65 volunteer visitors making monthly calls on 300 elderly persons, while in Pierce County 143 volunteers are visiting 550 elderly persons monthly. Some of the distinctly rural counties have shown an equally good or even a better response. A recent report covering 22 of the state's 39 counties shows 562 volunteers actively enrolled and interest growing.

The friendly-visiting-service setup in King County is now well beyond the experimental stage. Headed by a woman who for many years has taken an active part as a volunteer in the Seattle Community Fund, the King County program serves both those in the rural areas outside of Seattle and those in the city itself. Development in the rural areas has been particularly successful, owing to the interest of the local welfare councils, which have provided a nucleus for volunteer leadership. Transportation problems have provided real difficulties to volunteers in the rural areas. In Seattle, however, the chief difficulty has been in obtaining sufficient volunteers.

On the subject of obtaining volunteers, the experience in King County has been that the greatest source of visitors is the various church groups. Before attempting to enlist their support, however, the specific need as it applied to any certain group was ascertained. In other words, "We have twenty Presbyterians, Catholics, etc., in West Seattle. Will your group take care of them?" Every group so approached responded, whereas a general appeal for the service met with interest and an offer of co-operation but was not tangible enough to be productive of results.

The general plan followed in King County in building up the service was first to expose all volunteers to some educational training—what a friendly visitor is not expected to do (be an investigator, solve major problems, such as housing, hospitalizations, etc., or take gifts which might become an economic drain)—what a friendly visitor can do in the way of service (taking magazines, or books, reading or writing letters, drives, etc.). There has been an attempt to discuss the total program as each volunteer may encounter other of its phases.

When the friendly visitors in King County have made their first contacts, they are called in for discussion of each visit—what problems it presented, what opportunities for service from the volunteer, what need of service from others, and how the report should be written so that it may serve as part of the office record. These discussions furnish an excellent opportunity for general education, as well as for determining if that particular client actually needs the service and if there are enough other people going into the home to constitute a normal neighborhood contact. There may be developed two types of visitors—those who can carry only a limited number of clients because they are making long visits on people who have no other callers, and those who, with a car, may carry ten or fifteen clients who need only a short, friendly call every month or two.

An encouraging experiment in rehabilitation in the general spirit of the friendly-visiting program is a co-operative project, Camp Tulips, for twenty-seven elderly men receiving old age

assistance. Located in a camp previously used for transients, it houses a group of men whose early days were spent in the nearby lumber camps. These men, with the aid of the state department, have achieved a co-operative living arrangement by which they can contribute to the upkeep of the group and still have enough left from their monthly grants for clothes, tobacco, and other items. They have found that by living together they can have clean, comfortable housing, good food, a variety of activities through their gardens, chicken-raising, and carpenter work, and a sense of co-operative self-government. This has resulted in a greater measure of happiness and contentment than these single, homeless men have known in many years.

Interested and intelligent leadership in Pierce County, as in King, has also played an important part in making this an outstanding program. As in King County, religious affiliation played an important part in determining the program for the friendly visitors. Several of the churches were already organized for volunteer service and could readily do this kind of work, and other groups were eager to follow their plans.

Meetings of visitors are held once a month, when difficulties are talked over and new ideas discussed. An interesting development in this county has been the group spirit which has grown up among the friendly visitors themselves with regard to their work. They have felt that commonness of purpose to such an extent that they feel themselves a closely unified group and have launched their program as such, rather than on an individual basis.

From Pierce County comes a statement from the committee chairman which might well be used to indicate the need for such a program: "The extreme welcome which most of the visitors receive is pathetic in its betrayal of the loneliness of many of these old people." There is no greater appeal to friendliness than a need such as this, and for this reason we hope the modest beginnings of friendly visiting in the state of Washington will grow into a worth-while and accepted part of the state-wide program for old age assistance.

MEETING THE DISCOURAGEMENTS OF ELDERLY PEOPLE

*Ollie Randall, Association for Improvement
of the Condition of the Poor
New York City*

ONE must admit as one comes to know elderly people that for most of them discouragements exist. Or, at least, a state of mind exists which results from life's disappointments or from failures of one kind or another—personal, social, or economic—as physical or mental faculties cease to measure up to the demands made upon them.

The major discouragement seems to me to be the personal one. Elderly people usually have “lost face,” as the Chinese say, either with the community, their families, or, worst of all, with themselves. A friend of mine, in an effort to describe to herself the great lexicographer, Samuel Johnson, decided he was not a “great” person but that he was a person of “intrinsic importance.” That phrase describes for me what we all like to be to ourselves and to our families and neighbors. When for any reason status is lost with either or both of the latter, it is inevitably lost with ourselves, and no one can be alert, vital, and encouraged when he is no longer “intrinsically important” to himself.

Seven or eight years ago, my doorbell rang late one evening. At the door I found a little old lady of seventy-two whom I had been helping to adjust to a completely new plan of living for herself and her sister. I explained I could not make it a practice to receive people at home, but she was so hurt and so insistent that I invited her in. For half an hour she discussed with me the details of her own and her sister's burial, neither of which

seemed imminent. When we had finished, I asked out of curiosity, "Would you mind telling me what there is which we have talked about tonight which you could not have talked over with Miss Jones in the office?" "Oh, nothing at all, really," she replied brightly, "but you know she is so efficient!" At first blush that reply might be interpreted as a criticism of Miss Jones and of myself. Actually it was neither. It was the little lady's need to think of herself as someone who could call and, in an unhurried fashion and friendly atmosphere, talk over these personal matters on a different level from that which the office had given her. In other words, she needed to be accepted by us at her own evaluation. That experience taught me a lesson, and I have tried always to give extra importance to the business of our elderly folks and to transact it with them in as personal and unbusinesslike manner as is consonant with the work in hand. We want our elderly folks to feel important; it is the first step toward keeping a faith in themselves.

Elderly people become discouraged when it is no longer possible to continue the activities of their earlier years, no matter what the reason for this discontinuance. They want to go on living independently; they want to go on earning their own way; they want to do many of the things they have always done, even if they do not do them as much as they used to do. They want most of all to be a part of a normal group or community so long as that remains possible. In our organization we have tried to develop our program for old folks with this in mind. I shall try to give you a brief idea of some of the concrete things which are included in that program—our allowance plan (which I hardly need to mention, since it is practically the same as the plan of the Old Age Assistance Division on a slightly more intensive basis), our sheltered workshop, our summer vacation house, our apartment house for elderly people, and our permanent home for the aged.

Dr. Carrel tells us in his *Man the Unknown* that "the aging man should neither stop working nor retire. Inaction further impoverishes the content of time. Leisure is even more danger-

ous for the old than for the young. To those whose forces are declining appropriate work should be given. But not rest." Back in 1916 we did not have Dr. Carrel to give us a scientific basis for our ideas, but we were already confronted by the discouragement of old folks who were handicapped by age and were prevented from taking their places in competitive business and industry. So we started and have carried on since that time Crawford Shops, a sheltered workshop for the aged. To these shops the old folks daily plod for regular hours to earn at least enough to help pay their way. Sewing for the women on maids' uniforms, lovely fragile lace aprons and caps, gay children's clothes, gorgeous gloves of velvet, silk, organdie, and even feathers, beautiful rugs hooked in the designs of our ancestors and in our simple yet attractive modern designs, with cabinet work, toys, and garden things for the old men, have proved that products of worth and beauty can, by the use of imagination and patience, be created by those whom our rapidly changing times have put upon the shelf as being "through." And the products must stand the severest tests of competition with those of regular industry. We no longer can or want to count on an "appeal" market.

For almost twenty years, too, we have had a summer-vacation place called "Sunset Lodge" for our elderly friends. Can you guess what it means to a city-dwelling old person, when all her friends and neighbors (if she has them), are planning to get away for a holiday, to be planning for three weeks at a lovely place upon the Hudson? Do you know what joy it gives some of our little ladies to be assembling their simple wardrobes for weeks ahead for their annual trip to the country? Can you imagine what it gives the old men to talk about with their cronies, when they have once more been where things are growing and they live again their early days on the farm? We are even keeping up with the times in that we have a winter-holiday house. True, it is not in the South, but winter sports are the thing, when the winter is of the kind which permits. Our old folks are keen about the sleigh rides through the drifts of snow,

although they hug the big fireplaces and play endless games of checkers, dominoes, with bridge a close second in the long winter evenings.

In both these places there are men and women and there are young and old. In the summers all the camps of youngsters which are on the same estate plan their entertainments and dramatics for the old folks, as well as for themselves. The play field is on a level meadow under the hill upon which Sunset Lodge rests, and the bleachers at a big-league game do not surpass in enthusiasm and interest that which is evident among the "Lodgers" when an intercamp game of baseball, volley ball, or tennis is being played out. In the grand marches at the big barn dances there are as many old folks as there are young, and many stay until the strains of "Goodnight, Ladies" mean the party is over.

In winter the young folks take good care of the older folks, learning something of consideration and sometimes patience, while the old folks vie with each other in teaching the young folks games, tricks, and songs out of their past.

Christmas, too, becomes a season not always of memories—but one to give memories. Two large Christmas parties, given for these elderly guests of Sunset Lodge, have come to possess the characteristics of a college reunion, and they come eager with friendship and interest in life. These elderly people have come to realize that each event is just that much more important after one more year is gone. Watching them respond to the dignity of being the guests of honor at a gay and lively dinner party, to which they come for the dinner and the party (for no gifts are "handed out"), is to have a lesson in what we shall want for ourselves some day—a sense of belonging to something real and something which savors of our youth, because our age and its infirmities are not mentioned or consciously thought of.

And then there are those who want to go on independently, and yet whose fears of "what will happen if I'm alone in a furnished room" haunt and discourage them. Savings or a pen-

sion or an old age assistance grant make it possible to pay, if only the place can be found.

Our apartment house for elderly people, in a part of town which is teeming with more young life than, perhaps, any other part of New York, is another venture and experiment which is yielding rich results. Facing Tompkins Square, on which Commissioner Moses has put one of his complete playgrounds and from which the sounds of voices in the summer assume the steady murmur of the surf, flanked on the north by a large and imposing settlement house, diagonally opposite a branch library and clubs for boys and girls, this house with its cafeteria, roof garden, self-service elevator, common living-room, provides furnished or unfurnished one- or two-room apartments for elderly people of limited income. The roof gives a chance for the gardening instincts of some to express themselves, and also lends an "up-to-date" tone to the house, which in New York City means so much. Living goes on independently and persons can keep house or have the companionship of the common dining-room or living-room as they wish—but, what is more, they have the complete assurance that, should something "happen" to them, there is someone who will take a personal interest in seeing that the right thing is done. The settlement and the library tell us that their most active attendants and borrowers are our tenants; the political clubs know our family as persons who exhibit an intelligent and active interest in everything which happens; and the participation in the life of the community in groups in which there are all ages justifies itself in the alertness of the people who live in this house.

And then, last but not least, there is Ward Manor, which provides a temporary convalescent home for young and old, and a permanent residence for ninety old folks for whom congregate living is the desirable answer. This is for those for whom the restrictions in standards of living and comfort which a limited income imposes are too great to be accepted, or for those for whom the assurance of medical and nursing care in the event of a protracted illness in old age is worth giving up the semblance

of freedom and independence a pension or grant may offer. Here, too, in order that "leisure" may not be too "dangerous," the guests carry on any habit of work of which they are physically capable, as their part of the responsibility for the home that is now theirs.

Not long ago someone asked me, "Tell me honestly, do you really like to work with old people?" While the question did not astonish me, I wondered at it, for this contact with the wealth of accumulated experiences of the past and helping to relate it to our present busy life is as challenging and satisfying as anything one can do in the whole field of human relationships!

THE CONTROL OF SYPHILIS FROM THE VIEWPOINT OF MEDICAL SOCIAL SERVICE

*Mildred Hearsey, Headworker, Dermatology
Division, Presbyterian Hospital
New York City*

ALTHOUGH 538 hospitals in the United States have, in the past thirty years, developed social service departments, the report of the United States Public Health Service reveals that only five states have apportioned aid for social work in connection with syphilis-control programs. It is, therefore, for those of us who have been in this special field, and who are convinced of the need for social work wherever there are treatment centers for syphilis, to report and demonstrate to what degree and in what manner the work is useful.

The medical profession, through the American Bok Foundation, recently examined and challenged its goals, philosophies, techniques, and achievements, and reported in all humility its inadequacies. Medical social work, likewise, from time to time has made similar studies, and at this time, in a critique of social work in syphilis clinics, finds a welcome criterion in the ten principles outlined in the conclusion of the Bok report. The following subjects which are discussed may be considered in reference to the social as well as medical problems related to public health: government responsibility, attention to larger social and economic problems, cost of medical care, positive health for prevention, individual versus social responsibility for health, public education, and the patient-doctor relationship.

May I ask you to consider each of these, for a moment, particularly as referable to control of syphilis.

1. *Government responsibility.*—Studies of the need of medical

social work with public relief clients have demonstrated that, wherever government is assuming responsibility for medical care, the efficiency is enhanced by correlated social work. Moreover, since there are problems associated with syphilis for the individual, his group, and the community which are obstacles to effective treatment for the patient and for ultimate control of the disease, and since these problems cannot be solved except by understanding and influencing human behavior, it seems inevitable that the government must extend medical care to include social service in its program for syphilis control.

2. *Attention to larger social and economic problems.*—It is a truism to state that attention to problems of prostitution, delinquency, and of the family is fundamental to adequate social work with syphilis patients.

3. *Cost of medical care.*—Social as well as medical care of syphilis patients has been hampered by the prohibitive cost of treatment by private physicians and "pay clinics," or by the harassing requests of dispensaries for small fees over a long period of time. The extension of free facilities will help greatly, and to this free service has been accredited the success of the control of syphilis in the Scandinavian countries. However, it is the belief of many social workers, founded on experience in Great Britain and Australia, as well as in the United States, that other social problems, apart from financial, will continue for some time to prevent full participation of the syphilis patient and his group in the plan for medical care.

4. *Case finding.*—Another principle of the report reads as follows: "Is the objective care of the sick or positive health of the whole population?" To what extent may a social worker in a syphilis clinic contribute to positive health? There are four fields for preventive work for the social worker in a syphilis clinic: (1) the job of examination of contacts in family and other groups which prevents the development of the case to the stage where a cure is less likely; (2) instruction of the patient in precautions which may prevent exposure of others; (3) keeping

infected persons under care long enough to prevent the passing on of the disease; (4) prevention of psychological and social trauma to the patient and his group by adequate understanding and adjustment of his attitudes and situations. The job of case finding in family and other groups needs all the understanding of human behavior which the profession of social work teaches. A few statistics may be tolerated here to demonstrate in tangible areas success of the work.

Of 126 husbands or wives of luetic patients, 80 were examined through efforts of the social worker (approximately two-thirds); 32 new cases were found. Of another group of 57 husbands and wives, only 18 (or one-third) were examined. The social worker did not know these families. Eleven new cases turned up, but how many were missed? Of another group of 283 patients known to the social worker, there were 52 children to be examined, of whom 37 were examined and 8 found positive. In contrast, note a group of 181 patients not known to the social worker, who were known to have 20 children, only 3 of whom were brought for examination, with no positive cases found.

5. *Social responsibility.*—Another principle of the Bok report, a philosophical one, may be considered. "To what extent can an individual be held responsible for his own health in modern industrial society with unemployment and lack of living wage?" "To what extent are you your brother's keeper?" the syphilis worker is asked. "Is it not his syphilis, his family, and for him to choose to follow or not follow advice?" In addition to admitted community responsibility for public health in communicable cases, can there be limits of social responsibility so long as individual failures are conditioned by societal ills? Follow-up of all syphilis patients must proceed from this fundamental belief. When follow-up is done with this belief, and with understanding of the many emotional and environmental obstacles to treatment, accomplishments are seen.

Of 283 individuals only 43, or 15 per cent, were lost to a clinic at end of a current year—all known to a social worker. But of 181 individuals not known to a social worker, 41, or 22 per cent,

were lost. Another comparison: in the year 1930 a clinic discovered a loss of 60 per cent of its patients at end of the year. In 1933, after the advent of a social worker, a loss of only 15 per cent was found, and 92 per cent of the early cases were held at least six months.

Thus, there may be demonstrated in tangible areas of case finding and follow-up some measure of returns from the investment of a social worker in a syphilis clinic. Of the less tangible areas of education and adjustment to disability, involving patient-social worker, patient-doctor, and doctor-social worker relationships, there may be stated only principles and difficulties, except as case histories might be related.

Quoting again from the medical report: "Adequate medical care assumes a public that understands it, wants it, and is capable of receiving it. . . . The extent of quackery . . . emphasizes the fact that a better-educated public is conditional to any nation-wide plan." The education of the patient with syphilis by a social worker may be of more value than literature or lectures. In this process there must be more than the imparting of information, general or specific, regarding the disease and treatment; there must be a bringing-out by the social worker and discovery by the patient of what is called the "social component" of his illness. Although time is at a premium in a busy clinic, it may not be considered wasted for each patient to have a chance, in the beginning and again as he feels need for it, to consider the influences in his life which may have led up to his acquiring the disease and the manner in which it is complicating his present relationships—or his adjustment to physical limitations, if they be present.

Whether single and young, having acquired the disease through sexual irregularities, or older, or middle-aged and married, with disease of long standing, the patient may either become irresponsible, rebellious, embittered, or even hyperconscientious. His attitude and subsequent behavior affect cooperation in the clinic as well as his group relationships do. These psychological problems are more important and difficult

to solve than situational ones of arrangements for care and provision for physical needs. Quoting from Miss Virginia Robinson,¹ there must be "a constant search for deeper meanings which the patient may be struggling to express, rather than a passive toleration of attitudes he may assert on the surface."

Much of the value of the discovery by the social worker of what meanings the disease holds for the patient lies in the possibility of prevention of psychological and social traumata. So many unnecessary separations and ostracisms and childless marriages occur, so much emotional instability resulting from these unarticulated, undiscovered responses to the experience of acquiring syphilis—which, if known, might be modified by supplying adequate information as to the extent the disease in his particular case needs to affect his social relationship in contrast to how the patient has understood it. For example, one patient suffers a sense of defeat; one bitterness and loss of faith in people; one uses the discovery that he has syphilis for retaliation purposes and blame; one makes it the reason for a long-wished-for marital break; one finds excuse for not working and indulges in self-pity; one quietly gives up hope of marriage or children; one with a deep sense of guilt takes the experience as a punishment, etc.

These are some of the particular meanings for patients which may be worth while to discover and seek to clarify.

The therapy by the social worker lies in two realms: (1) use of doctor-patient relationship, and (2) use of social worker-patient relationship. The American Bok Foundation report recognized genuine values as apart from sentimental ones in the doctor-patient relationship. The medical social worker in a syphilis clinic needs to use this more. Too often she has received confidences of patients, relatives, and others, regarding not only medical but social data, which might be best used by the physician. Of course, she realizes she should report such statements as vary with or add to medical history, reveal mental changes, or give familial history. Facts of prophylaxis, possi-

¹ *Changing Psychology in Social Work*, p. 24.

bilities for cure, communicability, characteristics of the disease, reconsideration of treatment, given by the physician may bring to such patients healing of spirit as well as body.

In the social worker-patient relationship lies the other field for therapy. Some social workers have attempted to analyze with the patient his responses to the experience. Such attempts may bring valuable results for the patient if the social worker is conscious of her own limitations and dangers of dealing with the subconscious. This type of interpretation may be considered too active and authoritative a technique. More value lies in acceptance of the syphilis patient with impersonal, non-judgmental attitudes. It is remembered that in every other relationship of life he will probably meet praise, blame, or oversolicitude. The social worker, however, by her very position, at the beginning has to overcome a resistance or dependency on the part of the patient, who expects to find in her a representative of the accepted norm of behavior. Ashamed or sensitive, he is surprised when he finds her disinterested in moral issues, and again confused when she becomes authoritative in outlining his "duty" regarding attendance or examination of contacts. To resolve her conflicts and those of her patients, she must find a half-way ground between a respect for individual rights and for community responsibilities. Through "rapport" with the patient, which implies noninterference in his private affairs, she can lead him to carry out a plan for himself and others.

It may at times be necessary not only to discover meanings but in a sense to create them for some patients. When his desire to carry on treatment wanes, it may be stimulated by appeals which meet individual philosophies revealed. One patient may respond by being shown that lack of care may bring about a condition which will interfere with a personal plan; another patient responds when he recalls he could never bear to be disabled and dependent; still another patient has a high sense of responsibility for others if not for himself and responds when it is pointed out that he surely would not want ever to pass on the disease.

Thus, by various discoveries of what means most in life to these patients, the social worker may influence choices of participants to the carrying through of a tedious medical plan.

Not only in discovery and treatment of attitudes which interfere with medical care and life-adjustments, but in facing with patients the influence of deprivations and strains on their physical breakdowns and recoveries, is there value in social work. Measures for protection of the patient with a luetic heart, or of the tabetic, the paretic, or any handicapped patient, taken by the patient and his family and community may count as much in the long run as salvarsan and bismuth. Quoting from the Bok report once again, "There is often little to be done about the illness, but much to be done about the situation it creates."

In so far as each individual patient is invested with knowledge and understanding of his own condition, and is afforded help in meeting his associated problems, will there be returns in public health and human welfare. The profession of medical social work accepts the challenge to help in this expanding program of public health in the control of syphilis.

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC FACTORS CONDITIONING FOOD EXPENDITURES

*Faith M. Williams, Chief, Cost of Living Division, Bureau
of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor
Washington, D.C.*

THE Bureau of Labor Statistics study of the money expenditures of employed wage-earners and lower-salaried clerical workers is throwing a good deal of light on the social and economic factors conditioning family expenditures of different types, and we have some new material which we can give you. The field work for this investigation was completed last summer and the results are just being put into final form.

Figures have just become available from a group studied in New York City in 1934-36 which can be compared with those secured in a survey of a comparable group studied in New York City by this Bureau in 1918. The group covered in 1918 was living under the pressure of wartime activity; that covered in 1934-36 at a time when business and industry were coming out of a prolonged depression. In order to safeguard our results from the distorted spending of families with abnormally low and irregular incomes, we included no family with income from relief, or with an income lower than \$500, and no family without at least one wage-earner or lower-salaried clerical worker who worked a minimum of 1,008 hours in 36 weeks, or 28 hours in each of 30 weeks, if employed in a distinctly seasonal industry. Because of the difficulty of distinguishing certain types of clerical work from that of minor executives, an upper limit of \$2,000 was set for the income of the clerical workers included, but there was no upper-income limit for occupations classified as "wage-earner" by the Census.

The outstanding differences between the distribution of the costs of the goods purchased by the 1917-18 group in 1934-36 dollars and the distribution of expenditures by the families studied in 1934-36 is that a higher percentage is represented by food in the actual expenditures of the families recently studied. If the goods bought by the group studied in 1917-18 had been purchased in the last two years, 33 per cent of the total outlay would have gone to food. The comparable families studied in the last two years actually used 38.5 per cent of their total expenditures for food. The data on the foods and qualities of foods purchased by the two groups separated by the eighteen-year interval make it quite clear why the group recently studied is spending more for food. Purchases of cereals in the later period were smaller, while there were larger purchases of milk, eggs, fruits, vegetables, and meats, all more expensive foods, and all more nutritionally valuable than the cereals they replaced. Conspicuous increases occurred in the quantities of oranges and of fresh and canned tomatoes purchased—even without taking into account tomato juice, which was not even mentioned in the earlier study. A comparison of the figures from the two investigations makes it clear that the higher incomes of the later period, the greater availability of fresh fruits and vegetables due to improvements in agricultural production and in shipping facilities, and the relaxation of the meat economies of the war period have combined with nutrition education in the schools and the press to improve the diets of employed wage-earners and clerical workers in New York City. Preliminary figures for Kansas City, Denver, and St. Louis indicate that the same sort of improvement has occurred among the groups studied in these cities, in varying degrees.

It is not to be assumed, however, that the improvement has been great enough to insure nutritionally adequate diets to all the families studied. Every family interviewed was asked to keep an accurate record for one week, at two different seasons (and preferably for four different seasons), of the food it consumed. These records are being used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics

to calculate seasonal differences in food consumption, and by Dr. Stiebeling at the Bureau of Home Economics to calculate the nutritive content of the diets recorded. Records of this sort were secured for one season or more from about one-fourth of the families covered in the study. In the first report on the nutritive value of these diets, Dr. Stiebeling had data for seventy-three families living in North Atlantic cities. Of these nineteen met or exceeded in every respect dietary allowances which include a generous margin of safety for each nutrient. Thirty-two others met what seemed to be minimum requirements in every respect, but afforded little or no margin for safety. The other twenty-two failed to meet minimum requirements in every respect.

In the absence of funds at the Bureau of Home Economics for an analysis of the nutritional value of the detailed estimates of food consumption for one week secured from all the families covered by this investigation, we have used a short-cut method of calculating the adequacy of the food expenditures of the families studied. For each of thirty-two cities included in the survey, we have computed the average cost of the Bureau of Home Economics' adequate diet at minimum cost for an adult man at moderate work at the time of our investigation. We have then measured the size of each family studied in adequate-food-cost units based on this same diet, and calculated for each the expenditure for food per adult male equivalent in terms of adequate-food-cost units. This furnished a basis for comparing actual food expenditures with the minimum expenditures calculated to be necessary for an adequate diet. The figures furnish, therefore, the basis for a very good estimate of the proportion of families spending enough for nutritionally adequate food.

A first review of the figures makes it clear that the proportion of families with food expenditures large enough for satisfactory nutrition as calculated on this basis depends, first, on three obvious factors—size of family income, number of persons in the family, and level of food prices. But differences in food-consumption habits are an important fourth factor.

The figures on the percentage of families in Birmingham and

New Orleans with apparently adequate food expenditure provides an interesting example of the interaction of food costs and incomes and differences in food-consumption habits. Average incomes among the white families studied in New Orleans were distinctly lower than the white families studied in Birmingham. Food costs in New Orleans were slightly lower than in the inland city, but not enough lower to make up for the differences in incomes. Yet one finds 68 per cent of the New Orleans families with food expenditures large enough to buy the Bureau of Home Economics' minimum adequate diet as compared with only 57 per cent in Birmingham.

Even more interesting than the differences in average expenditure are variations in consumption at different economic levels. As the economic well-being of the worker's family increases, the proportion of the family budget spent for food decreases, though the actual number of dollars spent for food as a rule increases. With increasing resources there are important shifts in the proportions in which different types of food are purchased. At the lowest of the levels analyzed, the market basket is heavily weighted with bread, flour and meal, and white and sweet potatoes. At the higher levels per capita consumption of cereal products is only slightly larger than at the lower levels; the consumption of potatoes is somewhat higher, but consumption of leafy and other fresh vegetables and of fresh fruits doubles, and that of meat and eggs is more than 50 per cent greater.

The families in this investigation have been classified according to the level of their expenditures for all consumption goods. That level depends both upon the total amount spent for this purpose and upon the number, age, sex, and occupation of the consumers dependent on the family funds. Total family expenditures have been reduced to an outlay per "consumption unit"—that is, per equivalent adult male, calculated for each family. The amount of the total expenditure per "consumption unit" indicates the economic level of the family. The number of "consumption units" in a family is estimated on a composite

basis. Expenditures for food and clothing are especially influenced by sex and age, and two scales have been developed—one for food and one for clothing—by means of which the number of members of the family may be expressed in terms of equivalent adult males. Classification of the families from which data on expenditures were secured by “expenditure per consumption unit” brings into sharp relief differences in consumer purchases at different levels of economic pressure.

As one views the total distribution of family expenditures, the kinds of goods and services which come into competition with the minerals and the vitamins stand out in clear relief. It is certain that at the lower economic levels distinguished in our study one cannot assume that the purchase of an adequate diet would represent wise spending. The incomes of families of father and mother and one to four children spending from \$200 to \$400 per consumption unit in Birmingham and New Orleans in the year of the study averaged \$1,059. It is obvious that, with family funds so small, expenditures for food large enough to provide an adequate diet would very seldom leave enough to secure clothing, housing, fuel and light, medical care, personal care, and to pay for carfares, union dues, newspapers, and the other sorts of recreation which are a necessity to the city worker and his family. For families with such incomes well-balanced spending must presumably result in a distribution of funds to all the categories of family needs without resulting in adequacy in any one.

Among the families spending less than \$400 per consumption unit per year for all goods and services the proportion not spending enough for food to reach the level we have been using as a measuring rod varies in the different cities studied from 31 to 88 per cent. At this level a considerable number of families are found without the essentials of modern plumbing, no family ever buys a new automobile, and the average number of persons per room goes beyond what is supposed to be the American standard.

In the middle group, that spending from \$400 to \$600 per

consumption unit per year for ultimate consumer goods, there is much more chance for a full dinner pail, and for a glass of milk on the high chair three times a day. The percentage of families not spending enough to secure the Bureau of Home Economics' adequate diet at minimum cost declines greatly, varying from 42 to 5 per cent in the twenty-eight different cities for which the computation has been made. At this level the percentage of total expenditures spent for clothing, housing, household operation, personal care, and community welfare remains virtually unchanged. The percentage spent for furnishings and equipment, transportation, medical care, and gifts and contributions to persons outside the family increases significantly with the consumption level of the family. The percentage spent for education is irregular, depending on the number and age of the children in each group.

At the highest economic level distinguished in our study, practically all the families studied have spent enough for food to buy a nutritionally adequate diet, and Dr. Stiebeling's analyses, as far as I have seen them, indicate that at this level a very large proportion of the diets actually do provide for adequacy. It seems clear that this great majority of urban families will welcome nutrition education which will assist them in providing their families with low-cost, but adequate, diets. It also seems clear that some form of consumer subsidy is needed if children and adults in the marginal-income groups are not to suffer that most serious form of hunger, the hunger of malnutrition.

MEDICAL CARE FOR CRIPPLED CHILDREN

*R. C. Hood, M.D., Crippled Children's
Division, Children's Bureau
Washington, D.C.*

UNDER the Social Security Act there has been established a medical-care program that provides for payments for the cost of medical and surgical care, hospitalization, and aftercare of crippled children. This is the first program of medical care based on the principle of federal grants-in-aid to the states and on co-operation with professional and other groups and organizations having closely related interests. The selection of crippled children as the group for whom this first program of grants-in-aid for medical care was established was not accidental. The appealing character of the needs of this group has long aroused public interest and the results of good care or lack of care are well recognized. The development of this small service—for it is, indeed, relatively small compared with the whole need for medical care—represents a step forward in public responsibility for medical care.

The principle of federal grants to states under the Social Security Act makes possible a greater extension of services by the states than would otherwise be available. Experience has repeatedly shown that, if the source of support is to be adequate and sufficiently stable to meet the continuing medical needs of large numbers of persons, public funds must be appropriated for this purpose.

Since this is a new program of medical care administered under federal and state auspices it is important that sound policies of procedure be developed, and that as the program goes forward the policies be carefully studied and analyzed, and when necessary changed, in order to assure a continuing basis for

adequate care. Many of the techniques and policies that appeared to work satisfactorily in the medical-care program of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration and in other programs of medical care have proved of value in the initiation of the new services.

Federal grants are made to states with the understanding that these grants are to be matched by equal funds from state and local sources. The requirement for financial participation by the state as distinguished from financial participation by local political subdivisions insures an increased interest and feeling of responsibility on the part of the state in the development of a comprehensive program. In order to administer the services, it is necessary that a single official agency be designated by the state. This necessitates close co-operation between state agencies, especially where by state law more than one agency has functions that relate to services to crippled children.

The federal act places on the state responsibility for the selection of personnel but it does not release the federal government from responsibility in this respect, since one of the conditions for approval of the plan by the federal agency is the presentation of evidence that the plan can be efficiently operated. Clearly, efficient operation is to a great degree dependent on the qualifications and competency of the personnel undertaking to administer the plan.

It is significant that a medical-care program under grants-in-aid from the federal government should require co-operation with groups and organizations working in related fields. The program for crippled children is a real challenge to the effective co-ordination of medical, health, nursing, medical-social, physical-therapy, and related services.

Since the program was new to such a large number of states, it was of the utmost importance that sound administrative policies be established at the outset. In order to assist the Children's Bureau in developing the program, the Secretary of Labor appointed an advisory committee, composed of outstanding representatives of professional and lay groups equipped

through experience in the care of crippled children, to make recommendations concerning the administration of these services. Furthermore, as public provision of medical care is inseparable from public health services, and as in many states the program for crippled children was administered by the departments of health, an advisory committee on maternal and child health, appointed from the state and territorial health officers, was asked to consider the problems of the crippled children's program. Recommendations of great value in pointing the way toward satisfactory procedures have been made to the Children's Bureau by both of these advisory committees.

As a result of these recommendations, and of the experience gained through a year's operation of services, several principles have emerged that are worthy of note as indicating the trend of policies. It has been felt from the beginning that, wherever a satisfactory state program of medical care for crippled children was already in operation, every assistance should be given to enable the official agency to expand and improve its services by means of the federal grants.

No specific definition of a crippled child was included in the wording of the Social Security Act. Although the laws of the states show marked differences in definition and interpretation, no attempt was made to reconcile these differences in the initial stages of the program. While there has been this great diversity in the legal and administrative definitions, the cases accepted for care have for the most part been of an orthopedic nature. Children whose chief disability is incurable blindness, deafness, or mental defect, and those having abnormalities requiring permanent custodial care are considered beyond the scope of this program.

In the past, services for crippled children have not been uniformly available throughout this country. Under the federal act it has been possible for state agencies to extend the scope of their services to cover all crippled children under twenty-one years of age in need of care. A broad interpretation of economic eligibility and legal residence has been given.

As the cost of medical and surgical care of crippled children usually is large, many families who can meet the expense of medical care for an ordinary illness are unable to meet the cost of this specialized treatment. This means that many children of families in low- or marginal-income groups may be denied the advantages of adequate medical care unless help is obtained from public or private sources.

As the program involves provision of medical services, including diagnostic clinics and hospitalization, it has seemed most desirable to have medical direction both in the Children's Bureau and in the state agency. Physicians with pediatric or general medical background or public health training and with administrative experience appear to be well prepared to serve in this capacity. In addition specialized service in the fields of orthopedics, neurology, cardiology, and so forth, is needed either through consultants or through advisory committees.

The technical nature of these services for crippled children constantly emphasizes the importance of maintaining high standards in the selection of professional personnel, such as surgeons, nurses, medical social workers, physical therapists, and others. The advisory committees have recommended that personnel be engaged who meet the qualifications established by the national organizations representing the various fields, and in a number of instances it has been possible for the state agency to offer educational opportunities to the staff leading to the attainment of approved qualifications.

Because of the scarcity of persons equipped to function in the field of medical care for crippled children, skilled technical supervision is necessary in order to insure effective care for the individual crippled child through the medium of the local health and welfare workers. The preparation of these supervisors or consultants for special services is of utmost importance, and steps are being taken to increase the opportunities for satisfactory training in this highly specialized field. Continued emphasis on the qualifications of personnel will be more and more effective in improving the standards of medical care.

The general adoption of the policy of remuneration of surgeons and other professional workers on a reasonable and equitable basis has enabled the official state agency to require higher standards of qualifications and services than were heretofore possible. In most instances a satisfactory schedule of payment has been based on consideration of the technical skill required, the responsibility involved, the length of time demanded, and on the public funds available. In adjusting the schedules of payment the primary intent of the program has been kept in mind by the states, namely, the provision of these services to crippled children especially in rural areas and in areas suffering from severe economic distresss.

Development of a general advisory committee to the official state agency has been one of the most effective means of meeting the requirements of the Social Security Act that co-operative relationships be developed with medical, health, nursing, and welfare groups and with any state agency providing vocational rehabilitation of physically handicapped children. The use of the general advisory committee as a medium of interpretation is of real service in keeping the state agency aware of community needs and is giving the public a true understanding of the objectives and activities of the state program. A medical subcommittee is also of great value to the official state agency in advising on the technical phases of the program, such as the establishment of standards for qualified physicians, schedules of fees, hospital and convalescent care, and clinic procedures.

In general the principle of a decentralized medical-care program has been adopted by state agencies. Both public and private hospitals meeting acceptable standards have been utilized in an attempt to provide facilities as near as possible to the child's home. In addition to the care given through public hospitals, care has, in many cases, been purchased from private hospitals. Hospital care in private institutions is purchased as a service rendered to individual children and not as a lump-sum subsidy.

Considerable emphasis has been placed upon the need of the

states to develop facilities for care during convalescence, since there are obvious benefits to be gained by the children from placement for convalescence in an environment approximating a normal home. It may be desirable because of medical requirements to send the child to a convalescent institution, but, where his physical condition permits, it is often preferable to arrange for him to be cared for in a foster-home. Leaving a child for long periods of time in a hospital or a convalescent institution may result in the weakening of family ties or in major problems of adjustment when the time comes for his return home. Both convalescent and aftercare services have been slower in development than services for physical restoration. The importance of adequate aftercare services following hospitalization cannot be emphasized too strongly.

Social implications are inherent in the whole range of services for crippled children, from locating the crippled child to providing him with an opportunity for the best possible physical restoration and the most satisfying social adjustment. It is essential, therefore, not only that the significance of these social factors be recognized, but also that responsibility be assumed for preventive and constructive social treatment. The medical social worker brings to the program a point of view and experience invaluable in interpreting the medical and social elements of a medical-care program applicable to both urban and rural communities.

The organization and plans for services for crippled children differ from state to state; consequently the responsibilities and functions of the medical social worker vary in accordance with the positions held. In general she serves as a liaison person between health and welfare services. Her activities are concerned with the development of effective working relationships with other agencies, the co-ordination of health and welfare resources, and the provisions of facilities necessary for the operation of a state-wide program. The medical social worker on a state staff makes her most effective contribution through consultation services to public health nurses and welfare workers.

other areas in which she is particularly helpful relate to obtaining social data at itinerant as well as permanent clinics, planning with the physician for hospital discharge, and developing convalescent facilities.

A well-rounded and forward-looking program of medical care for crippled children has both a health purpose and a social purpose. It includes services leading not only to the correction and prevention of crippling conditions but also to a satisfying social adjustment for the physically handicapped person. This same theory is expounded in a recent volume on the life of Sir Robert Jones, the noted English orthopedic surgeon. It is stated that he realized that obvious deformity too often resulted from radical surgical procedures necessitated by the lack of consecutive treatment. The author writes:

Too frequently patients were patched up and sent home. These drifted almost inevitably into chronic deformity. Secondly, large numbers of children suffering from chronic diseases were treated ineffectively in their own home. By him as by no one else, forty years ago it was clearly seen that the future of the crippled child was both surgical and social, a state not only of limbs, but of mind, and ultimately not satisfied with the promise of recovery, he laid eager hands upon the means by which so much suffering could be prevented.

MENTAL-HEALTH NEEDS IN CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

*Sybil Foster, Field Secretary, Child
Welfare League of America
New York City*

THE concepts drawn from the field of mental hygiene and from case work have been the two largest factors contributing to the growth and development of institutions for children. Development which, in some instances, has enabled the institution to play a unique part in a community's program of child care.

When through mental hygiene and case work we come to see each child as a developing personality, different from all others we realize that mass care of children—food, shelter, and kindness—does not provide for the individual needs. Just as the early creators of the orphanages were pioneer leaders in their communities, so again have other pioneers stepped forward to lead us on to the next development in institution care—that growth which will make the institution a special tool of foster-care—a group experience for the child who needs it, who can gain from it, and who can stand up under it. If the institution is to be this special tool, then there must be a well-developed case-work service and a basic mental-hygiene program.

There appear to be three groups of mental-health needs for the institution which may well be discussed. These are the needs of the children, the needs of the adults, and the needs for psychiatric advice in developing the program wisely.

Through understanding the needs of the children, may we draw out essentials for the mental-hygiene program. From studying the important part played by the adult in this posi-

tion of leadership, we may gain knowledge as to the basis for selection and training of personnel. The final development of the program will have to be based on the special needs as we find them and the available resources in the community through which we may be met.

The mental-health needs of the children have been simply summed up as: the need for security and affection, the need for recognition as a person in order to build self-esteem, and the need for adventure and thrill. Security is a basic need for all of us. The urge to be wanted and loved and to belong is fundamental. To the child from an apparently normal, happy home it may never become an outstanding want—though frequently it does, even so.

The little child's way of self-expression is through loving and being loved. The child needs to be loved by persons to whom he means something, but who can be objective in their loving and not absorbing of that love for their own emotional satisfaction. Many of the children who come to us in the institutions have been subjected to home situations and experiences which have cut them off entirely from their normal share of love and expressed affection, from their normal amount of understanding and sympathy. We must, then, see to it that the persons surrounding them in their daily living are the sort who can appreciate the situation and give them this fundamental quality of understanding affection.

Children can gain this in an institution. When a six-foot sailor, on returning to town on discharge from the Navy, makes his first trip one back to the institution to see the old cottage mother who had brought him up through his early and troublesome years, he is demonstrating this point. The boy who saved his pennies from out-of-school-hours work and brought the "Mother's Pin" which mothers of Boy Scouts wear, and gave to the superintendent of the institution, saying he wanted people to know that she had a boy who was a Scout, was also expressing something vital in the relationship he has known.

We all know the love-starved child of the institution who

clings upon and hangs to the visitor who shows the slightest response to him. By merely observing the behavior of children in an institution one may gain a fairly clear idea of whether their lives are adequately rounded in the field of general emotional satisfactions.

It is through the satisfying relationships to both men and women that the children come to rebuild their trust and confidence and their faith in the world in general. In fact, it is out of such wise and understanding love and demonstration of it, and their experiencing of justice, fairness, and tolerance, through the co-operative service of home-making, that the child gains the spiritual qualities of life from which he will later formulate his own particular religious philosophy and belief.

The second need of the child is of equal importance. Self-esteem, an adequate self-evaluation, must be built up. This is sometimes hard in the institution. Our old large groupings made it almost impossible for all children to receive sufficient recognition to allow them to build up self-esteem. Certain outstanding children could gain this, but those who most readily become submerged were the children who most needed the help they would have gained from special attention. We have come to see that we must have more individualization, that the child must learn to see himself as of importance to someone or to the group.

The philosophy which underlies the program should make it possible to meet these needs for the child. For instance, in the matter of clothing, we may readily build up the child's self-esteem. It should be selected in accord with the child's particular needs and, in so far as possible, to his liking. It should be sufficiently comparable to what the others are wearing to be satisfying and yet sufficiently different to make the child feel individual. Not many years ago the major consideration in clothing institution children was economy and practicality from the point of view of the staff. Today the emphasis is on the psychological needs of the individual child.

As the opportunities to develop a sense of personal ownership are few at best, clothing should always be considered as per-

sonal property. It should not be handed down nor should it be worn after it becomes outgrown and unsuitable looking.

Haircuts for the institution children may be a matter of regimentation or may be entirely individual and according to the children's own tastes, with a reasonable degree of guidance. The rapidly grown and overdeveloped adolescent girl has many difficulties of adjustment. Smartly cut hair or even a permanent wave may be such an aid to self-confidence that, from a case-work angle, the investment may be even more justified than some more usual and unquestioned expense.

The part of privacy and personal possessions in the building-up of self-esteem cannot be overlooked. If a single room is not possible, sometimes cubicles can be arranged. If this is not possible, then even locker or cupboard space given the child as his very own can be of true value. On a visit to one of our large institutions recently, many of the lockers of the adolescent girls were seen, lockers with shelves on top and hanging space below. These were considered private property and each youngster arranged her own as she wished. The collection of things they saw fit to save and decorate with would have been fruitful for a psychological study of each child. Some were filled with nothing but pictures of the admired movie hero of the moment; one had only photographs of dogs; one had pictures of mothers and babies only, and numerous headlines from magazines with the word "mother" in different combinations. The entire setup of her small locker space was the expression of a thinking and wishing entirely her own.

In another institution a boy of thirteen was accepted for special study. He had lived most of his life in a congregate county home with no semblance of privacy. On admission he was given one of the single rooms. That boy collected possessions from all over the grounds, articles which at a hasty glance might have looked to the adult like impossible trash. He treasured these and kept them on exhibit in his room. With the skill of long practice he repeatedly scrubbed his floor, shined his brass doorknob on the inside, closed the door, and placed

on it a sign saying: "Private—please do not enter without knocking." He then spent the major portion of his free time inviting all to come and see his room. One immediately felt the satisfaction and status he was getting from a place which he could call his own and to which he could invite people. His privacy was always scrupulously respected.

In the matter of building self-esteem, the recreation opportunities play a large part. Group participation, and game skills as they develop, all give more assurance. Even the smallest opportunities for self-expression and performance before the group gives the child a chance to see himself as a person. Glee club, dramatics, pantomime, and pageantry all help.

The exquisite looking but painfully inadequate feeling little girl of thirteen who was having treatment from the psychiatrist was helped greatly in gaining status through the recreation activities. In a simple pageant of the growth of the American flag, she was selected to carry the final United States flag, the "stars and stripes." Cringing and fearful she started out, but, when she finally faced the audience as she stood on the platform above all the earlier flags carried by other children, her head was tossed up and an expression of confidence showed in her face. She saw herself as somebody of importance, if only for the moment, somebody looked up to and admired and even envied by her peers.

Vocational training for the child is one of the surest aids to self-esteem; finding special aptitudes and helping the child to develop them often gives him much status in the group. The opportunities to earn, save, spend, and give afford the child recognition, and establish that sense of property values and rights so essential to ease in living. In matters of discipline there are, of course, many dangers of gaining an apparent conformity but deflating the child in so doing. Here we need the most careful mental-hygiene planning.

The child's last need—that for adventure, thrill, and surprise—is, perhaps, one of the hardest to meet in the institution. Without constant watching, even in the most progressive program,

regimentation and routine quickly creep into the daily living. The program must remain flexible and meet the individual needs. Housemothers who, to the last one, turned out at 2:00 A.M. with the children to see the circus come in indicate the kind of flexibility and buoyancy we need. Persons who can control their groups yet dare break routine.

Recreation must consider the individual as well as the group. We are in danger of building up in the child abilities and interest for group activities without building resources within the child himself. If this happens, then he will be at a distinct disadvantage when he moves on to normal community living and a group is not easily available to him.

The anxiety of the institution supervisor on the day our lone angler went off at 4:00 A.M. with three sandwiches to last him until lunch time and did not return until 9:00 P.M., those of you who have cared for other people's children can imagine. The fact that he came back late but radiant, that he had such an immensely good time by himself that he forgot about food, that he was filled with excitement over his two speckled trout, made it a worth-while experience—though painful for the adults concerned. We must give children the opportunity for initiative, resourcefulness, and self-reliance in order that they may learn to satisfy in numerous accepted ways the need for adventure.

The needs of the adults are basically those of the children—needs which must be satisfied in one way or another if we are to have sufficiently well-rounded adults to hold positions of leadership with children. Whether we like it or not, the adults who live in close contact with children are forced into a position of leadership of one sort or another. Our program stands or falls through their efforts; our goals are attained or not attained through them; they are the most important persons in the child's environment at the moment. Their good mental health, their understanding of themselves, is essential to our success.

The adult quickly becomes the object of emulation and imitation by the child. Not only will the child strive to live up to the

ideals of an admired adult, but he will also closely copy social behavior, way of dress, and personal mannerisms. The tolerances, intolerances, prejudices, generosities—in fact, all of the attitudes—of the grown person markedly influence the child in the development of his attitudes and his way of meeting life. Frictions and tensions among the adults are always readily discernible through the behavior of the children. Therefore, those of us dealing directly with children must know something of why we behave as we do if we are to understand why the children behave as they do. Only in this way we may understand the part we play in their personality development.

Our adult personalities are the outcome of our racial and social heritage and our experiences in our environment to date. Whether we are liked or disliked, wanted or unwanted, thought important or unimportant, colors our behavior, and, as one or another of these experiences predominates, so to some extent we build our personalities.

By understanding the factors making up personality we may better manage our own lives and so have greater service for others. So, also, by insight into our motives and desires, we are better able to understand those of the persons about us. Just as with the children, self-esteem is vital to us. Anything which assails our self-esteem is hard to accept. For instance, we dislike to be defied by a child in the presence of our peers. Yet we must be sufficiently secure within ourselves to let impudence and insolence pass for the moment, when it seems wise. Frequently failure to resist, and quiet listening to insult without becoming enraged, will bring about the change in social behavior which we desire.

Our need to enforce authority because we have given a command is a snare in which we may enmesh ourselves beyond withdrawal. We need to know whether we are carrying through to the finish because we started something (and “no child can defy me and get away with it”), because we fear our superiors may think us unable to enforce discipline, or because the safety and good of the individual or the group depends on compliance

with the command. In matters of yielding to or exerting authority we may frequently see ourselves responding much as we used to in childhood years. This is a point at which those of us in responsibility for the daily living of children should watch ourselves. The need to have power and authority and to use it can become a dominating factor in our lives.

If we allow this to happen, then we have to gain obedience and conformity not for the child's growth and best good but to satisfy our own need for supremacy. This is not a fair situation for the child, and those adults who cannot control this need for domination should leave the field of direct care of children.

We are prone as adults to underestimate ourselves—we know ourselves too well. Not only do we see our external behavior but we know how we feel inside. With another person we see only what that person shows us, unless we are gifted with insight and occasionally see below the surface. We can scarcely believe that others feel as inadequate and scared, or lonely, as we do at times, and so we believe their behavior is due to some other cause. When others appear aloof and superior, or boastful and aggressive, we think they really feel so, whereas often they are whistling, as we do, to keep their courage up. If we recognize this it takes the sting out of what otherwise would be personal affront, and we are better able to keep our perspective and therefore act intelligently.

Again, as with the child, we need the feeling of security, of being wanted, or of being adequate to the situation. We need to feel secure in our affection for those for whom we care, in the tenure of our job, equal to the responsibilities which fall to us and to the social obligations which we must meet. Many factors may tend to break down such feelings, and so insecurity creeps in. It underlies much of our behavior and is shown in varying guises.

A position of leadership with children demands maturity of the adult. Even though our childhood experiences have given us a false start, we may still modify our behavior and change our attitudes if we give thought to it. Leadership also demands of

the adult a philosophy of life and an acceptance of things as they are. It calls for the ability to give affection and demand little in return. Leadership should not be by domination, but by example and stimulation of each one in the group to live his or her life to the fullest and best.

For the child care institutions this means wise selection and careful training of personnel if we are to have an atmosphere conducive to the good mental health of children and staff.

Probably the greatest asset for the house parent is rugged good health with consequent endurance, buoyancy, and a young point of view, regardless of age. We need a person with a true liking for people—a liking for children, faults and all—one who is not unduly irritated by the less attractive qualities. We need a joyous, fun-loving person, with tact, stability, and a sense of humor, that rare quality which makes it possible to laugh at one's self as well as at others.

We have been listing qualities of personality. We need also certain types of knowledge. Some medical information, and familiarity with principles of child psychology, are essential. So, too, are hobby interests and special skills. Perhaps equally important is a balance between professional and cultural interests. There must be a wide range of interest if the adult is to remain fresh and vital on the job.

Above all things, as indicated before, there must be a well-balanced philosophy of life, a belief that even with its rough spots it is worth while. There must be a true appreciation of spiritual values and an ability to pass them on to others. We may find the person with some of these qualities and we may develop them in others. Certainly, mere selection of the personnel is not enough. We must continue with a teaching process to develop the point of view and type of information which the house staff must have if they are to exert wise leadership with children during the twenty-four hours of daily living. We must remember that hours of work required, rate of compensation, type of living quarters, and the responsibility and initiative

expected are all factors relating to their growth and efficiency on the job.

Schedules must be so planned that the adults may have time for rest, recreation, and cultural interests. We must consider the possibility of a financial return which will give them reasonable security. Just as with the children, privacy and pleasant surroundings are essential. We must raise the task of daily care of children to its proper level. It is more than washing of ears and mending of socks—it is a distinct contribution to the field of children study and training. If we are to attract and hold persons of high caliber in this work we must plan for participation in program development and for the possibility of growth and advancement in the ranks.

How may these needs of the children and the adults be met through the program?

From the superintendent up and down through the board and staff there must be an acceptance of the fact that children are different with differing needs; and that so far as possible these needs must be met, even if it interferes with smooth operation of the institution. Again, it must be accepted that the emotional relationships within the institution, those of staff with staff, staff with children, and children with children, are all more vital than the building in which we carry on; that here is the soul of the institution which makes life either a growth experience for the child or a deadening routine and regimentation.

The mental-hygiene program may vary in each institution in its degree of development and intensity of service, depending on the type of child with which the institution is dealing and the facilities available in the community for service. The first requisite of the program is an attitude which carries through all the aspects, large or small, of the daily routine. Individual haircuts, ankle socks instead of long black stockings, "T" shirts, brown shoes instead of black (if craved), and so on, play their part along with understanding affection, trust, and fair dealing in making a wholesome atmosphere in which the child may develop to the utmost his or her given potentialities.

If the attitude is accepted but professional knowledge for further understanding is lacking, then through staff meetings, reading, lecture courses, and institutes it may be built up. This may be under leadership of the executive or superintendent, if such a person has a fund of knowledge of child development and needs. It may be done as a staff study project. Some institutions have used Father Cooper's book, *Children's Institutions*, as a background of source material for self-study. Use may be made of such course material as that put out by the Ohio Committee on Children's Institutions, in co-operation with the State Division of Charities in Columbus. This is in simple and usable form. On the other hand, help may be had from some professional in the community who may be interested enough to give guidance to a child-study program. We are at the moment considering a joint approach to the mental-hygiene teaching need of the institutions in New York State. The Mental Hygiene Committee of the New York State Charities Aid has asked the Child Welfare League to co-operate with them and some of the New York institutions in developing this project in a practical way.

In some areas of the United States planning for self-education of the staff is as far as we can go—as no other resources are yet available. We must, however, be constantly on the alert for opportunities in the community which can be developed, and as new facilities are offered we should build them into our program.

All institutions as soon as possible should provide case-work service for their children by skilled workers who have a psychiatric understanding and who know the institution and its personnel, its assets, and its limitations.

Psychological study, the estimate of the child's actual intellectual equipment, should be available in order that we may know at least roughly the type of child with which we are dealing. Nothing is much more tragic than the effort of a child to live up to demands made upon him which are entirely beyond his mental ability to meet. Nothing is more wasteful than the misbehavior, depredations, and consequent punishment of a

child whose good intellect is unchallenged, whose energies are unoccupied because his true abilities are unrecognized. Though the extremes at either end of the curve are apt to stand out, with many in the middle range we fail in recognition.

Differing plans have been made for psychological testing. Sometimes this is done by psychologists of the school department, or from and adjacent university department or normal school, or again through the service of a psychologist from a traveling clinic.

Psychiatric study—knowledge of the physical, mental, and emotional life and development of the child, how he uses his equipment and what hampers him from better use—should be possible for certain children needing it in any average institution group. A greater amount of service will be needed for those institutions dealing with the particularly difficult children.

There should be opportunity for single interviews by the psychiatrist with the child. In some instances this will give enough insight into the child's difficulties to suggest ways of meeting his needs. In other instances there must be time available for intensive continuing study and treatment by the psychiatrist as needed. More important still should be the time available for consultation by the psychiatrist with the staff members.

The range of possibility for psychiatric service in our different areas runs all the way from absolutely none to highly skilled service in ample quantity. In some of our suburban and rural areas served by traveling clinics, working out from state school or state hospital, arrangements can be made for psychological and psychiatric service at stated intervals. Those institutions that happen to be in close proximity to the services of psychiatric out-patient departments and child guidance clinics may draw this service from them. An effort should be made to have certain psychiatrists and psychologists assigned for the work in order that there may be continuity in treatment and in program-planning.

It may be that the needed amount or kind of service cannot

be had on a co-operative basis from the already overloaded clinics. If this is the case, then it should be planned and paid for as a part of the general budget for operation of a full program. This money may be hard to find, but the returns from such an investment are most gratifying if such service leads to better understanding and wiser handling of the children in care.

The psychiatrist should be identified with the institution, a part of the staff. His work must be as carefully interpreted to the staff and board as any other aspect of the program. Only in this way will a psychiatric point of view permeate the institution's thinking. The psychiatrist needs to know the staff personalities as well as the children with whom he deals in a treatment relationship. Only by knowing these persons with whom the child must live his daily life may he even guess the factors to which the child must adjust.

It is important that the psychiatrist understand the staff, for often it is only through the vital relationship of the child with some staff member that he may work. Through guiding the adult in his or her relationship to the child, the desired results may be brought about. The psychiatrist should also have time for attendance at staff meetings. Intensive study of the child—social, physical, and emotional—if not drawn together and made the basis of careful planning for the child, can be both harmful and wasteful.

Staff training should be well carried forward as the psychiatric service for the institution is developed. If the skills of the psychiatrist and social worker are too far beyond the intelligence and understanding of the house staff, difficulty will arise at once and treatment plans will be blocked. For instance, the child who needs to express aggression may be making excellent progress in releasing her emotion. After her last bout of overt behavior we take her to the psychiatrist and he says—"Fine, she's coming along well." We return and tell that to the house-mother, only to have her explode with, "Well, I wish he had to live with her while she releases it!" (She having in mind a vivid picture of the child's social behavior.) Careful interpretation,

step by step, of the psychiatric concepts involved is needed if the house staff are to play the vital part they may in the treatment plans.

The psychiatrist must also keep us ever aware of the part the child's parents play in his emotional life. Emotionally they play a part, living or dead, absent or present, and this must not be overlooked. The child's relationship to them in the past and in the present colors his behavior, his wishful thinking, and his idealism.

Probably because of the fact that child care developed to meet the need of orphans, it has taken us a long time to recognize that children can never with advantage be isolated and their family ties, however meager, disregarded. In child placing agencies and institutions we are now being forced to see that we are dealing in the main with children possessed of one and often two parents. Parents who, through incompetence, wilful neglect, or pressure of circumstance beyond their control have failed their children in one way or another. We must, then, give the child help in understanding and accepting this without bitterness—and we must help him to capitalize on any assets they may have. With the undesirable parents it may even be a service to the child to allow some contact between parent and child—giving him a chance to face the reality of his parents' limitations—rather than to cut the ties entirely and to force the child into a most unreal idealizing of them. The visiting at the institution and at home and the work with relatives should be one of the most carefully developed phases of the mental-hygiene program.

To sum up:

It is, then, the atmosphere of the institution and all that goes into the daily living program which makes for a mental-hygiene approach to the child.

We must build up security for the child through wise and understanding affection. We must build self-esteem in innumerable different ways. We must have well-selected, well-balanced personnel and skilled professional study by the social

worker, the physician, the psychologist, and the psychiatrist as needed and as it can be obtained.

We want to understand the particular child and his needs. We also want our program in all its ramifications to be basically sound from the mental-health point of view. We want the atmosphere of the daily living to be such that the child may learn to be emotionally and economically independent, able to make his way in a community with which he is familiar and at ease.

Mental health for the child means much more than simply freedom from disease. It means freedom from the warpings and twists of personality and attitude which will hamper the child and prevent him from facing life squarely and holding his own in the complex world in which ultimately he must live.

THE EVALUATION OF A CHILD'S PROGRESS IN AN INSTITUTION

*Helen A. Day, Superintendent, Sheltering Arms
New York City*

WE ARE considering in this paper the evaluation of a child's progress in an institution. We are speaking of progress and our evaluation of it, first of all, in terms of normal growth. We hope to send the child back to the community able to take his place in it with as true an understanding of life and the part he is to take in it as we can possibly give him. The majority of our children will return to their own homes. Very definitely, we must be keeping alive the family ties. When the situation is damaged beyond repair, we must teach the child how to adjust his life to accept this fact. How can we know when this point has been reached? When is a child ready to take his place and run his life with full adult maturity? Only as we see him accepting responsibilities, making adjustments, and understanding his own personal problems will we judge of his ability to meet the greater complexities of the great outside world. Although this is not the subject of this paper, the job of preparing the home to meet the needs of the child brings into play the most skilful techniques of the case worker.

May I illustrate with the story of Rebecca, who had grayed the hair of two institution superintendents? From the age of six she had lived in an institution where her mother was employed. So stormy was Rebecca's existence that it became impossible for it to continue in this situation. She was transferred to us at the age of thirteen. Rebecca's behavior indicated that she thoroughly resented her whole life-situation. Whereas in the past her mother had fought her battles, she now fought her

own. It was impossible for her to establish a relationship with the cottage mother or with the girls. The cottage mother, tried beyond human endurance, often referred her to me. Removed from the annoying situation, I found her easy to talk to, and able to recognize her own shortcomings. She was very skilful in manipulating crepe paper. I began to call upon her to help in making decorations for parties, table favors, etc. The group recognized her superior ability in these things and she felt some pride in doing them. At camp she proved herself exceptionally skilful in swimming. She became very friendly with the swimming counselor and with one of the girls who was also a good swimmer. It was interesting that, from this beginning, her contacts spread to include all camp counselors. A strange contrast here—a girl who could not wash a dish in her cottage without rebellion could be the backbone of a three-day hike, carrying wood, cleaning dirty frying pans, and being an all-around good sport.

When she reached the age of seventeen the prospect of going out into the world frightened her to such an extent that she was even harder to live with. The more desperately she wanted to be accepted by older people on an adult plane, the more childish was her behavior. We suggested that she take a position as a camp counselor to teach swimming and craft. She returned in the fall with fifty dollars in her pocket and the poise which comes from knowing that a task has been well done. Later in the fall she secured a fine position in a bookstore. This position satisfied Rebecca in all its requirements. The salary, though not large, was adequate; the work was within her grasp, and the people with whom she associated were considerate and, to use her own word, "refined." She left us of her own accord and made her own living arrangements. She paid eight dollars a week for room and board in the home of a friend of her mother. Here she shared a room with another girl and traveled for an hour during the rush hour on a subway. She was a neat girl, attractive and dainty in appearance. These quarters gave her no privacy or place of her own. But, during this time, Rebecca

learned much of the give and take of family life. The mother of the family was a nervous, excitable woman. "She makes me think of myself," Rebecca laughingly told me. At the end of the year Rebecca came to me for the addresses of girls' clubs. She has established herself in one, and seems to be living a life very suited to her needs. She is on friendly terms with the girls, is a real leader in the house, and goes out with several boy friends.

At this point Rebecca's mother decided to remarry. Her reason for doing so was that she wished to make a home for Rebecca. After thinking the thing over carefully, Rebecca came to me to give her decision in the matter. She gave her reasons for not wishing her mother to make this marriage in as objective and practical a way as I would have done myself. She is now nineteen and it is impossible to think of her as other than a thoroughly adult person with extremely good judgment.

We receive children into our institution for so many reasons that I cannot attempt to enumerate them, but do not think for a minute that we can plan for the child without the most careful intake study. We must accept only those for whom group life will be beneficial. Most of them have parents—fathers or mothers or both. These parents are a most vital part of any plan we may have for the child's progress. They are so bound up with the child's emotional life that the child is never really separated from them. Even in situations where the parents have abused and deserted their children, so great is their need for this tie that they create ideal parents for themselves. Under normal conditions one expects children to grow more and more independent until, as they approach adulthood, they think and act for themselves. Imaginary parents seem to hinder their normal progress. It follows, then, that the real parents should be included and used as much as possible by the institution. Every positive contribution to a child's life that a parent can make must be accepted. It will turn your well-run institution upside down but it will be well worth it. You will understand them better and they will understand you. The children will

accept you, not as substitute parents, but as supplementary parents. "My father is going to leave me in the home until he gets a good job," says Massett. "My mother wants me to go to May Cottage and go to high school," says Dorothy. "I told my father I love you because you are just like my big, fat grandmother," says Eileen. This definite identification of the parents with the institution is very helpful. Children often say, "My father says the Sheltering Arms is the best home in New York." High praise, indeed.

There are two fundamental needs in a child's life—the need to be loved and the need for self-esteem. I believe that the present-day institution can in some degree meet those needs. Are we meeting them or have we a hangover from the past? As recently as 1925 I saw the program in effect (for boys from nine to sixteen) of work and school every day. Monday, stocking darning; Tuesday, baths; Wednesday, choir practice; Thursday, baths; Friday, fine combing hair; Saturday morning, cleaning; afternoon, play in the house or yard; Sunday, Sunday-school, church choir, and parents to visit on alternate Sundays. On the nonvisiting Sundays there was always some species of riot, runaway, or bloodshed. From another institution comes this story from the same period. A young college girl went to work with a group of delinquent girls from twelve to sixteen. The matron outlined the girls' program and told the student that the girls had a recreation hour after dinner when they did handwork. This sounded encouraging, but imagine her horror upon finding this situation: Each girl had a crochet hook and a spool of grimy cotton. As soon as the ball was finished, the girl ripped out what she had done and began her dreary way again. A fine situation to foster rebellion. A strange kind of recreation indeed!

In the old days of the Sheltering Arms children attended public schools, but they felt themselves so different from the children around them that it was often impossible for them to make any use of what they were learning. A group of girls tried to make a compromise between what they wanted to look like

at school and what was expected of them in their cottage. They dressed carefully in the long underwear and black stockings provided by the institution, then left in time to divest themselves of the hateful things and put on silk stockings and underwear and felt that they could face the world. Unfortunately the concealed garments were found in the areaway and they were severely punished. In the old plan a child was treated as a prisoner or inmate. He was allowed no say in what was to happen to him. No reasons or explanations were given for any of the rules and regulations. It seemed to me that the invariable answer to any question was, "We're not allowed to."

How different the atmosphere can and must be! It is the children's show. They must have a share in running it. The staff must be first of all human. Even the chef and the laundryman must know that they are working for the children. Staff members are drawn from different walks of life, with sufficient educational qualifications to fit them for their work. But, whatever else they are, they must be understanding of children and pleasant to live with. They must have a sense of humor. They should dress and act like the people the children admire. If they have hobbies and special talents they should share them with the children. They should take the children into their lives in a warm and cordial way. These are the people who are evaluating the child's progress. They must know the children and judge them with due consideration of their abilities. This evaluation will not be just the opinion of one person, but a pooling of all information whether gathered from the housemother, school teachers, playground director, or case worker. The opinion of the psychiatrist is needed also in cases of children showing emotional instability. To do this with real insight, we must be sure we have knowledge of noninstitution, nondependent children. Let institution workers compare their nieces and nephews, their friends' children, with their own charges. As my little niece said to me, "Why am I not a dependent child? Daddy and mother have to take care of me." The differences in the children are not so great.

It is a warm spring day. Three boys take the institution car out on a joy ride and are arrested in a near-by town. This was for passing a red light and driving without a license. "Let them stay in jail a few days." "Expel them from the institution." "Teach them a lesson." Why should we? The superintendent's nephew took out the family car and smashed it up to the tune of eighty dollars in repairs. Was Tom put in jail? Was he even forbidden the use of the car? Not at all. He was obliged to meet his father's displeasure and made himself responsible for paying every cent of damage, which he did at the rate of a dollar a week. The three institution boys are taught their lesson by talking over the whole thing with the superintendent. They admitted they had been wrong and they saw the reason. They said they had acted on impulse. John saw the keys on the table; Fred said he had driven his uncle's car; Charles said, "Let's go for a ride." No repetition of this act has ever occurred and the superintendent felt closer to the boy at this interview than ever before.

Whenever possible we must let the children have contact with the community school, church, recreational activities. When it is not possible to join these, we must create substitutes for them. These substitutes must measure up to outside activities. Children may be taught to sing and dance but they must have real satisfaction from doing it if it is to mean anything to them.

A few years ago we decided to make a more agreeable use of our skill in singing. We conceived the idea that we would produce *Pinafore* in an abbreviated form. The actors were from ten to fourteen years of age and, until the night of the production, were not very enthusiastic about doing it. The enthusiasm of all who saw the play carried the children off their feet. They had done something unusual and had joined that great army of Gilbert and Sullivan enthusiasts. The second year we aspired to the *Mikado*. With the help of some musical members of our staff and a little cutting, the *Mikado* reached a successful production. The third year found the children reading every

book on Gilbert and Sullivan that the library could suggest. The sixteen-year-old six-footer who had been the "Mikado" vowed he would not have his new part cut. The boys, whose voices were changing, joined the cast. The play had, of course, to be the *Pirates of Penzance*. No chorus so suited to the changing voice as the "Tarantara" of the policemen. And now comes *Patience*, the most difficult of all. We now are giving our plays in a small theater with tickets at fifty cents each eagerly bought by alumni and friends. We are working for a cause. We have raised \$130 for our college fund this year. Through these plays our children have acquired far more than the mere production of a play, however well given. They had a wonderful time and they gained in poise and responsibility.

We should be teaching skills of all kinds to the best of our ability. At this point, I quote from Dr. Jersild of Teachers College, Columbia University:

The acquisition of skills tends to act as a lever to dislodge emotional conflicts and personality maladjustments. Increasingly the study of individuals converges on the cardinal educational principle that where there's a skill there's a way not only of doing specific things but also in the promotion of emotional balance and personality adjustment.

There are ways in which an institution can help to remove the stigma of being a foster-child. Says Jane, age eighteen, "I realize that a lot of the people I meet have not had the advantages I have had." "I sometimes feel sorry for the girls at college who just spend their Christmas holidays at home," says Frances, spending her holidays from Smith College at the institution, "all the kids here make it so much more fun."

If we are to evaluate a child's progress we must see him in life-situations. We can throw the balance of our organization in this direction if we truly realize the need of the individual child. I have spoken so far only of progress within the institution. We must not expect to shut ourselves up within our institution walls and then send forth children fully equipped to meet every emergency. Children should have every possible community contact while they are still under our guidance. I have spoken of

contacts with the family. We must be sure that there are also community contacts. They should belong to a church as individuals, not merely be marched to church each Sunday. Let them go to weddings, even to funerals of people they know. Let their religious education be vital and meaningful for them. Whenever possible they should attend the public school of the community. Here they should participate in the full school program—the band, the orchestra, dramatics, athletics, debating society; wherever their inclination leads them.

Organizations often mean to be very kind to children in institutions. They give an orphan's picnic. Churches give Christmas parties. Stores send candy. The supply of Christmas hard candies that we receive lasts from Christmas to Easter. Half the money and twice the effort individually would produce five times as much for the children. Of course we love to go to the circus and to many of the lovely plays and movies to which New York so generously invites us. But this does not take the place of the personal friend who will come on a visiting day and take a little boy to the zoo; the personal friend who will take two little girls to her house and let them make waffles. In your group there will always be children with infrequent visitors. There are friends for these children if we only bring them together. We must let the children feel that they are part of the community. Community life is a part of a total experience of living. To quote from a paper, "Recording a Child's Progress in our Institutions," by Leonard Mayo: "The keynote of every progress record should be an attempt to answer the questions as to how the child is reacting to significant life-situations and what factors and influences appear to help or deter him."

We have at the present time a positive worship for records, and I shall expect to be shot at sunrise if I decry their use. I do not decry them, but I do say, "Be careful in your use of them." Keeping records for the sake of the records has no value. Pooling of information has value and certain types of record should very definitely be kept, but not everyone who

has the capacity for working with children has the capacity for writing a true word picture of a child. We need records, whether written or not, but they must come from a real knowledge of children. One form of records we have found very helpful are those the children write themselves. We encourage our children to keep diaries and some of them have written autobiographies. Although the diaries begin as secret documents, their authors soon release them to the public. Helpful in gauging a sense of humor have been the weekly papers the children put out. One, edited by the girls and spicily called *The Sheltering Legs*, folded up after the second issue. The boys' paper, *The Tooter*, has run all winter.

Let your staff read and study as well as write. Let them study child psychology, child development. Give them an understanding of the causes of behavior and you have climbed a mountain. Then we will begin to understand dimly, not only what a child does, but approach that elusive something that is the child itself.

I believe that superintendents must be constantly evaluating what is done for children. It is the superintendent who sets the scene and makes possible this evaluation of a child's progress—first of all through knowledge of a child's case history; next, through the opportunity to see him in life-situations.

What part does the program of the institution play in the evaluation? It creates opportunity for making use of the constructive element in a child's life. It promotes group activities. It relates the child to the community.

Who will make this evaluation and how will it be made? Competent people, well adjusted to this work, will make this evaluation by living with the child, sharing experiences with him, studying his needs, comparing him with noninstitution children, and, finally, by meeting for constant conferences with all who are concerned with the child

THE HOUSING MOVEMENT TODAY

*B. Charney Vladeck, General Manager, "Jewish
Forward," and Member, New York City
Housing Authority, New York*

NEARLY half a century has elapsed since Jacob Riis first published *How the Other Half Lives*. Since then libraries have been written on housing in the United States. But it is enough to read Miss Edith Abbott's *The Tenements of Chicago* to convince one's self of the complete futility of the social workers' sentiment against foul housing. Since the days of Jacob Riis the slums of our cities have become more extensive and more numerous, and more people are being physically and morally degraded by them than ever before.

Thirty years ago Harlem was a new residential section for well-to-do people, with broad avenues and up-to-date apartment houses. Today it is a terrible slum, causing more physical and social damage to its population than any earthquake or war. The same thing is true of South Chicago. We have also learned that laws cannot legislate slums out of existence. The activities of Jacob Riis, Lillian D. Wald, Jane Addams, and many other nationally famous social workers were concentrated for the past few decades on housing legislation. The multiple-dwelling laws in New York State and similar laws in other states are the result of social workers' effort; but the old-law tenements in New York City and the slum areas in other cities are still there, defying time and reason. Dying out at the rate of less than a thousand a year, it will take another three generations before the last old-law tenement gives up its ghost. In New York City we still have a quarter of a million apartments without private toilet, three hundred thousand without tub or shower, and nearly half a million without steam heat. Of 11,590

buildings in Harlem recently surveyed by the Vacancy Listing Bureau of the New York City Housing Authority, 56.4 per cent were declared unsanitary, unsafe, and unfit.

And, since housing became a serious study, a few more of its aspects have been exposed, making it even a greater and graver issue than we ever thought it could be. Thanks to surveys made recently in most of our urban centers, it has been firmly established that the slums have become a great danger to the financial solvency of our municipalities. As an area becomes blighted, as the buildings decay and become obsolescent, as the home environment for the young becomes less and less attractive, the municipal government is compelled to spend larger amounts of money on protection of life and property and on the prevention and cure of crime and delinquency. At the same time, the amount of possible revenue from these areas is constantly diminishing, reaching a point where, in some communities, the city is compelled to spend in slum areas ten times the amount of its income from the same areas. Within the next ten or fifteen years, if the blight is not stopped or eradicated, all our cities will face bankruptcy. You cannot move the population into new areas with new schools, new fire houses, new police stations, new utilities, having at the same time to carry the burden of the same services and utilities in the old areas. In order to make the picture complete, it has been further established that private industry cannot be expected to remedy this condition with new construction. In New York City no private builder can build a modern dwelling to rent at less than twelve to fourteen dollars per room per month. And, of the approximate half-million families in New York City who live in slum areas, 26,000 families pay less than three dollars per room, 142,000 families less than five dollars per room, 132,000 families less than six dollars, and 108,000 families less than seven dollars. Of the multiple-dwelling population of New York City, 34.5 per cent cannot afford to pay more than about half the rental required in new privately built housing.

With this problem before us, we find roughly three groups re-

acting in different ways to the housing situation. The largest group is the one that thinks of housing in terms of people with frightened and emaciated faces and disheveled hair, whose pictures you see from time to time in the pages of social service publications. Bad housing to them is primarily a filthy tenement flat with scant furniture and ragged furnishings, with children crying from under a mountain of torn and dirty coverings, while mother is feeding the infant from an empty breast. Unfortunately, too many of these sob pictures are true to life. And yet, housing could not and should not be conceived as something affecting only the very lowest strata of our population. The charitable approach to housing is too easy to satisfy. A geranium pot on the window, a clean curtain, a little rug, a freshly painted kitchen, an isolated housing project, with a little sunshine and a little shrubbery, will prove sufficient to dull the housing consciousness of this group. Without wishing to be malicious, I would say that this group is much represented among the average run of social workers.

At the opposite pole is the radical group, which thinks that no change in housing conditions is possible without a radical change in our economic system. This group thinks that only a revolution can solve the housing problem, and that we should not attempt to separate housing from wages, hours, prices, and the whole profit system. I do not care to enter into any theoretical discussion of capitalism versus socialism or communism. But the experience of Germany and Soviet Russia tells us that no revolution, whether it be red or black, is a guaranty of improvement in housing conditions for the great masses of the people. The Soviet cities are more overcrowded today than they ever were, and the best they can hope for within the next decade is to catch up with the overcrowded cities in capitalistic countries. In Germany new construction of low-rent housing has actually ceased, and, on the day Hitler came to power, the magnificent housing record of the German Republic was sealed.

The third group consists of people who from the very start approached housing as a problem which, however large and

complicated, can be handled effectively within the framework of the capitalistic system. This group is basing its program primarily upon the housing experience of Europe, and particularly on that of England, Holland, and the Scandinavian countries. In these countries an impressive percentage of the working population was rehoused since the war, on the basis of a long-range program, which did not strain either the credit of the government or the resources of the taxpayer. On the contrary, it strengthened the budgetary structure of the municipalities and educated the taxpayer to the appreciation of housing as a necessary and constructive public function.

But, before we apply the European housing method to the United States, it is necessary to establish some of the differences in living and housing conditions in the Old World and the New. First of all, the tenement house has never been as large a factor in the slums of Europe as it is in the United States. Those horrible old-law tenements, filling up seventeen square miles of New York, are native only to the New World. This is also true of population densities, higher, as a rule, in American cities than elsewhere. And, if figures mean anything at all, the effect of slum environment on the slum population is more degrading in this country than anywhere else. The comparative ratios of deaths, tuberculosis, venereal diseases, juvenile delinquency, and crime are higher in New York, Chicago, and Cleveland than they ever were in London, Amsterdam, or Stockholm. This means, above all, that any long-range housing program in the United States will require more money, better planning, and more concentrated effort. The London County Council has rehoused nearly a quarter of a million people within the last seventeen years on a capital outlay of a quarter of a billion dollars. No real attempt at the eradication of the slums and the rehousing of any appreciable portion of the slum population of New York City can be started without the prospect of an investment of at least a billion dollars within the next ten years. And probably ten times as much would be required for the country as a whole.

This condition is offset by the fact that the earning power of the working people in the United States is higher than that in Europe. The average rental in English housing estates comes to about ten or eleven dollars a month. In the United States an average rental of fifteen to twenty dollars a month would not be too hard on the majority of the low-income groups. What this means in the planning of a housing program is that, while the investments for new housing in the United States would have to be greater than in any country of Europe, the actual comparative expense in carrying these projects might be less. The fact of the matter is that, in spite of the higher cost of labor and materials, public housing on vacant and cheap land can be done on 2 per cent a month. Surely on $1\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. In New York City, where no cheap vacant land is available, most of the interest must be absorbed by public agencies to afford rooms at six dollars per month or less. Or let us look at it from another angle. The Home Relief Bureau in New York City paid out in 1935 over thirty-one million dollars in rental allowances to families on relief. I do not have the figures for 1936, but they are pretty close. It is quite obvious that the same thirty million dollars used as interest on a housing investment would rehouse all the families on the relief rolls, with much space left for non-relief families of low income.

One of the troubles of the housing problem is not that some of our people are so poor, but that some of our rich people are so ignorant. When housing was started in England, the cities of London, Birmingham, and Leeds paid a higher interest rate on their housing loans than they are paying today. Recently no city in Great Britain, to my knowledge, has paid more than 3.1 per cent on housing bonds. And nearly a billion dollars of private capital is invested in public housing.

The greatest menace to any housing program today is the owner of slum property. He has made his pile during the years of immigration and prosperity; he has operated the slum tenement for many years as a bonanza, and, now that immigration has stopped and the earnings of the worker have fallen, he still

clings to his old dream. We were all terribly excited recently over the sit-down strikes in some of our basic industries. But in New York City there has been going on, for the past seventeen months, a sit-down strike on the part of the owners of over thirty thousand tenement houses who flatly refuse to comply with the requirements of the Multiple-Dwelling Law, which went into effect on January 1, 1936. And theirs, so far, has been a winning strike, because they know that a city which is not farsighted enough and decent enough to give its people decent housing will not have courage enough to close their property up. All over the country slum landlords are defying the laws of their cities and states without fear or scruple.

Two things must be impressed on the American community, at least on that part of the community which is worried over budgets and economic trends. The first point is that low-rent housing is not an expense but an investment, and that the sooner we make that investment the better for the economic and social future of our country. The second important point is that there is not and should not be any worry about the money necessary for such investment. Our banks are bursting with money which brings no revenue. The Postal Savings Banks carry about two billion dollars, of which at least half can be safely used for housing at 2 per cent, and the reserves which are going to be accumulated under the Social Security Act are in themselves ample to take care of all necessary funds for capital investments in housing for many years to come. Now low-cost housing, like all housing, is not simply a matter of acquiring land and erecting new buildings on it. We have come to understand that any real housing program must be an integral part of comprehensive and intelligent city planning. Just as the individual citizen is being trained to adjust himself to community life, so each individual house or housing project must be planned with a view to its place and function in the city pattern, and with a view to giving new houses greater utility, longer life, and higher value. We must also settle definitely on a set of housing standards, variable enough to meet different condi-

tions in different parts of the country and uniform enough to make housing a planned industry.

Another question to be settled is that of the responsibility which the different branches of our government are to carry in a long-range national housing program. In Europe it was much simpler, for the reason that there is no intervening authority between the city and the national government. The cities do all the housing on money borrowed either from banks and private capitalists or from the government, the latter assisting in slum clearance or carrying part of the operating deficit. Cities in the United States, however, have no home rule, and, while recently a number of housing authorities were called into life with broad powers, none of the cities have so far shown any willingness to bolster up the housing authorities with the strength of municipal credit. New York City is granting tax exemption to new housing, which is a very essential contribution but is dangerous in its implications, and might affect adversely the municipal budget if extended too far. The states, outside of creating housing bodies, have not done anything by way of financing housing. So far the federal government is the only agency that has actually constructed new dwellings for people of low income. Most of these projects are necessarily more expensive than they would be if erected directly by local authorities, and, besides, it is hardly to be expected that the federal government will find it possible to finance all the low-cost housing needed in the country today.

Assuming that within the next ten years a million new dwelling units are necessary each year to meet the growth of population, the increasing number of families, the growing shortage caused by the cessation of new construction during the years of the depression, the destruction of buildings by fire, flood, and demolition for public improvement, the undoubling of families as unemployment is reduced, and the replacement of houses declared by health authorities to be unfit for human habitation, and assuming that at least one-third of this new construction would have to be subsidized for low-income groups who

cannot pay an economic rental, the necessary investment at the end of ten years would have to be somewhere between twelve and eighteen billion dollars. But the Wagner-Steagall bill, which is the best that can be expected under present circumstances, provides only a billion dollars for the next four years. It is obvious, then, that many other financial sources will have to be tapped before housing can be done on a proper scale. There is no question but that there is enough money in banks, in insurance companies, and in other financial institutions to undertake a housing program of a magnitude unseen heretofore either here or anywhere else. But, before this is possible, it is necessary to stabilize interest rates on housing money, to establish the extent and the nature of the subsidy for low-cost housing, to define the proportion of such to be borne by the different branches of our government, to control prices on building materials, to arrive at a uniform labor policy, and to agree on definite housing standards. The Wagner-Steagall bill is important in that, by creating a national housing authority with sufficient funds for study and some funds for construction, it would be in a position to lay the cornerstone for such a broad national housing program.

Housing, indeed, is a very large and very complicated problem. But if we display a little less sentimentality and a little more organized sentiment, a little less sensitiveness and a little more sense, if the great masses of our people are properly aroused and intelligently led, we will have housing in this country on a larger scale and, I dare say, better and more efficiently done than anywhere else.

Permit me to conclude with a parable which I heard at my mother's knees many years back and in another country. This parable is about an oriental potentate who was the possessor of the largest precious stone in the world. Each morning it was his habit to unlock his strongbox and watch with glee the beautiful colors of his priceless jewel. One morning, when he took the stone out from its chest, he found it marred in many places. It is needless to say that he was very unhappy about it,

and he proclaimed throughout his domain that whoever would restore the jewel to its original beauty would receive the hand of his daughter. We all assume that his daughter's hand was worth having. Goldsmiths came and jewelers and artists, but none of them knew what to do about it. Then a plain artisan, a peasant from a remote village, had a good look at the despoiled treasure and after much labor succeeded in performing a miracle. He worked the scratches into the design of a beautiful flower. The jewel became doubly valuable because its intrinsic value was enhanced by the work of an artist.

The United States is a rich and beautiful country, a priceless jewel in the crown of the Lord. But ignorance, greed, malice, speculation, and incompetence have scratched this priceless jewel beyond recognition. It is up to us to transform these failures and shortcomings into a program of rehabilitation and reconstruction. Many of us can envision the beautiful sight of our cities, rebuilt patiently and intelligently on a broad basis of humanity and beauty. But this vision will never be realized unless we are intelligent enough to plan, courageous enough to fight, and determined enough to build.

THE ARRESTED OFFENDER

*Nina Kinsella, Executive Assistant Director
Federal Bureau of Prisons, Department of Justice
Washington, D.C.*

THIS subject makes me wonder whether the word "arrested" was included to insure the elimination of offenders who have been fortunate enough to escape the heavy hand of the law or those for whose transgressions the busy legislators have not yet enacted laws. It raises the question as to what constitutes an offense and who are the offenders. As the ingenuity of man progresses laws increase, and the society responsible for their making (though at the time they appear to be for its personal protection and in its own interest) frequently becomes enmeshed in the inefficiency of the web that it has woven. The diversity of laws, often administered by discordant groups, brings into custody a conglomerate population which is representative of neither offenses committed nor the number of offenders. There is no special type who can be defined as the offender type. The arrested person, whether guilty or not, will be known as the offender of a law then existing, whether it be a temporary or permanent one. The basic cause for many offenses against society usually remains unknown. In Mr. Bates's book, *Prisons and Beyond*, he refers in the Prologue to Armistice Day, when the whole world was celebrating the end of the war. He chose that time to go to an institution in the Boston Harbor known as Deer Island House of Correction, to visit the prisoners who could not join in the celebration. He says, "if they had strayed into a recruiting station instead of a saloon, they might have been in France instead of Deer Island." Many of these persons and others will continue to stray in a way which will bring them in conflict with the law for

one offense or another until society itself takes more interest in prevention than in punishment.

There are many offenders who are never arrested. Many of those arrested are never tried, and many of those tried and convicted are sentenced for terms ranging from one day to life imprisonment or death, while others are sentenced to pay a fine. In many instances sentences are suspended and persons are placed on probation. Those not having the funds with which to pay a fine are committed until satisfaction is made in accordance with the law applicable in the particular state. In the year 1933 approximately 151,000 persons were committed to jails for nonpayment of fines. What a strange system—a penalty in the form of a fine for an individual who is penniless, and because he is penniless he is committed to jail at the expense of the taxpayer. Would it not be better business to insist upon his finding work, to compel him to support himself and pay his fine in instalments, and thereby become an asset rather than a liability to the community of which he is a member?

Is the punishment measured for the offense or for the offender? Is it primarily a mode of revenge against man who has sinned and must therefore be branded a criminal, or is it a means of removing the offender temporarily from the source of his infection for the purpose of studying the cause and planning adequate treatment for his rehabilitation? Are there any determining factors used in measuring the period of time necessary to punish and treat an individual? Apparently not. In the early days the use of stocks and the whipping posts were the punishment most commonly prescribed. Gradually these were discontinued, with few exceptions, for what was considered more humane methods. I say with few exceptions, because stocks were not abolished as a means of punishment in one of the southern states until March, 1937. When one realizes the advance in transportation, the speed of the airplane, and the power of electrification it is almost too shocking to admit that this is a fact. To me it seems even more inconceivable and ironical to learn that, following the orders to abolish the use of

stocks, instructions were issued by the same prison department to wardens of one hundred and thirty prison camps to construct isolated dark buildings where prisoners can be placed without contact with anyone as an effective system of punishment. Recently several papers carried a picture of a punishment cabinet built in connection with a new county workhouse in another southern state, and described the latest-style dungeon as a "cooler" made of concrete and steel, admitting air but no light and having no seat or bed. It has every appearance of a coffin standing on one end. The same community that reaps the benefits of the tremendous T.V.A. project either sanctions or ignores the use of this archaic device.

According to the report of the Census Bureau during the year 1935, 65,723 persons were sentenced to state and federal prisons and reformatories for terms ranging in length from a few months to death. More than two-fifths of the male prisoners were sentenced for less than two years and approximately one-third of both males and females were sentenced for either two or three years. A relatively small portion of the whole number was sentenced for more than ten years. The laws and judicial practices in the different states vary to such a degree that it is impossible to make significant comparisons. In some states prisoners having long terms may be committed to county institutions. In other states prisoners having more than one year must be committed to state institutions. Tremendous strides have been made in the treatment of prisoners in many of the states, such as New York, New Jersey, Massachusetts, and others, and more notably by the Federal Bureau of Prisons, but the number of persons committed to the federal and state prisons and reformatories represent only about one-tenth of the number of persons committed under sentence to the county and city jails, where the idea of treatment is almost unknown. Approximately 615,920 prisoners under sentence were distributed in 2,416 county and city jails and workhouses in 1933, according to the Census Bureau report, for offenses ranging in gravity from violation of traffic regulations to homicide. Even this

number does not represent the entire group as, in addition to those committed to jails under sentence, there were approximately 400,000 persons who were held awaiting trial, but who were found not guilty and discharged, placed on probation, or otherwise released, bringing the total number of prisoners passing through the city and county jails in a year to approximately 1,000,000. Of the number sentenced, 10.7 per cent were under twenty-one years of age, 69.6 per cent were from twenty-one to forty-four years, and 19.7 per cent were forty-five years or over. The highest ratio of commitments to the general population was for persons from twenty-one to twenty-four years of age. Few persons recognize the significance of these figures.

The county jail is a relic of the old English gaols. You are doubtless familiar with John Howard's remarkable account of his visit to the English gaols in 1773 and his general condemnation of them. Although long since discontinued in England, the system more or less inherited by this country in a great many respects continues.

Over three thousand small county units, each jealous of its powers and with few exceptions indifferent with regard to its responsibilities, are intrusted with the care and custody of the largest number of offenders taken into custody in the country. No two county jails are organized under the same plan. There are just as many systems as there are jails—in fact most of them lack any semblance of a system. Many jail officials frankly admit that they know little or nothing about running a jail. They change positions frequently. Approximately 375 new sheriffs took office January 1 and assumed control of jails being used by the federal government. Under the most favorable circumstances it would take years for the best qualified and most efficient administrator to organize a jail system which would bring fair returns. It is futile to argue that hundreds of untrained persons in these small distinct units will ever accomplish successfully the task that has been imposed upon them. One of the greatest evils of the jail is the fee system, assuring the sheriff of a per diem fee for every prisoner held in his jail. This

remuneration is a stronghold among the county sheriffs and jailers, and is probably the most difficult obstacle to overcome. Their sheriffs are elected mostly for four-year terms, without consideration as to their qualifications or experience in prison work. In many instances, having numerous other profitable interests and responsibilities, they give little of their time to the management and control of the jail, and have no qualms about delegating authority to inefficient and wholly unqualified guards, who in turn often leave the actual management of the jail to the "kangaroo court." A typical example of a sheriff's interest in the prisoners in his county jail, for whom he was drawing a fee each day, is expressed in a letter to the Federal Bureau of Prisons, who called his attention to the necessity for correcting deplorable conditions which existed in his jail:

My failure to reply to these letters is due to the fact, as you know, that this state during the months from September to April was involved in a campaign. For your information I was also in that campaign which campaign I started the latter part of September and did not finish until about the 3rd of April. We were reelected by a very handsome majority. . . . I am out of the campaign now and can give these matters my personal attention.

That represents seven months of the year.

That is only one example of the inefficiency of the county-jail system. The Federal Bureau of Prisons has direct contact with many of these jails, because Congress delegated to it the responsibility of selecting suitable quarters for the housing of all persons charged with offenses against the United States held as witnesses or otherwise, and provided it with power to contract for a period not exceeding three years with the proper authorities of any state or political subdivision thereof for the imprisonment, subsistence, care, and proper employment of such persons.

The word "employment" might just as well have been omitted. There is practically no such thing as employment in a county jail. The idleness there is appalling. Except for the gambling, the operation of the "kangaroo courts," and the scheming to get even with the society which permits such a

system, there is absolutely no worth-while activity among the prisoners, to say nothing of employment.

The director of the Bureau of Prisons was not willing to accept casually the existing standards of jail conditions when contracting for the boarding of federal prisoners. He organized, therefore, a rigorous system of inspection of the local jails, and ten inspectors are now operating in this capacity.

About three thousand jails have been inspected. The important factors of administration and discipline, building and equipment, food, personnel, care and treatment, and other matters relating to custody and control of prisoners were measured and rated. Over 65 per cent rated under 50 per cent and 95.5 per cent rated under 60 per cent. And in these jails are housed the great army of so-called offenders. The Bureau of Prisons has listed 1,967 of them as being wholly unfit for the custody of a federal prisoner even for one brief hour; it restricted 317 more for emergency use only. Yet the states and counties continue to use them for their prisoners and, according to the Census Bureau report, committed prisoners to 2,416 of these jails to serve sentences in the year 1933.

So it is evident that the largest group of offenders in the country are housed in filthy, unsanitary, vermin-infested, overcrowded jails lacking in facilities for segregation and abounding in "kangaroo court" abuses and other vicious practices.

The inspection reports indicate that almost 76 per cent of the jails were never visited by an official of a local board of health. Evidently no standard of jail sanitation is required by the local community. There seems to be a prevailing unconsciousness in the public minds of the fact that collections of filth, inadequate segregation of prisoners, and lack of proper medical attention in jails all react tragically upon the community to which the prisoners sooner or later return. Progressive health measures have been adopted outside of the jails almost universally. Dr. Heiser, in his *An American Doctor's Odyssey*, gives a graphic history of some of these measures and, in referring to the treatment of hookworm in the South, he mentions the fact that

John D. Rockefeller, Sr., who financed the project, insisted that the source of infection be found so that the cure would be certain. Year in and year out vast sums of money are spent for remedial treatment for prisoners who reach the federal institutions and some of the state institutions; but little has been done to clean out one of the greatest sources of infection—the neglected county jail.

I could cite numerous cases to you of jail conditions that would make you shudder, but just one excerpt from an inspector's report will give you a picture of the type of institution to which I am referring:

The building is a rattrap of two stories. The first floor has eight cages. They are not cells. I was informed by the officer who opened the door for me that two men had hanged themselves here within thirty days. The place is filthy beyond description. On the second floor are two rooms; one for women and one for men. I found in the first room twelve men of all ages. There is not a suggestion of a bed or of bed clothing. The only place to sleep is on the concrete floor. A pigpen could not be worse.

In the second room three women were being held—all afflicted with social diseases. The arm of one had to be carried in a sling. She informed me she was twenty-eight years of age but looked years younger. The second was very much younger while the third was obviously an imbecile. Nothing like a bed was in this room. The floor was the only place to sleep. Sanitation—not a suggestion of it.

Only a few months ago the papers reported the third death in one year of prisoners cremated in three different town lockups in one state. Is it any wonder that the Bureau of Prisons refuses to use many of these jails and transfers its prisoners to those where better facilities are provided, and more decent housing assured. Such action is taken by the Bureau only after repeated efforts to bring about improvements have been ignored. It is usually a final blow to the sheriffs. It reduces their income. Not long ago when the Bureau ordered a United States marshal to remove prisoners from a jail and discontinue its use because of its deplorable condition, laxity in discipline, and loose methods, the federal prisoners signed a letter protesting their removal, and an editorial, amusing though typical of the sheriff's attitude, appeared in the local paper. It is entitled:

"THE OLD JAIL SPIRIT"

On behalf of the twenty-seven federal prisoners who are standing their ground for old Davidson County and her secure, if not ornamental, jail house, we wish to extend heartiest congratulations, if not the keys to the city.

They are Sheriff Bauman's star borders, and they are not to stand for aspersions cast at their genial host in connection with the kind of establishment he conducts. They resent the fact that the federal director of prisons, whoever he may be, has intimated that they are robbed of the chance of being clean and sanitary, and they look with natural disfavor on being transferred to an unknown bastille up Knoxville way, despite the blandishments of Knox County's up-and-coming sheriff.

This current flurry brings to light a surprising amount of competition in jail house circles, and things have reached a pass where one wonders if Knox's chief law enforcement officer should not be brought to task for unethical conduct.

Is it cricket for one sheriff to advertise the best cooking, a nurse and a doctor to take care of the ailing, in addition to a large kitchen with electrical equipment, shower baths, clean comfortable cots and appropriate changes of clothes for all occasions? We think it is not. Is this not unfair competition, and is it not getting pretty close to leading good citizens to a life of crime? In all probability, yes.

Sheriff Bauman may not go in for such fancy doings, but he has at hand a convincing testimonial from all the twenty-seven to the effect that he supplies the old homey atmosphere that satisfies the most particular clientele, so that those who have once enjoyed his hospitality are more than apt to return at the first opportunity.

We trust the federal director of prisons will take heed of the abundance of old jail spirit in these parts and bear in mind that, though other Middle Tennessee houses of detention may not be centers of culture and refinement we are an exception. In other words, leave with us these loyal twenty-seven for whose board and keep Uncle Sam pays in such generous style, and see that that Knoxville hereafter respects our territorial rights.

The Federal Bureau of Prisons is working constantly to get the local officials to maintain certain minimum standards in the jails where federal prisoners are boarded. It is an endless educational program, necessitated by the fact that the turnover in the jail officials is so rapid. The financial status of many counties is at a very low ebb and, even though one might succeed in convincing the officials that certain minimum standards should be maintained in the jails, in many counties they do not have the funds to make the necessary improvements.

The present system is expensive to operate and should be abolished. Regional work farms under central control would provide a place where short-term prisoners might be compelled to work and serve their time in a decent, wholesome atmosphere. Detention headquarters attached to the local courthouses could house the small percentage of persons who must be confined while awaiting trial or pending transfer to another institution. Much can be accomplished by substituting fines which can be paid in instalments, if necessary, in place of imprisonment for minor offenses. An adequate and properly staffed probation system would eliminate much of the need for committing prisoners for short terms. Reducing the amount of bail required for the less serious offenses will give all prisoners the same chance to secure bail as those who are more influential. Certain legislation is required to make these suggestions effective. It would seem that the wonderful organization of social agencies could do a great deal in the community to bring about these necessary changes. I am hopeful that this will be done and that united forces will insist that a better system be instituted for the treatment of the arrested offender. Like a dreamer I believe "that what has not been may yet be."

THE INCARCERATED OFFENDER

*Morris N. Winslow, Superintendent, State Prison Colony
Norfolk, Massachusetts*

WE ALL know that generalizations are dangerous, because they are usually based upon only a few specific examples. Yet there is no doubt that generalizations of wide, sweeping nature have abounded in correctional work and have left us with many all-embracing remedies and panaceas for the cure of crime. We must admit that theories resulting from these generalizations have, roughly speaking, separated people concerned with prison work into two groups. On the one hand we have a large number of prison guards, deputies, and wardens; on the other we have students, teachers of sociology, and liberal prison administrators. Each group seizes upon the exceptions to opposing theories and uses them to bolster its own point of view. Charges of "ingrained prejudice," "impracticability," "shortsighted economy," and "costly experiments" are hurled back and forth. Advancement in the field is thus impaired.

In order to expedite progress we must first seek a common ground, a mutually acceptable premise, where we can draw the two opposing groups together. Such a common ground can be found if we stress the matter of "accurate, verified information regarding each individual offender." Facts about the inmate appeal to both groups as they are of value for secure, safe prison administration as well as a basis for treatment. What prison guard will object if we can name the prisoners he has to watch because their history shows them to be drug addicts, escape risks, agitators, or homosexuals? What deputy would not like to know the real vocational experience of each prisoner? What warden would not appreciate information concerning each in-

mate's former criminal associates and "hangouts"? From my own experience I can say that a detailed, accurate, preinstitutional case history has convinced many a prison officer of the "old school" that, after all, there is something in this social-work business.

As for members of "classification committees," proponents of modern treatment methods, and all of the "intelligentsia" there is no need to point out that the gathering of facts is the first step—in fact, is the only scientific method. But, in my opinion, there is need to emphasize that this step has been sadly neglected. We too glibly say, "Now we'll secure the facts about this individual case and decide the proper method of individual treatment"—and then forget to dig down for the facts which are so necessary for a solid foundation for our work.

Nine years' experience in the correctional field has convinced me that many officials in this field have neglected or underemphasized secure foundations and have been preoccupied with the superstructure. Although knowledge of the individual offender has been given consideration for many years, I feel that classification committees and treatment methods have operated with less than mediocre standards of social investigation of him. Our Division of Investigation in Massachusetts has for six years been preparing detailed case-history studies of each inmate coming into the state prison. In the course of their investigation members of this division have communicated with institutions throughout the United States. Replies from these other institutions have almost without exception consisted of extremely brief, stereotyped conclusions formed by classification committees, psychiatrists, social workers, parole clerks, and bookkeepers without any foundation of accurate, verified pre-institutional data. .

Hastily formed generalizations have kept us preoccupied with treatment measures such as elaborate buildings, various types of punishment, mass and regimented methods of education, recreation, and vocational training, as well as subjective and experimental treatment programs not based on adequate knowl-

edge of the individual offender. Instead of concentrating upon these methods of treatment I believe it would be preferable to focus attention first upon methods of obtaining knowledge concerning the individual offender. Consequently, I intend to draw somewhat from the experience of the Massachusetts Division of Investigation, but not as a "cure-all" for crime, nor as a superior in the field, because we have had no drastic reduction in recidivism.

Investigation must be thorough, for it is essential that no significant information about an individual inmate be overlooked. Every criminal record should be checked through local, state, and national sources. The inmate and his family should be registered with all social service exchanges. All court records should be carefully examined. If possible it is usually advisable to consult probation officers who previously handled the case under discussion, because in many instances probation officers are unwilling or unable to put into writing their full knowledge of cases. Both police and the prosecuting attorney should be contacted for the story of the offense committed. Inquiry should be made to any mental or correctional institutions which dealt with the inmate previously.

Contacts with the members of the immediate family of inmates are among the most desirable sources of information. These should furnish information concerning the strength of home and community ties. Contacts with social agencies will furnish in many instances a long history of family data and will often show a picture of family conditions which existed many years ago, thus adding to knowledge of causative or contributory elements in the present inmate's problem.

Contacts with the schools attended by each inmate should be made by carefully prepared form letters or by visits wherever feasible. Inquiries should be made to employers. Whenever extensive verification has been pursued concerning claims to employment, it has been found that inmate claims are often much exaggerated and inaccurate. Information concerning military service can usually be obtained most accurately by forwarding

finger prints for identification. Useful information can very often be obtained by visits or correspondence with personal or family friends, club or union officials, and members of the clergy of fraternal organizations. Landlords or landladies are often most important.

Care should be taken to cover sources of information which deal with the health and mental histories of prisoners. In addition to the prison physician's examination family doctors or attending physicians or psychiatrists should be visited or communicated with by letter. Records should be obtained from any hospitals in which inmates may have been patients. In some instances social service departments of hospitals contain valuable information as well.

When the field investigation has been completed, then the psychiatrist and the psychometrist should examine the inmate and make their reports on the basis of both the source data and their examinations.

Once the foregoing information has been obtained the case worker faces the task of assorting this wide variety of information into a well-organized, concise, and preferably a standardized form of case history. The Massachusetts Division of Investigation has found that the information can most effectively be presented under the following headings:

1. The official version of the present crime.
2. The inmate's version of the same offense.
3. The listed criminal history covering merely the dates of court appearances, places of court appearances, official crime and disposition of each charge.
4. Family history.
5. Personal history.
6. Health history.
7. Mental history.
8. Personality characteristics.
9. Diagnostic summary. This section is divided into three parts:
 - a) *Statement of problem.*—This covers a concise review of the outstanding problem factors in the individual history of present

situation. Instead of being a mere chronological review of events in the inmate's history, this should be a clear interpretation of the significance of the facts presented in the headings above. The conclusion of the statement of problem should cover judgment as to the degree of security risk which the inmate might represent, present attitude toward institutional and community officials, etc.

b) *Prognosis*.—This should be a very brief, clear-cut statement in one sentence, if possible, concerning the chances of the inmate's successful adjustment in the community. We have used a standard set of terms for describing the prognosis, such as good, fair, uncertain, poor, and very poor.

c) *Tentative plan of treatment*.—Only when the reports of all field investigators and specialists are submitted and the facts of the case history are thoroughly assimilated can we begin to make intelligent plans for treatment. The chairman of a classification committee or similar body may then weed out offenders classed as hopeless and those who do not seem to have criminal tendencies requiring treatment. This leaves only those offenders who seem amenable and likely to benefit by intensive treatment to come before a classification clinic for full consideration.

It is obvious that the problem of personnel for the laborious work of field investigation and the important task of organizing the material into a case history is no matter to be slighted. We believe that members of an investigation staff should be college graduates, preferably those who have concentrated in sociology or psychology, and all of whom must be carefully trained in techniques of social investigation. Experience in Massachusetts has shown that, for a commitment rate of thirty inmates a month, the staff should consist of at least fifteen members, including field investigators, interviewers, case-history writers, and stenographers. On such an investigation staff a psychiatrist, a psychometrist, and a physician should be employed for purely diagnostic purposes on a part-time basis. This may seem to be a high standard to set, but, as I have repeatedly emphasized, the fundamental facts, the basic information, must be gathered and gathered well. Poor foundations lead to inef-

iciency all along the line. When verified knowledge about individual cases has been obtained, much may be done. Lack of time prevents adequate review of techniques of treatment. It takes more than an offhand generalization to discuss the treatment of such subjective problems as "psychopathic personality," "reduction of suggestibility," and "building up stamina," while those of objective type requiring settlement of family conflicts, education, or medical needs are obvious. Let it suffice that the information secured may serve to make better use of the institutional plant and personnel for the specific needs of the individual.

Supplementing the consideration of the inmate as an entity we must deal with one factor common to prisoners in general. A lack of civic responsibility.

By thrusting the prisoner behind bars in a regimented life in cells and workshops, we are not building him up to assume responsibility as a citizen in the outside world. On the contrary, we are protecting him from the trying exigencies of a normal life and are making him dependent. To combat this in those institutions where the material is amenable, some form of mass "training for citizenship" by an inmate governing organization is necessary. The underlying technique must extend joint responsibility to the inmates and, when they fail in cooperative enterprise, to restrict drastically the privileges for which they assumed responsibility. Teach them by swift example that by good government they benefit and by poor government they lose. Let the prison be as normal a community as possible, consistent with good discipline and clean institutional operation, which can never be subordinated. But let the inmate be a citizen in that community rather than a number—otherwise, what practice has he to become a good citizen in the outside world?

The study of the inmate must not end with the completion of the preinstitutional investigation and the plan of treatment. It is essential that intensive observation be carried on throughout his incarceration, so that treatment can be modified wisely and

sound decisions can be made as to parole and release. Very few institutions keep comprehensive records of the behavior of inmates while confined. Such records as do exist are usually limited to lists of lockups, type of work performed, serious illness, whether or not the inmate attended school, and the date of release.

Much more is needed. For example, in regard to home and outside factors prison officials and the parole board should know of family deaths, births, marriages, divorces, and changes of address. They should know any change in economic circumstances of the inmate's family. Are family members loyal, sympathetic, and to be depended upon for real assistance to the inmate in the future? Have they no real interest in him—or are they, perhaps, antagonistic?

Regular and reliable work reports as well as records of the progress of vocational training are absolutely essential. Data regarding an inmate's skill, application, mental alertness on the job, reliability, attitude toward his instructors, and co-operation with other inmates should be furnished to prison administrators and parole authorities. It is admittedly difficult to secure frank, honest work reports from shop foremen, since shop instructors are usually more concerned with production and prevention of sabotage. However, this difficulty is not insurmountable, for with tact and wise administration much can be accomplished to improve the present meager data obtainable in institution files. Leisure time activities of inmates should also be carefully recorded. For example, in what avocation does subject engage, what is the degree of his participation, and how skilful is he at his hobby? In regard to recreation, facts of athletic participation should be noticed, as well as quantity and quality of his recreational reading. Other general matters, such as whether or not subject attends church, if he is interested in council and committee activities, the amount of leisure spent studying, are important bits of information.

Reports regarding the inmate's personality should be made in a specific manner. A list of questions to stimulate the report-

ing officer may be found to be of much assistance when we are dealing with such intangibles as attitudes, traits, and values. For example, regarding attitudes we mean such questions as: Is he appreciative of institutional efforts in his behalf? Has he a sincere interest in his relatives—that is, does he expect to help them when released or does he expect them to help him? Does he feel, generally speaking, that he has been unjustly treated by school, police, court, institutions, parole agents, or others? Is he discouraged and of the opinion that the “dice are loaded against him” or is he ambitious and confident?

A few suggestive items under the heading of traits might be as follows:

Is the inmate seclusive or sociable; morose or cheerful; submissive and a follower or a leader with initiative; aggressive and vindictive or mild and peaceable; ingratiating and hypocritical or direct and sincere?

In regard to general values:

What seems most important in life to the inmate—power to control and manipulate people? New experiences and adventures? Popularity and social response? Money and other objects of practical value?

With similar care and attention to detail, records of the educational activities and medical and mental matters should be kept.

It is obvious that, if such comprehensive records as sketched above are available, modification of institutional treatment could be done intelligently from time to time, and, when the inmate came up for release consideration before the board of parole, a valuable summary of institutional behavior and circumstances might be added to the preinstitutional social case history to give the board of parole a firm basis for their decisions.

Use of the preinstitutional history by the board of parole brings up another point. It is the practice in some states to perform a field investigation just before the board of parole interviews the inmate. This does not seem logical. The same data that is useful to the board of parole is also useful to the com-

missioner or other transfer authorities to help them decide to which institutions in their department an inmate should be confined. The same information is valuable as a basis for institutional treatment.

And, after the board of parole has made its decision on an inmate, the case history is still useful. Parole agents ought to have them at hand. Even after the parole period is over case histories should be available for judges and probation officers, if needed.

May I ask a final question?

In the treatment of the incarcerated offender, what expectation may we have of success unless we start on a basis of accurate, verified facts concerning the man—his personality, his family, his whole life-background?

THE PAROLED OFFENDER

*Winthrop D. Lane, Director, Juvenile
Delinquency Commission, State of
New Jersey, Trenton*

HOW do you try to restate the philosophy of a social institution or practice? I think it will be agreed that the best way in which to explain the existence of an institution or practice is to study its origin. I mean the way in which it got started. Out of what conditions did it arise? Did it arise in response to a real need, or was it a sort of historical freak, unrelated to the events contemporaneous with it? This seems to me a sound maxim of sociological or historical investigation, to look for the reason for an institution in the way it got started. Then we shall know whether it is a natural product of the logic of events or an aberration of men's minds, to be discontinued by later generations. Let us see how this is with parole.

ORIGIN OF PAROLE PRACTICE

We all know that parole is a part of the process of taking care of offenders begun when the offender is placed under arrest. We know that only persons released from institutions are under parole. Parole is, therefore, a continuation of the social policy, or social control, instituted by the state when its first places the lawbreaker under apprehension. There are two ways in which a person can be released from an institution; he can be released scot free or he can be released under the continued supervision and control of the state. If released under continued supervision and control, he can be returned to the institution or subjected to other forms of discipline and treatment so long as the state retains control. This is the basic definition of parole. There are other conceptions of it in the minds of many people. One of

these is that it is merely shortening an offender's term; that it is a form of clemency or leniency granted to good prisoners. We know better. We know that, properly conceived and administered, parole is social case work with persons who are going to come out of prison and who are facing the difficult transition from the very abnormal life of an institution to the normal life of a community. It is an attempt by the state to readjust those men to the life they are going to have to lead. Its purpose is to protect the public, and whether it achieves that purpose or not depends upon the quality of the service rendered.

Now, what does this mean? It means that parole is a sequel to imprisonment. But imprisonment itself is a fairly new way of handling lawbreakers. There have not always been prisons. Indeed, the origin of prisons is itself only about a hundred and fifty years old. True, before that there were lockups and dungeons for political offenders, military captives, debtors, and some others; but the use of prisons as the main dependence of society for the handling of criminals is new. This is a fact of profound significance for the understanding of parole.

Earlier methods for disposing of criminals were death, banishment, deprivation of property, making slaves of them, physical mutilation and torture, and transportation to colonies. These were the methods preceding the use of the institution or prison. None of these methods created the problem that was immediately created when society, in its search for ways of disposing of criminals turned to the prison.

When you have killed a criminal, the incident is closed. When you have banished him, your main concern is to keep him from returning. When you have enslaved him, your problem is that of the maintenance and control of slaves. When you have taken away his property, you have left him with the problem of acquiring more property if he can. When you have branded him, tortured him, or mutilated him, you have inflicted your punishment and the incident is also closed, since physical torture was usually the end in itself. When you have transported him to a colony, you have transported the problem

along with him, for remote colonies of criminals give little concern to the people and government at home.

Consider the revolution that changed all this. Western countries, discarding other methods, turned to prisons. From that time on the general run of serious offenders were kept at home. Not only were they kept at home, but they were subjected to a totally new method of treatment. They were locked up, shut up, confined—held for longer or shorter periods of time in institutions specially built for this purpose. These institutions sprang up near thriving cities and towns, or in the very midst of them. People, going about their ordinary daily movements, saw them. Others, who did not see them, knew that they existed—knew that off there, somewhere, not very far away, were walled institutions with locks and bars in which convicted criminals were confined. And they knew that their confinement was temporary.

For it was of the essence of the new method of handling criminals that their confinement was to be temporary. No prison system for the main body of offenders has ever been built that was based upon any other idea. These offenders against society, these lawbreakers, were to be shut up for longer or shorter periods of time—and that was the nature and purpose of the revolutionary new method known as imprisonment. It could not have been otherwise. For, if one will stop to think, one will know that it is entirely contrary to the conscience of mankind any time these past hundred and fifty years that all of the persons sent to penal and correctional institutions should remain there until they die. Not only is it contrary to conscience and common sense, but it is financially inconceivable. No community could bear so large a burden of cost.

And so, from the first, we find sentences to institutions being for longer or shorter periods of time, according to the gravity of the offense and the considerations in men's minds that control such decisions.

What happened next? They came back. The people who had been sent to these institutions returned. They had not been

killed, they had not been transported to far away places whence they seldom if ever returned, they had not been dismissed with the infliction of pain or a brand on the cheek. They had been held for periods of time in institutions that were totally different from the communities in they which lived—and these periods of time were now over. The men and women were released. They were no longer in the institutions. They were at home—back in the neighborhoods where they had committed their wrongdoing, or in other neighborhoods to which they had gone or drifted.

This was an entirely new situation. It had never existed before. Never before had a method of punishment sent people back to towns and cities after temporary withdrawal and after the kind of artificial and arbitrary existence they had in institutions.

What was to be done with them? How were they to be treated? Was the end of their confinement to be the end of the community's interest in them? What was to be their status? This was the question.

If any clearer case can be made for the beginning or origin of a social practice or procedure than this makes for parole, I should like to have the illustration pointed out to me. The establishment of prisons ordained parole—as inevitably as fire ordains heat or the rotation of the earth ordains night and day. The thing that we define as parole—the aftercare of released prisoners—was a logical outcome of shutting men up in institutions and then letting them come back home; it arose in response to a specific and observed need, and it was closely related to a definite line of historical events. If prisons were just being established today, it is as certain as the sky above and the stars in the heavens that something in the nature of parole would be devised to meet the same situation. Men would not let offenders come out of institutions without control and scot free; they would relax control gradually and hold offenders under constructive but continued supervision.

"Every problem of whatsoever name or nature," wrote Louis

Sullivan, the architect, "contains and suggests its own solution; and, the solution reached, it is invariably found to be simple in nature, basic, and clearly allied to common sense."

We have found the underlying philosophy of parole by telling the story of its origin.

CONTROL OF SENTENCE LENGTH

But there is another aspect of parole that invites discussion. I have said that the system of imprisonment is built upon the plan that people are sent to institutions for longer or shorter periods of time. This is obvious. And yet the complaint is made that parole boards, or parole authorities, or parole organizations, have a hand in determining how long people shall stay in institutions. This is true. The part played by parole authorities is probably not so large, however, as many people suppose. For example, if a person be sent to an institution for a precise or definite length of time, I know of no parole agency that has power to alter that length of time; the convicted offender stays as long as the court or the law has told him to stay. If he has received an indeterminate sentence—that is, a sentence with a minimum and maximum—many parole authorities, of course, have power to release him at any time between the two, and in this they are only carrying out the purpose of the indeterminate-sentence law. If the sentence carries a maximum but no minimum, then the parole authority has power to release him at any time before the expiration of the maximum sentence. All this is elementary.

But it is objected to. There is widespread and substantial, if vague, fear on the part of many individuals that this arrangement interferes with the traditions of our justice; that the proper authorities to determine how long people shall stay in institutions are legislatures and courts; and that anything which tampers with, or modifies, that system is incorrect and out of harmony with Anglo-Saxon jurisprudence.

Now, let us see what happens when legislatures control the length of sentences. We all know that nearly every legislature

in the United States passes penal laws or statutes. In these the effort is made to prescribe a particular penalty for a particular offense, so that in effect the legislature is drawing up two tables—one a table of offenses and the other a table of penalties, the proper penalty being placed in the tables alongside the crime to which it is attached.

This is an interesting and, I think one might say, even fascinating performance. The trouble is that so many incongruities result. No two states agree in regard to their penalties. Texas looks at the crime of manslaughter, and decides that the appropriate maximum term in prison is five years; Indiana looks at the same crime and decides that the appropriate maximum is twenty-one years; Vermont looks at the same crime and decides that the appropriate maximum is life.

The maximum punishment for bigamy in Pennsylvania is two years; in New Jersey it is ten years.

Illustrations of this kind might be continued. States show the widest differences in assigning penalties to practically all the offenses listed in the statutes.

Take the astonishing situation that exists in distinguishing between petty and grand larceny. As we all know, petty larceny is ordinarily a misdemeanor and therefore subject to a less severe penalty than grand larceny, which is a felony. But where does the distinction lie between petty and grand larceny? In Illinois you commit grand larceny if you steal \$15; in Indiana \$25; in Missouri \$30; in Oregon \$35; in Montana and Virginia \$50; in Maine \$100; in California \$200; and so forth. In other words, the theft of \$15 brings (or may bring) a felony sentence in Illinois, but in California you must steal \$200 before you are eligible for a felony sentence.

These absurdities could be continued. States appear to have favorite penalties. Thus, in Virginia a favorite penalty is eight to eighteen years; in Texas two to ten years; in California one to fourteen years. Marco Polo, returning from his travels to remote countries in the thirteenth century, reported that among the Tartars a person found guilty of a petty theft received seven

blows of a stick; if the offense was more serious, seventeen blows; if more serious still, twenty-seven—and so on, by increases of ten, up to one hundred and seven, which was the largest number of blows delivered. It would be impolite to suggest that our state legislatures have not abandoned the same intellectual approach to this matter that Polo found among the Tartar savages.

Now I know it will be answered that judges commit no such indiscretions or palpable errors. Well, I wish it were true. We all know that some judges obtain reputations for leniency, whereas other judges obtain reputations for severity. We know, too, the frequency with which multiples of five are used in fixing sentences of long terms, showing the rule-of-thumb method used in arriving at such sentences. But we do not have to depend upon casual or hearsay evidence. Numerous studies have shown what judges, sitting in the same jurisdictions and applying the same statutes, do. The report of the New York State Crime Commission showed that judges in New York City imposed sentences averaging 8.7 years for burglary in the first degree, whereas judges in other cities in the same state imposed sentences averaging 30 years for the same crime—or 8.7 years as compared with 30 years. Similar findings have been returned by the Missouri Crime Survey, the Cleveland Crime Survey, the New Jersey Judicial Council, and others.

Then is it not clear that here again we have an inexorable historical process? Legislatures and courts have undertaken to fix sentences. Legislatures have done this with no living human beings in front of them. They have done it for abstract acts—arson, robbery, burglary, aggravated assault, and so forth. The mess they have made of it was inevitable; there is no guide for reason or for intelligence in an effort of this kind. Courts have tried to do it in advance, without knowing anything about the response of the offending individual to the discipline or treatment prescribed. How can a judge, with only the information that comes to him from a trial, even when supplemented by the additional information from a probation officer or other source,

know in advance when a person will be ready to rejoin society? The question has only to be asked to be answered.

The process of history has supplied the answer. The answer is a method for bringing to bear upon this question of release the resources of modern knowledge about people and of ways of influencing their behavior. Agencies charged with power to release offenders from penal and correctional institutions should know a good deal about their early lives and habits—about the conditions leading up to and contemporaneous with their first misbehavior. They should know how strong became their habits of misconduct. They should know the attitudes, points of view, and emotional peculiarities of such individuals. They should know what they can and cannot do—what can reasonably be expected of them and what cannot be expected of them. Above all, they should know the history of the individual's response to the treatment given him—the whole story of his response to the institutional environment and to whatever measures of re-education have been provided. This can be done only by agencies which are in a position to avail themselves of all the information obtainable from the prison or institution—and the agencies should be able to interpret that information accurately and give it its right meaning. Finally, of course, they should know in detail the situation (as it relates to home, neighborhood, work, etc.) into which the offender is going when released, and the prospects so provided for good or bad adjustment. They should be in a position to help prepare a suitable environment for the offender to go to.

These are the functions of a parole authority, and they are so far superior to anything that a legislature or court can do that it is laughable. How in the world can a legislature or court do all of these things? The answer is that they cannot, and that they should have nothing to do with determining when a person shall come out of prison.

I have not referred to particular types of parole agencies or administrative setups. I have restated the philosophy and purpose of parole, and I have found that parole has two purposes:

(1) to provide a superior method for determining when a person shall come out of an institution; and (2) to establish a means for holding him under control and supervision after he is out.

The stars in their courses and the logic of history have ordained that intelligent men would seek both objects.

PRESENT PROCEDURE

The story of performance is less easy of explicit statement. Like all services requiring good standards, an established procedure, a professional point of view, and qualified personnel, parole presents a spotty picture.

There are too few jurisdictions in which the conception of parole as outlined in this paper are actually carried into practice. There are too few jurisdictions in which the administration of parole really does set up a satisfactory way to determine how long a person shall stay in prison, and a satisfactory means to supervise him afterward.

The power to release is lodged in unsuitable agencies, such as the governor, pardon boards, or courts (pardon and parole being separate and different functions), boards already established with too many other duties to perform, etc.

Release itself is too automatic in many jurisdictions, little consideration being given to the indeterminate sentence, prisoners being freed at the end of the minimum unless they have seriously violated prison rules. There are too few jurisdictions in which any proper attempt is made to gather the essential information on which intelligent decisions can be made as to whether a good time for release has arrived.

While parole has been developing, parole laws passed, and parole boards established, a science of human conduct has slowly been taking form. Parole has not systematically nor sufficiently availed itself of the results and the guidance of that science; in many places it has appeared to remain in ignorance of the existence of such a science. Techniques of social case work have reached a high degree of development in many branches of re-education effort. Parole has lagged behind in the adoption of such techniques.

There are too many jurisdictions in which there is not only no adequate staff of parole officers, but in which the existing officers possess neither the right point of view nor training for the task. These statements are made with the country as a whole in mind. It is reassuring to be able to report that there are other jurisdictions in which parole has lived up to the conceptions presented in this paper.

It is sometimes argued that governmental or public services in a democracy rise only to the level of the knowledge or experience or expectations of the mass of the people who support the government rendering the services involved. If that were true, it would be impossible to explain why Cincinnati and Milwaukee are among the best-governed cities in the United States; why the state universities of some states are definitely superior to those of others; why the municipal public-school system that is, perhaps, better known than any other is Winnetka, Illinois; why Westchester County, New York, has one of the best county welfare departments in the country; why Newark, New Jersey, has reduced its diphtheria rate to practically zero, a performance equaled by a few other cities also; why the Federal Bureau of Prisons remained ineffective until President Hoover appointed Sanford Bates; why Hamilton County, Ohio, Essex County, New Jersey, and a few other places have superior probation services.

These things are not accidents. They are the results of effort, intelligence, and planning.

A writer in *Recent Social Trends* declares that "if active bodies of opinion demand with sufficient urgency and persistence that government render a particular service, or that it impose a particular control, the realization of these group objectives cannot be long postponed." Is there any reason why that should not apply to the services in which we are interested? If the people who are interested in an intelligent control of crime will demand the things that make such control possible, the realization of those objectives cannot be long postponed. Effective parole will not come any other way. It is our job to see that its coming is made as rapid as possible.

CURRENT RELIEF PROBLEMS IN THE CARE OF RESIDENT HOMELESS AND UNATTACHED PERSONS

*Robert S. Wilson, National Association for
Travelers Aid and Transient Service
New York City*

CARE of the homeless, both resident and transient, remains the most unsolved, nerve-racking, intricate, and tantalizing problem of all welfare administration. It is the field least marked by a consistent public policy, and the one most sensitive to fluctuations in the adequacy of the general public assistance program of the community.

In this paper we shall restrict ourselves to a major segment of this problem—namely, care for the resident homeless and unattached persons. We shall use the term “homeless” in a rather broad sense, perhaps better defined as “unattached,” to include all single, separated, widowed, or divorced persons—men and women—who are not a responsible part of a family group and who receive care as single or unattached individuals. In other words, we wish to include in our discussion both the one-person families, who have maintained over a period of years separate living accommodations on a reasonably permanent basis similar to the living arrangements of families, and the so-called “non-family” types of living quarters, such as boarding- and rooming-houses, cheap hotels or “flophouses,” labor camps, and the like.

For practical purposes, the problem of care and service to transient unattached persons, usually homeless, must also be considered in local planning, although it is not included in our present study. Many of the same facilities and provisions for care are required for both groups. However, in considering the

current relief problems of resident unattached persons, one striking difference in the age characteristics of the two groups must be indicated, sometimes forgotten in local planning.

To be more specific, it is not commonly known that resident unattached men average 14 to 17 years older than the transient unattached.¹ This marked distinction is brought out clearly in recent studies by the Division of Social Research of the Works Progress Administration. In the six cities in which comparative figures were taken for the period October, 1934, through April, 1935 (Denver, Jacksonville, Los Angeles, Minneapolis, Pittsburgh, and Seattle), the medium age of resident homeless men was from 14 to 17 years older than transient unattached men. The medium age of the resident homeless men in the cities studied, varied from a low of 41.9 years to a high of 44.5. The medium age of transients for the same period ranged from 27.8 to 29.5 years.

This discrepancy in age characteristics suggests an important difference in the community aspects of care for unattached men. With transient unattached men, the problem is in considerable part re-employment, short-time care, and the restoring of group contacts and community participation, except as special case-work problems enter in. With the resident unattached man still on relief, domiciled or homeless, the problem tends to become long-time and intermittent public assistance. "Long-time" because of the age factor and the lowering age limits of industry; "intermittent" because of the tendency to shuttle back and forth between relief and short-time jobs.

CHANGES IN NUMBERS OF UNATTACHED PERSONS ON RELIEF

The number of resident "single" persons (as they are called in the Federal Emergency Relief Administration statistics) reached an all-time high of 904,590 receiving relief under the

¹ See John Webb, *The Transient Unemployed* (Washington: Division of Social Research, Works Progress Administration, 1935), Appendix A, Table 2A and Table 20, p. 101; see also Alvin Roseman, *Shelter Care and the Local Homeless Man* (Public Administration Service Publication No. 46 [1935]), Appendix A.

general relief and special programs March, 1935.² The mid-monthly census of transient unattached persons cared for March 15, 1935, would bring the total number of unattached persons under care at that time to over a million persons.³

We know, furthermore, that at the time of the unemployment relief census (October, 1933), the percentage of one-person families—defined as “any individual receiving relief not included in a family or household,” with “family,” in turn, defined as a “group of related or unrelated persons who are living together at one address who are considered as one case by the agency giving the relief”—was 13.1 per cent of the total cases on relief and represented more than 3 per cent of all relief persons.⁴

We know also that the relief census of October, 1933, showed striking discrepancies between the ratio of one-person relief families to total relief families in different geographical divisions—varying from 21.9 per cent in the Pacific states to a low of 6.0 per cent in the East South Central states, or a regional variation of from one-fifth to one-seventeenth of the total cases on relief. We know, furthermore, from this same census, that similar discrepancies in ratio exist between cities. San Francisco ranked highest in percentage with 43 per cent of its cases on relief “one-person” families.

We know, furthermore, from the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, that while numbers of resident “single” persons have declined, they have not declined at the same rate as families. In March, 1935, when resident unattached persons reached a peak load in volume, they constituted only 16.4 per cent of the total case count of families and single persons. While the number of persons has declined to 420,000, the percentage under care has risen to 25 per cent.⁵

² *Monthly Report of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration*, May 1–May 31, 1936, Table C-1, p. 50.

³ *Ibid.*, Table D, p. 57.

⁴ Cf. *Unemployment Relief Census, October, 1933* (Federal Emergency Relief Administration Report No. 1), pp. 1 and 10.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 49 and 50.

Part of this disparity is a "substantial decline in the number of persons requiring partial or supplementary aid, practically all of them being family cases." But it also appears that "the percentage of family cases absorbed in private and public employment was considerably higher than the percentage of single-person cases."⁶

SOURCES USED IN THE STUDY OF THE
CURRENT SITUATION

In attempting to analyze the current situation, it was readily apparent that recent factual information had to be sought directly from the field. The liquidation of the F.E.R.A. statistics on general relief, recent administrative shifts in local administration for this group, and the fluctuation in general relief policies and provisions in some states made necessary new fact-getting.⁷

To secure up-to-date facts for this review of the current situation, we have used the Children's Bureau as a main source. The Bureau's Social Statistics Division has been collecting statistics on the homeless over a period of years. The Children's Bureau has under way a more exhaustive study of trends in care of the resident homeless in eleven cities, over the period

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

⁷ For description of care of the homeless during earlier depressions, see: Leah H. Feder, *Unemployment Relief in Periods of Depression* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1936); Alice W. Solenberger, *One Thousand Homeless Men* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1911). For a description of care during the present depression, see: Robert S. Wilson, *Community Planning for Homeless Men and Boys* (New York: F.W.A.A., 1931); "Problems in Co-ordinating Service for Transient and Resident Unattached from the Point of View of Individual Service," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935*, pp. 210-23; "Housing for Unattached Persons," *Social Work Year Book, 1937* (New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1937), pp. 204-8; Edwin H. Sutherland and Harvey J. Locke, *Twenty Thousand Homeless Men* (Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1936); Glenn H. Johnson, *Relief and Health Problems of a Selected Group of Non-family Men* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1937); Max Stern, "The Transfer of Single Men to Home Relief in Chicago," *Social Service Review*, June, 1936; Alvin Roseman, *op. cit.* For a thoughtful discussion of the housing problems of unattached individuals, see: James Ford, "Housing Conditions for Non-family Groups" and "Housing Projects for Single Men and Women," pp. 337-49 and 752-70 in *Slums and Housing* (1936).

1932-36, which has not been completed in time for summary in this paper. The Children's Bureau has given us access to their preliminary reports, which contain descriptive and factual data secured through its local representatives in selected cities, with December, 1936, used as a base month in the study. The writer has sent an independent inquiry to selected cities, securing information from departments of public welfare, emergency relief bureaus, councils of social agencies, men's service bureaus, or other professional groups considered most competent to analyze the local situation. Duplicate inquiries have gone to our own local travelers aid executives, who have gained additional information from the agencies administering relief for resident unattached persons. The writer has, himself, visited some of these cities and an additional group of cities not included in the study. Our study is based, therefore, on information of greater or lesser completeness from forty-nine cities—most of these with 100,000 population or above.

Five of these cities were over 1,000,000 in population, 23 cities 250,000 to 1,000,000 in population, 15 cities 100,000 to 250,000, and 6 cities below 100,000 in size. Cities were selected to cover all regions of the country. The largest numbers of unattached persons under care were reported in New York, with approximately 63,000 local unattached men and women (spring, 1937); the smallest, 5 unattached individuals reported at Decatur, Illinois. The highest percentage of unattached persons on public relief reported was in San Francisco, with 63 per cent minus unattached on general public assistance (52 per cent of the W.P.A. load was listed as unattached). The lowest percentage was in Decatur, with less than 1 per cent, and Newark, with 3.7 per cent minus.

NUMBERS OF NONFAMILY PERSONS RECEIVING PUBLIC RELIEF

One of the most outstanding of the current changes in the problem of local homeless and unattached persons on public relief are the shifts upward in the percentage of nonfamily per-

sons in the total public relief load. In October, 1933, resident one-person families formed 13 per cent of all relief families (3 per cent of all relief persons).⁸ In our own study, in the 40 cities giving sufficient information to tabulate, 16 cities reported a percentage of 35 per cent or above of nonfamily persons in their general public assistance relief load; an additional 10 cities (or a total of 26 cities) had 25 per cent or more of their case load nonfamily or unattached persons receiving care apart from a family group; and 33 cities had 20 per cent or above. Cities reporting the smallest number of nonfamily persons on relief were Decatur, Illinois, which reported only five unattached individuals in their December, 1936, public case load, and Newark, New Jersey, which reported 3.6 per cent.

The interpretation of these figures is not simple. Unfortunately, we lack comparable definitions of "families" or "one-person families" in the census population figures. The census reports for 1930 show 7.9 per cent of one-person families in the general population, and similar marked discrepancies in the relief census between various regions and different cities.

However, the one-person families of the fifteenth census are "persons maintaining separate living accommodations on a reasonably permanent basis"; the nonfamily persons on relief include some of these, but they include much larger numbers of persons not having this fairly independent status—being, rather, lodgers in some other family, residents in a hotel or boarding-house, or transients having some other living status.⁹

Moreover, the quasi-family figures in the 1930 census (2,962,861), while including many of those living in boarding- and rooming-houses, hotels, labor camps, congregate shelters,

⁸ *Unemployment Relief Census, October, 1933* (Federal Emergency Relief Administration Report No. 1 [Washington, 1934]), pp. 2, 24, 36, 37, 80, 90. The resident nonfamily person, or one-person family, was defined as: "Any individual receiving relief, not included in the family or household as defined above ('a group of related or unrelated individuals living together at one address who are receiving relief or considered "one case" by the agency giving relief') who have lived in the state for one year or more."

⁹ Letter from Leon E. Truesdell, Chief Statistician for Population, Bureau of the Census, dated May 17, 1937, addressed to the writer.

etc., also includes some institutional population, population in schools and army posts, and some families living in boarding-houses, against which it would not be reasonable to count any relief persons.¹⁰ However, the census does show a great range in the numbers of one-person families in different cities, and in the numbers of "quasi-family" persons.

A part of the apparent increase in the percentage of non-family persons on relief is, perhaps, attributable to shifts and extensions in provisions for care, especially in home relief. For example, New York, which had no home relief available for single men in October, 1933, now (March, 1937) has 30,500 unattached men on home relief. Another factor may be a change in the definitions used or the plan of reporting. It has been only recently in some cities that any count of single women has been kept separate from the case count of families. But, in the main, we are seeing a real increase in the proportion of unattached persons on relief.

RESIDENT UNATTACHED PERSONS UNDER W.P.A.

We have attempted in our study to test whether W.P.A. as a type of government substitute employment, has affected or aggravated this situation. Reports were received from forty-three cities out of the forty-nine which have participated in the study. Some of the agencies replying were certifying agencies for W.P.A.

In twenty cities, reports received stated that "equal consideration" had been given unattached persons and employable heads of families throughout the period of W.P.A. employment. San Francisco, while it had 63 per cent unattached persons on public relief, reported approximately 51 per cent unattached persons on W.P.A. In several cities, replies indicated that this equalization had resulted from local leaders, who had brought pressure to bear when there were indications of discrimination against unattached persons.

There were indications in the study that much more dis-

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

crimination existed at the present time in recertifications and layoffs. In eleven cities a tendency was reported throughout the program to give preference to family persons over unattached individuals. However, an additional ten cities indicated discrimination in recent layoffs and, in a few instances, almost complete elimination of unattached persons. In at least one city this seems to have been due to pressure from the relief administration which, facing a shrinking budget and desiring to divert the more expensive type of relief cases (i.e., the families) to the federally financed W.P.A., had accepted single-person cases in return for the families. In one city there appears to have been a definite understanding between the E.R.B. and W.P.A. for this exchange.

In the cities reporting a preference for family persons throughout the program, this varied from a very mild selective factor to a definite discrimination. One city, which had refused relief to single men, had of course, none to certify.

Indications are that in any shrinking for work-relief resources, unattached men are the first to suffer—and, perhaps, the last to profit under a more adequate and stabilized public relief program. The gains during recent years for unattached men must be largely attributed to the more adequate relief funds available through F.E.R.A. The difference in source of relief funds and W.P.A. funds tends to make the expense of the case, rather than the need or the employability of the individual, the consideration in type of care—unless an unusual situation exists, with enough jobs or enough relief to cover all types of need. The fact that the unattached person has fared as well as he has in some cities is probably due to the policies of the Federal Works Progress Administration.

BASIC SHIFTS FROM SHELTER CARE TO HOME RELIEF

Information gathered for this study, and special preliminary tabulations made by the Children's Bureau, indicate a marked decline in the total volume of shelter care for resident unattached individuals, and a more important decline in the per-

centage of congregate care, with a corresponding rise in the proportion of the resident unattached group receiving home relief, particularly men.

Preliminary tabulations by the Children's Bureau seem to indicate that the peak in volume of shelter care was reached in 1934, if a sample of ten cities is representative.¹¹

In this peak year of 1934, approximately 400,000 resident unattached individuals were reported as receiving meals and lodging. Excluding Chicago, which reported more than half of this number, the peak was reached in the remaining nine cities in 1935. A separate calculation of trends for Pittsburgh (Allegheny County) indicates that in their daily average of lodgings, a somewhat different figure was reached in March, 1932 (daily average of lodgings 3,577).

Such figures are meaningless by themselves in understanding the total problem of unattached persons, unless they are interpreted in the light of the absence or existence of other provisions and the marked expansion of home relief since that time. The comparative absence of home-relief provisions during 1929-33 makes the data on homeless men a fairly complete picture of care from this group at that time. Data on sixteen cities, previously referred to in the F.W.A.A. study in the winter of 1930-31, indicated that in nearly every city 80 to 100 per cent of the care for both local and transient homeless men was through congregate shelters. It was not until 1934 that any home relief was available to unattached men in New York City. In the month of March, 1937, home relief through the Emergency Relief Bureau of New York City was provided to 30,566 men.

Outdoor relief for men in Chicago was not attempted until 1933, but in July the outdoor relief allowances were cut so low that most of the men were pushed back into the shelters. How-

¹¹ Birmingham, New Haven, Chicago, Sioux City, Grand Rapids, Kansas City, Omaha, Cincinnati, Columbus, Milwaukee. Reports include the surrounding county with the exception of New Haven (city and three suburbs) and Kansas City (city only). Preliminary calculation as of January, 1937.

ever, in March, 1935, Chicago made a wholesale transfer of 17,000 from the shelters to the district offices of the Cook County Relief Administration. By September, 1935, all the shelters were evacuated except one, which was kept open for emergency overnight care.¹²

Other basic changes have occurred in many other cities in the expansion of a plan for home relief for unattached men on a level corresponding to that of unattached women on home relief.¹³

The progressive abandonment of the large mass shelters, recommended in our own paper at the National Conference at Montreal (1933), has actually occurred in a number of cities. The tremendous shelter in the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Philadelphia, to give only one illustration, is at last no more.

During the two years of the federal transient program we saw beginnings of experiments demonstrating the therapy possible in small group shelters, and in camps classified as to function and the type of need to be served. We saw a few intake shelters from which transient homeless were referred to more appropriate types of care. Remembering these modest experiments in group treatment,¹⁴ we can only view with satisfaction the passing of the huge monstrosities of temporary shelters which reflected the earlier philosophy of care which we had during the early and middle years of the last depression. Hard pressed for funds and lacking much strength of conviction that unattached men really merited services corresponding to those of families, we set up modes of care utterly different from those offered to unattached women. The huge temporary shelters drawn into service survived fire, safety, and health inspections only by the courtesy or carelessness of city and state authorities. Most

¹² See Johnson, *op. cit.*, chap. i, Introduction, also Max Stern, *op. cit.*

¹³ See Robert S. Wilson, "Problems in Co-ordinating Service for Transient and Resident Unattached from the Point of View of Individual Service," *Proceedings of the National Conference of Social Work, 1935*, pp. 212, 219-23.

¹⁴ Robert S. Wilson and Dorothy de la Pole, *Group Treatment for Transients* (New York: National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, 1934).

dairy barns were better suited to their purpose than some of these buildings we set up for the care of human beings.

Shelters for the homeless have been, traditionally, the most "down-at-the-mouth" institutions of all, far inferior in most instances to prisons, county infirmaries, or state hospitals for the mentally handicapped. In small cities, groups with a religious motivation often set up shelters which seem to disprove the ancient adage that "cleanliness is next to godliness," or perhaps the smell of disinfectant crowds out the evidences of good housekeeping. Yet, often, such shelters are the only recourses unattached men have for assistance. Some of the large temporary shelters rapidly became a modification of the old-fashioned almshouse, relocated in the hobohemias of the large cities. Lacking intake policies or outlets, the load of unemployables, aged, and psychotic piled up, while the more readily employable or the more skilful panhandlers escaped. Those who visited these shelters at nightfall—rarely were the men permitted to remain in the shelter during the day—remember them as conventions of people who had lost hope and spirit, hulks of flesh which breathed but seldom conversed, with a nondescript hat on one end and a shabby, sprawled out pair of shoes on the other. We used to blame it on the character of the man. Now we know the part that shelter environment plays,¹⁵ and the human response to regimentation and mass anonymity, so that people soon seem to vegetate rather than live, and to lose the spark of individual identity and the capacity for social relations. Some of those shelters still remain, perhaps not as large, but shelters in which the men lack even the individuality of a separate nail on which to hang their clothes.

The present strong reaction against shelters is in considerable part due to temporary shelters such as these—their unwieldy size and their inappropriate uses. Traditionally, only the exceptional manager has shown much imagination. It has been the

¹⁵ See Sutherland and Locke, *op. cit.*, and their description of the "shelterization process."

"young minded" and the new persons in the field who have escaped the ruts of traditions. Shelter or camp operation is no place for people of anemic imagination. Strong antidotes are required, even with the best of workers in this field, to counteract the retarding force of old-style community attitude and the discouragements from limited resources and from the persistence in the chronically homeless of old patterns of behavior.

It has been the newcomers in the field, not the "oldsters," who have discovered seven elementary therapies during the last three years: the therapy of adequate lighting and ventilation; the therapy in the use of paint and color; the therapy of individual lockers, if individual rooms are impossible; the therapy of recreation space and a variety of recreational opportunities; the therapy of adequate and current newspapers and of current magazines; the value of balanced and diversified meals spaced three times a day as in families; the therapy of non-judgmental attitudes and individual interest by staff members who view unattached persons as separate and distinct personalities and do not lump them altogether in one category of "homeless," "bums," "drunks," or "sinners."

Several comments might be made in passing regarding shelter care. Differences in costs of care as between shelters in different cities may have only limited relation to the standards of care, unless there is a single administrative control, non-political, and through the county welfare department responsible for family care. A second point, more closely related to the first, is that shelters cannot be put to their appropriate uses unless intake and outlets from the shelter or farm are controlled through the county or city welfare department.

Third, the difference between home relief and congregate care is not the difference of "good" and "bad," nor "black" and "white," nor "cheap" and "expensive." Basically, if each is properly planned, it is a difference in function, a difference in client's need, and a difference in adaptability to certain types of assistance, arrived at through a careful intake procedure and

assignment of case loads, with reinvestigation and reinterviewing just as with families.

The economy argument for congregate care has been pretty thoroughly exploded. There is a slight difference, yes. But most of the alleged economy of a shelter operation over home relief is taken "out of the hides of men" through inferior, regimented, and nonprivate types of care, low salary standards affecting personnel standards, or through a failure to develop certain needed services for the homeless not readily available through community resources. Medical care, clothing allowance, and recreational opportunity are illustrative. Other services must be built up if we are to neutralize the deteriorating environment of institutional life, even in a well-equipped institution.

The extent to which home relief has superseded shelter care for unattached men in some cities, but not in others, measured by percentage of unattached men receiving shelter care in nineteen cities (data not available on other cities) is indicated in our study. Seven cities furnishing public relief to unattached men still have 60 per cent or more of their care for this group through shelters. To this group could be added the three cities in which no public relief is available for unattached men.

From these data and from our knowledge of the systematic efforts taken by some of the cities to raise standards of care for unattached persons to the level of family relief, it is possible to suggest a tentative measuring stick. When the percentage of shelter care for unattached men rises above 15 to 20 per cent of the total relief load of unattached men, it is cause for concern and evidence of a substantial lack in community provisions for unattached, unemployed men.

The percentage of shelter care to total relief load is, however, only a partial measuring stick. We must ask these further questions: What kinds of shelters and to what use are they put? What degree of adequacy of home relief is available, and what protections and guaranties are specifically provided to insure that the grade of housing, food, medical care, and indi-

vidualized service is not so far below that of an intelligently run group shelter as to present a hazard to the individual and to the community?

Similarly, "home relief" has many meanings. At times it means an item for groceries but no rent. Case loads may vary from a reasonable number, permitting home interviews, to a number which makes individualized service or investigation an utter fiction. We know of one hard-working case worker with the homeless who has had a case load of one thousand, including many transients. One or two cities have developed housing controls to protect the homeless man and the public relief agency from rackets. Definite controls are necessary in Minnesota, under the newly inaugurated old age assistance, where the state office has already found landlords cutting up attics into tiny cubicles for which they charge nonfamily men exorbitant rates. Some commercial lodging-houses which men on home relief use are far inferior in their standards to well-operated group shelters. Some men, contrary to the expectancy of social workers, prefer to live in semicongregate types of living because of their long habituation to labor camps and flophouses. Some are too ill or disabled to fit into home relief, unless there is adequate bedside nursing or convalescent care available for this group.

DIFFERENTIALS IN RELIEF ALLOWANCES AND COSTS OF CARE

While there is an increasing proportion of home relief given in comparison to shelter care, marked differences show up in a comparison of average costs or standard budgetary allowances, discrepancies which regional differences only partially explain. However, comparisons can be based only on twenty-eight of the forty-nine cities furnishing sufficient information to compare. Home-relief allowances, or average cost per unattached case, range from a low of \$8.00 a month (allowance "for a man if he does his own cooking") in a city in the East North Central

region to a high of \$27 in a large city in a Middle Atlantic state which has worked over a period of years to secure an adequate allowance and to equalize allowances for unattached men with those for single women. Fourteen out of the twenty-seven cities fell into two categories, seven with a budget allowance of \$10 to \$12.49 and an equal number ranging from \$7.50 to \$20. There were more southern cities in the lower allowance group than in the higher.

In one city there was a slight advantage in allowance to the unattached man, but numbers were too negligible to make this significant. Some interesting disparities between the allowance for nonfamily men and nonfamily women were indicated. In two cities the allowance for men was approximately 40 per cent less than the one for women. A few cities compared the average costs with the allowance for an unattached person under old age assistance enough to indicate that there still are differences existing between various types of categorical and noncategorical relief allowance for unattached persons.

SOURCE OF FUNDS FOR RELIEF OF RESIDENT UNATTACHED PERSONS

The study of current relief problems in the cities reporting indicates a continuing trend toward public funds as the primary source of funds in assistance to domiciled unattached and homeless persons. The study of sixteen cities in 1930-31 showed only six out of the sixteen in which there was any use of public funds through temporary or special grant. Of the forty cities in the 1937 study giving sufficient data to classify, twenty-nine reported 91 per cent to 100 per cent of their funds for resident homeless and unattached persons out of public funds, six additional cities fell in the classification 61 per cent to 90 per cent public funds, while two cities reported 10 per cent or less. One city reported a "large" percentage of public funds, but did not specify percentage.

Of the two cities reporting 10 per cent or less of public funds for this group, one city is in the West North Central region,

which has as yet no state aid for public relief and no local public welfare administration. The other is a city in the Middle Atlantic region, in a state with adequate state aid, but with a local public welfare administrator who is convinced that "all single men are bums and no accounts" and that "single men could fare for themselves if they weren't drunk all the time."

TYPES OF ADMINISTRATIVE PLANS FOR RESIDENT UNATTACHED MEN

Considered as a whole, single or unattached resident women were handled through domiciled or home-relief units along with families. However, there are marked differences in the way that relief out of public funds is administered to domiciled and homeless single men.

The foregoing discussion has indicated that, except in rare instances, public funds are carrying the great burden of responsibility for resident unattached unemployed. One unfamiliar with traditional ways of handling the homeless might assume that, in the thirty-six out of forty cities where public funds carry the main burden of the load, public agencies would be administering the job, with private shelter agencies developing a division of responsibility and a specialization of function much as private case-work agencies have developed. Our study does not support this view.

Forty-five of the forty-nine cities furnished sufficient information to classify their types of administrative plans. Five of the forty-five cities reporting had no public relief, or the private agency administered both relief and service with or without some grant of city or county funds. Of the remaining forty cities, twenty-seven had plans calling for the administering of public relief for resident unattached and homeless persons directly by the public agency. Thirteen cities had a mixed private-public administration, with private shelter agencies assuming administrative responsibility in shelter management and in direct contact with clients in the giving of food or shelter relief. In three of the latter group the public agency carried the

chief administrative responsibility, including operation of a shelter or camp, but with some private contract care through private shelter agencies. In the mixed administrative type of agency, both public and private agencies ordinarily had some direct contact with clients. In all but one instance, in which there was no public home relief available for men, the administrative responsibility of the private agencies was restricted to the group of men homeless at their time of application.

This mixed private-public administration of public relief, in which the homeless client has, quantitatively, more contact with the private agent than with the public, presents some administrative difficulties,¹⁶ although in some instances it has immediate practical advantages. Some cities do not want to operate a small public receiving shelter, or extend their institutional responsibility to handicapped convalescent or unemployable unattached men. Sometimes it is cheaper, "at least in the short run," for a city to hire care from a private shelter agency for its infirm unattached aged than it is to spend the necessary money to furnish convalescent homes and bedside nursing, or to purchase standard equipment and build standard types of buildings in increasing present county infirmaries for the aged. A few cities assume that the problem of the homeless is a short-lived one and that there is no permanent need to develop facilities of this type for a group traditionally inarticulate in their demands. Some cities, lacking any public relief for transients and with federal aid still out of the picture, place enough local unattached persons in a private shelter to finance continuance of the shelter in operation, as a minimum provision for transient homeless and a minimum safety and public health precaution.

Perhaps the more deep-lying reasons are these: Public welfare administrations in some cities have only half-way accepted the thesis that care of the homeless is as much an area of pub-

¹⁶ For discussion of the administrative problems involved in mixed public-private administration as found in the care of transient homeless, equally applicable to resident homeless, see *Public Relief for Transient and Non-settled Persons in the State of New York* (New York: Governor's Commission on Unemployment Relief, August, 1936), pp. 80-82, 122-31, 138, 155.

lic welfare responsibility as any other. There is a strong force of public opinion built up over a period of years that care of the homeless is really a job for city rescue missions and private shelters, with a greater stress on the religious appeal as a sole means of individual rehabilitation. The homeless are the one group of unemployed whom many citizens in the community feel should receive a sermon along with their bread—or no bread. Some citizens feel—and there are grounds for this belief—that, with the intermittent responsibilities which public agencies had assumed for this group and the lack of a permanent public policy, private shelter agencies that have carried the burden of the load should be rewarded for their vigorous interest in the physical and religious problems presented by the homeless. Moreover, there is the argument of capital equipment unused (inadequate or adequate), the appeal of the religious impulse, and the drama of an institution packed with humanity which home relief, or small publicly operated lodging-house units, can never expect to equal.

In practice, sometimes this mixed administrative plan works out smoothly. If the private agency director or shelter manager has a philosophy of the job parallel to that of the relief administration financing the bills, and if he restricts his function to institution management and the building-up of a livable and therapeutic environment, or if co-operative case policies are carefully defined, no problem may exist. However, the workability of such plans depends very largely on a matter of individual personalities who can overcome an awkward administrative plan and a dual line of administration by co-operative endeavor. It is difficult to limit one's function to shelter management if one has a deep conviction that the religious appeal is the only way to meet the behavior problems, hyperindividualism, and lowered morale of the unemployed lone person detached from the rewards and responsibilities of family life.

This type of mixed administration also makes for confusion in the public mind. Often the private agency feels that the public agency has not covered the total per capita cost of care,

or it handles a separate group out of its own limited funds which necessitates a campaign for funds. Not always do these appeals make clear the landlord status of the agency in its care of many public clients, but the public gives under the impression that the private agency is doing the entire job. Such administrative plans might well be reviewed in light of the plans of shared responsibility and division of labor worked out between private case-work agencies and public welfare departments, and of public transient bureaus and private case-work agencies—such as travelers aid societies during the period of the F.E.R.A. transient program. It is possible that the principle that “public agencies should administer public funds,” if applied also in this field of care for the homeless, might open the way to more adequate capital equipment (where needed) and personnel for both public and private agencies, a clearer understanding on the part of the community of the gaps in its public and private resources for unattached and homeless persons, and so open the way toward specialization and co-ordination of function between various private shelter agencies. This they cannot have as long as they are competing in seeking referrals and contract care from the public agency, or maintaining shelters too large for the city, considering the present developments in home relief to unattached persons.

Many private shelter agencies, lacking a more precise definition of their function and needing lodgers, have been made the “goat” by other agencies in the community. I have seen homeless men dumped by hospitals on the doorstep of the Salvation Army shelter and the Volunteers of America shelter with their legs still in a cast, or still so ill from an operation or incapacitated by an accident that they could scarcely move. Private shelters are made to do the job of care for the chronically ill and emergency sick cases which convalescent homes with much bedside nursing would hesitate to undertake. Infirm aged and mental cases are dumped on private shelters, while counties wait too long to build additional wings on their institutions. These shel-

ter agencies are often a point of last resort—but they may also become a point of first resort, while other medical and social-work agencies do not know of a more specialized type of service which group shelters may equip themselves to perform.

TYPES OF PUBLIC ADMINISTRATIVE SETUPS

Three types of administrative plans of direct public administration of relief to resident unattached men are reported in the twenty-seven cities in which public relief for unattached men is administered by public agencies. In eleven of these cities, the service unit for this group is a men's bureau or division, or a special shelter or camp division in which care has been centralized. Public relief agencies in four cities serve domiciled unattached and homeless cared for through separate divisions of the D.P.Q. and E.R.B. There were twelve cities in which the direct administration and service for resident unattached persons, both men and women, were integrated into the home-relief districts for families.

There appears to be a tendency toward an administrative integration of relief into the home-service division of departments of public welfare. This must be attributed to the disintegration of public care for transients with the withdrawal of federal emergency relief. Central bureaus for transient and homeless were dissolved in most states, and public care has been in most instances eliminated or limited to very brief stays. However, in the state of Michigan, where there is a central authority within the state public welfare department to administer care for transients and for local homeless, there are seven men's bureaus which operate shelters for care of homeless men, functioning as departments of the county welfare unit in whose areas they are located. Funds for the care come from combined state and county funds appropriated to the county units. This is the only state in which there is strong state supervision. However, New York has an inspectional service in its state department which includes shelters. Michigan, by the way, is one

of the few states which has continued its medical examination for homeless men before entering the shelters, and has provided necessary medical service during the period of shelter care.

The counter tendency in other states toward integration of care for unattached persons in the family case load is too recent to be properly evaluated. In part, it seems to grow out of the necessity in a few cities to have a shift of administration, as a means of drawing in different personnel who have not succumbed to the shelter psychology of popular public opinion in care for this group, in an effort to increase the percentage of home relief. It is doubtful whether such shifts are necessary—or desirable—in cities where present personnel carries a philosophy of individualized service into their treatment of nonfamily persons.

In other cities, however, this shift tends to be the result of the ideology that nonfamily persons present "no peculiar problems which could not be met by an adequate home relief program" and sufficiently used health resources.¹⁷

Such a point of view is extremely valuable in pointing to the necessity of home relief for a large group of unattached persons. Case loads are just as necessary in work with homeless as with families. A nonfamily case requires about as much time as a family case. However, cities with men's service divisions, such as in New York City and Cleveland, have arrived at exactly the same position.

It is the writer's own belief that this effort to integrate nonfamily men into family service divisions will be effective only in so far as there is an intelligent public opinion and a realistic awareness on the part of social workers of the special needs of this group. Public welfare departments must be willing to face realistically the fact that many community resources, social relationships, and opportunities for neighborhood and community participation available to families are not so available to the person accustomed to a lodging-house life. As a matter of fact, in cities with a proportionately large case load of homeless per-

¹⁷ For a thoughtful statement of this position see Johnson, *op. cit.*

sons, it may be found that a third or a half of these unattached persons have been accustomed to a nonfamily type of living in cheap hotels and lodging-houses over a period of years, and some of them to missions and other congregate shelters.¹⁸ Two or three cities reporting in the study commented that Salvation Army shelters had considerable numbers of W.P.A. workers living there by preference, and paying a modest rate for "board and room"—most of them unattached unemployed who had formerly lived with them.

It is not wholly realistic to assume that administrative integration into the family service divisions accomplishes this. In some cities a disproportionate number of single and unattached men are concentrated into deteriorated areas immediately surrounding the business area, long known by sociologists as "non-family areas." In any redistricting unattached men into home-relief divisions, certain districts, therefore, receive a disproportionate load. Take, for example, Chicago. While 40.4 per cent of the relief load of the Chicago Relief Administration in December, 1936, were "one-person families" (men and women) one-person cases approximated 70 per cent of the relief load in the Stamford Park district office and 60 per cent in the lower north district office. Certainly in such areas workers in public welfare offices must be somewhat familiar with the ways and habits of homeless men, the differences in sources checked for identifying information, and the superficiality of first impressions. In other family areas, drawing a small percentage of unattached persons, their problems are fundamentally the same as those of families living in the area. There are probably, therefore, a number of types of administrative plans which may be made to work, provided that there is sufficient community leadership, awareness on the part of the workers of the common elements and the differences in work with persons whose family ties have been lost, and the development of a procedure for

¹⁸ See Sutherland and Locke, *op. cit.* In a more exhaustive study, in a sample of 1,882 single men residing in shelters in June, 1934, they estimate that 65 per cent of the men had permanent residence in the flophouse area.

transferring unattached individuals to a type of care more suitable to former background and mode of life.

Other material furnished in the study might be summarized if we had more space. If one might venture a prediction, it might seem that the future of care for the homeless group depends upon:

First, the acceptance of the area of the homeless and "non-family" person as legitimate and desired domain for action in community planning, a proper field of service by the most qualified and imaginative of social workers and the best of laymen. People are needed with enough of stubbornness not to yield to discouragements and the easy routine of habit and practice now archaic, and enough enthusiasm to interpret the equipment, personnel, and funds required, for a job equal to family service. Once employed in the field the community should make it easy for workers with the homeless to keep contact with the main stream of social work.

Second, advance is dependent on the development of a basic and permanent public assistance program. The field of the homeless is the most sensitive to this of all fields.

Third, willingness and leadership of private agencies to flex policies and function to encourage the development of basic services in this field, from tax funds while pointing the way through experimentation (and experimentation costs money in this field) in the needs still remaining. There is much need for co-ordination of service and division of responsibility between private shelter agencies, one to another, even more than to the public relief agency. This field is, by the way, an ideal one for demonstrating the integration of case-work and group-work services¹⁹ so much talked about these days.

Much remains to be done to test the assumption that "those are truly nonfamily persons whose family ties are so frozen that family social work does not apply"; or the contrary assumption that many social relationships can be restored, either

¹⁹ See Wilson and De la Pole, *op. cit.*

through family ties or through the development of other groups, substitutes for families.

And, last, the continued advance of this field depends upon the leadership of thoughtful public officials, social workers in private agencies, and openminded citizens to break down the traditional feeling that "nonfamily people do not matter," "that single men can fend for themselves and do not need relief unless they are worthless and 'noaccount,' and that these latter do not deserve it anyway." Truly, much remains to be done in organizing intelligent public opinion in this field—and social workers may have to be surer of their own viewpoint than now before they can furnish this leadership. Many communities have yet to attain adequate, decent, and diversified types of care and service for unattached persons, comparable to those for families. The job is just begun.

OUTLOOK FOR SOCIAL SECURITY

*Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, Social Security
Board, Washington, D.C.*

THE decisions handed down by the United States Supreme Court completely validate the unemployment compensation and federal old age insurance provisions of the Social Security Act. These decisions are most gratifying to those who have worked so long and so hard in promoting social legislation. However, the real job of providing social security for the people of this country is a long way from being finished. A great responsibility rests upon the federal officials and the state officials charged with the administration of the various provisions of the Social Security Act to so administer those provisions as to accomplish their high purpose of bringing real security to the people of this country. A responsibility also rests upon us to improve and extend the provisions of the Social Security Act as greater knowledge and experience shall indicate is wise and necessary.

Today it is possible for the first time in the history of this Conference—or, for that matter, in the history of this country—to report on a full year's progress under a nation-wide program for social security. Although we have not yet found answers to all the questions that have been raised we have come a long way in a very short period of time. Passed in August, 1935, and effective when funds became available in February, 1936, the Social Security Act has now been in operation a year and three months.

We have come a long way in aiding the needy. Through making the federal government a partner with the states and their local communities, the Act has brought public assistance on a

sustained basis to more of those who need it and in more adequate amounts than ever before. In part because of this desperate need, public assistance was one of the first provisions of the Act to get under way. When the first federal grants were made in February, 1936, twenty-one states were participating in one or more of the three programs—aid to the needy aged, the needy blind, and dependent children—and about 326,000 individuals received assistance during that first month. From that time on both the number of participating states and the number of individuals aided have steadily increased. Today forty-three states are co-operating in one or more of these programs, twenty-six in all three. Over the same period there has been more than a fivefold increase in the number of individuals aided, according to estimates for May, which show a total of approximately 1,719,000.

We have also come a long way in protection against want during temporary unemployment. In February, 1936, only eight states had unemployment compensation laws approved under the Social Security Act, and no state was yet paying benefits under such a law. Today forty-five states, the District of Columbia, and Alaska have unemployment compensation laws, and it is estimated that more than 18,600,000 workers are now employed in jobs covered by these forty-seven laws. In Wisconsin, the only state to enact an unemployment compensation law before the introduction of the Social Security Act, benefits began to be payable in July, 1936. Benefits in twenty-nine additional states are scheduled to take effect in 1938, and in the remainder in 1939.

We have come a long way, too, in insuring the American people for the future against dependency in old age. The federal old age insurance program—which, in point both of magnitude and of social significance, is perhaps the most important section of the entire act—went into effect, according to schedule, on last January 1. A year ago the spade work of planning its administration was already going forward, but to the public the whole program was still a mere matter of speculation. Since

last November, when application forms began to go out, over 27,500,000 men and women have been assigned benefit accounts. Through these accounts workers in our major commercial and industrial occupations can build up credits which will entitle them to monthly payments after they are sixty-five and retire.

These are the provisions of the act for which the Social Security Board is responsible, and my discussion will be confined to a few "high spots" which seem to me, for one reason or another, of special significance at the present stage of development. But, before going on to these, to round out the picture I must add that the public health program is in operation in all the states, and that vocational rehabilitation and the three maternal and child welfare services are progressing at practically the same pace. In every state in the Union at least six of the Act's ten provisions are already in operation, and in most the number of provisions in operation is still higher. It will be years before we can estimate the full effect of the Social Security Act; but it is clear that it will not only reduce the general relief load, but also—and this is even more significant—that it will help to swing our attack on the whole problem of insecurity from a negative to a positive approach.

Our first great task has been accomplished—the Act is working. Through the recent action of the state legislatures which did not meet until 1937, state participation is going forward rapidly. But passing laws is only, as it were, the "curtain-raiser" in the evolution of such a program. It is already possible to distinguish at least three phases of this evolution, each with its distinctive emphasis—first, the double-barreled job of setting up administrative machinery and of getting it into motion almost simultaneously; second, the development and integration of administration and of services within the present framework; and third, further expansion to liberalize existing provisions. These phases are not mutually exclusive; we do not complete one before we begin another. Though the initial phase of setting up state plans was the major task of the first year, it is still in

process. Though the second phase of consolidating the gains—with the emphasis on quality rather than quantity—is now well under way, it will continue for months and even years. And, though the third phase of further expansion is for the most part still in the future, some advances have already been made. This overlapping process of evolution may seem slow and uneven, but more would almost certainly be lost than gained by attempting to short-cut it. Patience is a virtue which those who labor for social legislation can no more afford to neglect than foresight.

The policy of the Social Security Board has been conceived to facilitate, in so far as possible, these progressive phases in the development of the Social Security Act. In view of the fact that federal co-operation was imperative if the states were to make these benefits and services available, the board has been liberal in its interpretation of state conformity to the terms of the Act, and has sought to give the states all possible aid in making a beginning. At the same time, it has organized competent field staffs, under its Bureau of Public Assistance and Bureau of Unemployment Compensation, to work with the states at their request. The Board is not interested in—nor does it believe the Social Security Act implies—the overhead imposition of rigid requirements; its objective is, rather, the development of comprehensive, well-rounded social-security programs, both state and national.

The Board has, for example, consistently pointed out that public assistance cannot be divorced from the total welfare program in any state; that, indeed, there is a very real danger of promoting these services at the expense of other equally essential welfare measures. In most states—including fifteen which have just recently passed the necessary legislation—a single state agency now administers all the state's noninstitutional welfare activities, both those for which the state alone is responsible and also the federal-state programs. So, also, the same agency administers unemployment compensation and other labor legislation in twenty-two states, and in three others

the agency administering unemployment compensation and that administering other labor laws have an interlocking membership. Although not even the soundest administrative plan can of itself solve all the problems of state co-ordination, these developments indicate a definite trend toward more effective integration in both public welfare and labor law administration.

Though co-ordination is essential within each state, this is only the first link in a far-reaching network of co-operation. In a country five times the size of England, France, Germany, and Italy combined there are bound to be divergent social and economic conditions and needs. The issue of security in the United States is, to be sure, national; but it will not necessarily raise identical problems in all parts of the nation. Yet to admit that it has local aspects is not to assume that these can ever be dealt with as merely provincial. Because our problem is two-fold, we must never forget that uniformity is not the same as equality; that there is as little equity in treating unlike problems in the same way as in treating similar problems differently. This offers ample justification for the co-operative federal-state system embodied in the Social Security Act.

No one—least of all any of us connected with the administration of the Social Security Act—would attempt to minimize either its interstate problems or its federal-state problems. The Social Security Board acts as a clearing-house for information gathered by the states in the operation of their own laws, and places all the facilities of its Washington headquarters and its twelve regional offices at the service of the states. It believes that this pooling of experience offers the soundest basis for defining and establishing both the vertical lines of federal-state co-operation and the equally necessary horizontal lines of interstate co-operation.

Meantime, in addition to working with the states in these co-operative programs, the Board has begun administering the one part of the act for which the federal government is directly responsible—the federal old age insurance system. In co-operation with the Post Office, the Board has completed the pre-

liminary handling of applications for benefit-account numbers. It has worked out a simple and efficient system which enables it to set up individual accounts for every covered worker; it has taken steps to safeguard the confidential nature of these personal records; and it has established field offices to bring the program as close as possible to the people. Because of the size and complexity of this job, the Board has moved slowly, attempting wherever possible to try out methods before final adoption. Progress to date seems to indicate that this policy has well been warranted.

All of these efforts to devise efficient administrative mechanisms at every level, and to gear the interlocking parts of the machinery for effective co-operation, are outstanding characteristics of this second phase of the social-security program. But a still more significant trend has to do with the people who are called upon to man this administrative organization. The Social Security Board believes that, in its effects upon the long-term success of social legislation, the issue of competent personnel is second to none. The Board has stood definitely for appointment on an objective merit basis, both in recruiting its own staff and in making recommendations to the states. Less than 5 per cent of its own employees have been appointed other than from civil service registers, and all of these excepted appointments have been approved by the Civil Service Commission. But the Board harbors no illusions regarding the personnel difficulties in a pioneer undertaking like the Social Security Act. Even on the federal level it is far from easy to assemble a complete staff of high caliber for a new agency operating in fields where relatively few people with specific experience are available. Difficult at best, in many states the problem is further complicated. Few of the states have civil service, and in many parts of the country any "merit system" is still regarded as an innovation.

The development of effective administration places an obligation upon everyone who believes in social legislation—and who believes that sound training, practical experience, mature

judgment, and all-around competence are essential to its success. The profession of social work has already made major contributions to our understanding of public welfare administration—its techniques and skills, its objectives and fundamental philosophy—and it has already given the country some of its outstanding leaders in allied fields as well. The future, even more than the past and the present, will compel us to clarify our own thinking, to develop our own capacities, and, by the character of our own work, to interpret the meaning of a social-security program to all the people. But the problem of administration can never remain a charge upon any special group. Fundamentally, it is the responsibility of the whole nation; for no government, and in particular no democracy, can legislate effectively beyond its capacity to administer.

We have enacted more social legislation in the last year and a half than we enacted during the preceding quarter of a century, but the program is by no means perfect or complete. Already the process of legal amendment, both on the state and the federal level, has begun.

Twenty-two states have recently passed amendments to their unemployment compensation laws; twenty states with approved public assistance plans have amended the laws on which these plans are based; and public assistance amendments in a number of other states are in various stages of development. The majority of these are intended simply to facilitate the operation of existing provisions. A few, however, represent a definite trend toward further expansion. One of the most important issues before the states today, since some of them are already moving toward this third phase of development, is to weigh the responsibilities of administration and of financing which this development entails.

Following out the charge placed upon it by the Social Security Act, the Social Security Board has been studying the federal law with the purpose of considering such changes as may be found advisable. In this connection, the Board has taken the position that, since we are still in the pioneer stages of this great

enterprise, it is sound policy to make haste slowly. The proposals which the Board has been studying with a view to immediate action are, therefore, largely for the purpose of simplification and clarification, and relate to matters of immediate concern regarding which there seems to be rather general agreement.

The Board does, however, definitely favor the liberalization of existing provisions, in so far as our experience and present circumstances seem to warrant. And, with this purpose in view, it has been studying the possibility of certain modifications relating to both taxation and coverage.

Because of the considerable discussion that has occurred relative to the "pay-as-you-go" plan as compared with the "reserve" plan for financing the federal old age insurance system, I feel that I should say a word about this problem. I am afraid that these expressions have become pretty largely catchwords. This is unfortunate, because their use results in an oversimplification of a very complex problem. It is no more helpful to say that a person believes in the pay-as-you-go system than to say that the person believes in the law of supply and demand. Both statements are so general that they are of no value whatsoever in dealing with a specific case. An added danger in the use of the term "pay-as-you-go" lies in the fact that its meaning in this connection is exactly the opposite of its traditional meaning. The term "pay-as-you-go" has traditionally been used to mean that a government meets its currently accruing obligations as those obligations are incurred. However, the meaning of the phrase as it relates to the federal old age insurance plan is that the government does not meet its currently accruing obligations as they accrue.

As a matter of fact, there is very little difference between the pay-as-you-go and the reserve systems in so far as the next few years are concerned. Violent disagreement arises, however, when the respective advocates undertake to project their imagination to a distant future, two generations hence, when in the nature of the case it is impossible properly to assay the condi-

tions that will then be prevailing. This disagreement arises to a large extent out of the almost inevitable tendency of the human mind to discuss the future as if it were the present. A second important reason for this violent disagreement is that the respective advocates fail to come to grips as to whether or not they would apply the pay-as-you-go system before or after there is practically universal coverage—the pay-as-you-go advocates apparently assuming universal coverage as an accomplished fact. The significance of the extent of coverage lies in the fact, that, unless the system operates on the reserve principle, either the future pay-roll taxes must ultimately increase to a figure double that now contemplated or there must be a substantial government subsidy—which means, in effect, that the uncovered portion of the population pays for a part of the cost of insuring the covered population.

It is entirely possible that the controversy between the pay-as-you-go advocates and the reserve advocates may become of only academic interest, because of the fact that we may achieve more nearly universal coverage before there is any practical difference in the application of the two plans. Moreover, if we start monthly benefit payments sooner, pay such benefits in more liberal amounts during the early years, and add survivors' benefits and benefits for permanent total disability, we would be hard put to it to finance these benefits under even the existing tax rates. However, there is this real difference between pay-as-you-go advocates and the reserve advocates. The pay-as-you-go advocates would collect less money in pay-roll taxes in the early years of the system than the reserve advocates.

It is absolutely vital to recognize clearly that if we adopt a pay-as-you-go system, either before or after we have been able to achieve universal coverage, we must bear in mind the effect on our entire tax structure and government budget. To be concrete, if we adopt the pay-as-you-go system we must make absolutely certain that, at the same time, we not only balance the budget but proceed to retire the government debt within the next generation—through the imposition, let us hope, of

progressive taxes—in order that we do not reach a period in the future when the burden of the interest charges on a large public debt and the burden of a large government subsidy to the federal old age insurance plan cannot be sustained through current taxation.

No one realizes more clearly than the Social Security Board that the possible amendments now under consideration represent only the beginnings in a long, slow process of growth and development. And no critic of the Social Security Act recognizes its imperfections and limitations more fully than those of us who are closest to it. The Social Security Board can call the roll of all its problems—problems of federal-state and interstate cooperation; of administration and personnel; of extending protection to groups not yet covered; of adequate and sound financing, both present and future; and, finally, of exploring the possibilities of social legislation in directions as yet untried, at least in this country. There is no responsibility which it takes more seriously than the duty, placed upon it by the Act itself, of studying and making recommendations to Congress, not only within the scope of the present Act, but also in the whole field of social-security legislation. Because it recognizes the magnitude of the task before it and before the nation, and because it believes profoundly that no program of social legislation is ever complete or final—that, indeed, in social legislation to “finish” would be to fail—the Board has no sense of apology either for the Social Security Act in its present form or for the admission that it is open to amendment.

It subscribes to the faith of a great American who on this point has said:

Concessions of friends of the plan that it has not a claim to absolute perfection have afforded no small triumph to its enemies. “Why,” say they, “should we adopt an imperfect thing? Why not amend it and make it perfect before it is irrevocably established?” This may be plausible enough, but it is only plausible. In the first place, the extent of these concessions has been . . . exaggerated . . . as amounting to an admission that the plan is radically defective and that, without material alterations, the rights and the interests of the community cannot be safely confided to it. This . . . is an

entire perversion; for no advocate of the measure can be found who will not declare . . . that the system, though not perfect in every part, is upon the whole a good one; is the best that the present views and circumstances of the country will permit. . . . In the next place, I should esteem it the extreme of imprudence to prolong the precarious state of our national affairs . . . in the chimerical pursuit of a perfect plan. I never expect to see a perfect work from imperfect man.

The "imperfect thing" in behalf of which Alexander Hamilton wrote this vindication was the Constitution of the United States. Time has proved his wisdom—and will prove it again. The Social Security Act, like the Constitution, may be imperfect; yet it, and other efforts like it in the days to come, will contribute their full measure to the often halting but never ending struggle toward social progress.

SOCIAL-WORK ACCOUNTING—TOOL OR TORMENT?

C. Rufus Rorem, Ph.D., C.P.A., Director, Committee on Hospital Service, American Hospital Association, Chicago

MONEY is necessary for all social work, even volunteer service. Social work involves annual expenditures of several billion dollars in the United States, and a total professional and lay personnel of probably one hundred thousand persons. Each administrator of a social-work program carries a continued responsibility for effective utilization of public funds. Social work is measurable, a fact which underlies the need and advantage of developing accounting and statistics as for social-work control. This paper is concerned primarily with double-entry "accounting" for the financial transactions of a social-work program and only secondarily, with the so-called "statistical" records of social service.

Accounting is a specialized language for describing social-work activities.—It can be understood by any intelligent person who is willing to study the vocabulary and the concepts involved. Double-entry accounting as practiced by bookkeepers, auditors, and public accountants is merely the procedure of tracing the changing form and ownership of a group of economic values identified with a single enterprise. The accountant begins with the assumption that for every item of property there must be a proprietor; for every asset—such as cash, a pair of shoes, a theater ticket, a promise to pay, or a load of fuel—there is some natural or legal person who is the owner. The accountant classifies the effects of each transaction upon the assets and the owners. At the end of a month or year he summarizes the transactions into a statement of income and expense during the period and a balance sheet at the end of the period.

The accounting records are, in the final analysis, merely records of human relationships and activities expressed in financial terms. For example, a case worker is paid her semi-monthly salary check. To the accountant, this is the occasion for recording a reduction in the bank balance and for charging professional services with the amount of the salary. These entries in the accounts represent—incompletely, to be sure—many hours of professional care, and the attention to innumerable details affecting the general welfare and health of clients.

Let us take another illustration. A check is received from the ladies' auxiliary. The bookkeeper records an increase in the bank balance and gives credit for the money received from voluntary contributions. But the accounting entry merely epitomizes in an incomplete manner the loyalty, anxiety, and labors of a group of women who have spent many hours in conducting a bazaar, soliciting contributions, or otherwise serving the institution. Each of these transactions involves the activity of persons and a shift in human relationships.

I have given this brief and oversimplified description of the accounting process to illustrate that accounting is not something apart from social work. It is merely one way of expressing the value of social work. Money value is not the only, or even the best, basis of measuring social service, but it is one basis, and one which is always used in every social agency or community program. Money cannot measure the heartache of a homeless child, the understanding of a skilled case worker, or the ability of a client to deal with resistance to prescribed standards of behavior in his community. But money does express the economic value involved in the placement of a group of children or the administration of a relief program.

A knowledge of accounting in social work is as essential as knowledge of the language of a country where one travels or resides. Signs, gestures, and a puzzled expression will elicit a native's concern and willingness to help. But they also indicate the tourist's confusion and helplessness. The social worker should be able to discuss financial problems in the language

talked by accountants, trustees, clients, and contributors. There may be a few social agencies to which money is no object, but they are as scarce as foreign countries in which everyone speaks English.

I am not advocating that every social worker take his turn as bookkeeper, nor do I suggest that each administrator give up his task of general management and spend a certain portion of his time in recording financial transactions, but I do suggest that accounting procedures are merely the extension of the administrator's own activities and responsibilities. The accounting department is the telescope and microscope by which the administrator views long-run effects and immediate influences. Or, to change the metaphor, it is the camera by which he records the financial picture at a given time, or a series of activities during a period of time.

The social-work administrator usually is able to comprehend accounting better than he realizes.—Once he takes the position that the accounts are for his use and not for the amusement of the bookkeeper, he has only to ask this question: What economic facts do I need concerning my institution or my community as the basis for a program of action and a measure of achievement? It then becomes the accountant's task to produce the facts required for the establishment of responsibility and the measurement and comparison of results.

There may be cases, of course, in which the determination of facts will cost more than the facts are worth. But even such a conclusion involves judgment on a matter of accounting, and can be reached only by careful analysis of the problem at hand. For certain purposes an administrator might ask his accountant to determine the exact value of the time consumed by the professional social workers in traveling from the home of one client to another. If the process of determining these costs proved to be very expensive, he might decide to use other considerations in the establishment of a policy. Obviously, there is no value to accounting procedures which cost more than they are worth.

It is probably easier for social workers to learn accounting

than for accountants to learn social work. Moreover, the average social worker is more apt to have use for a knowledge of accounting than the average accountant will have for a knowledge of social work. Accounting pervades all economic activity in an immediate way, whereas the universal influence of social work is much less apparent. Curiously enough, however, more accountants have drifted or pushed their way into the field of social work than the reverse. Accountants very often make some effort to understand social work when they obtain positions as accountants for social-work agencies. In a few instances, they have risen to executive positions in the field of social-work administration.

Accounts are, of course, subordinate to the professional services which they record, and the accountant should be subordinate to the social-work administrator.—But this relationship implies that the social-work administrator can understand the accountant's duties and his monthly or annual reports. Many accountants appear deliberately to make their reports mysterious, but much of the difficulty may arise from the unwillingness of the social-work administrator to study the accounting process.

If a social-work administrator is to ask intelligently for information, he should have some understanding of what the bookkeeper is doing when he classifies and summarizes the economic transactions of a fiscal period. He should, for example, know enough accounting to understand why debts have credit balances and why assets have debit balances. He should know why liabilities and surplus appear on the same side of the balance sheet. He should be able to understand the difference between the concept of capital as an asset and as a measure of an owner's investment in a group of assets. He should know enough accounting not to call a statement of receipts and expenditures a balance sheet. In the final analysis, the accounting process is much less mysterious than the circulation of the blood or the mental processes of a W.P.A. client. Accounting as a method is impersonal, even though the accountants themselves may have differences of opinion. Once a group of ac-

countants can agree as to what has actually happened, they will also agree as to the method of classifying a transaction.

The accounts and statistics should be co-ordinated in the administration of social work.—By accounts I mean the double-entry financial record of the agency as a whole. By statistics I mean the record of the work in units other than money—such as clients interviewed, meals served, visits received, meetings organized, lectures given, conferences held, or families approved for relief.

Should the financial accounting records and the so-called “statistical records” be maintained by the same individual? Probably not, if for no other reason than because of the need for division of specialized labor in most social-work programs. On the other hand, it is unnecessary for either the financial accounting procedures or the service statistics to be placed in a position of dominance. The financial and service statistics should be co-ordinated for the use and study of the administrator and of the public which finances the program.

The need for co-ordinating the financial and service data is demonstrated most clearly in dealing with so-called “unit costs.” “Cost-per-case” is one of the most widely discussed and least understood terms in social-work programs. Its calculation involves two factors: total cost in dollars and total number of cases. There are many problems involved in determining what constitutes cost and how certain portions are to be allocated to certain types of cases. Conversely, there are many problems and difficulties in determining what constitutes a case and how each is to be classified for purposes of calculating the average cost. The classification and summary of the total cost, as well as the classification and summary of the types of cases, is a responsibility of the administrator concerned with a program of social work.

Accounting and statistics are special applications of scientific method.—It is not uncommon for programs of education in social work to include training in statistical procedures, often referred to as “social statistics.” As a type of scientific method,

there can be no such thing as social statistics, any more than there can be a Scandinavian method of milking a cow. Statistics is not a mere group of figures. It is the processes by which one classifies and summarizes important events. Likewise, there is no such thing as social-work accounting. Either statistics or accounting can be applied to the transactions involved in a social-work program. From the administrator's point of view, accounting is just as important as the procedures and data concerned with the classification and recording of services. Historically, to be sure, instructors in statistical procedure have been more willing than accounting teachers to make their courses interesting by using data from the field of social work. This condition is not fundamental; it is accidental. Courses of instruction in accounting can be organized to utilize illustrations from the field of social work as well as from a department store, lawyer's office, or the hay-and-feed business.

Accounting for social work should be planned and supervised by social-work administrators.—The records and reports should help to establish responsibility for certain actions and to measure and compare the effectiveness of different organizations or different policies. It is neither necessary nor wise to allow accounting policy to be left entirely to the accountant. Such a procedure would be just as illogical as for an architect to permit his draughtsmen to determine the outline or general structure of a building. Very few architects will take personal charge of preparing the drawings for an important engineering structure. They will dictate the general pattern and will from time to time read and criticize the blueprints of their subordinates. But the main activities of the architect's office will be carried on by people who have less responsibility than the head of the firm.

A social-work administrator should plan the financial program of his own organization. He must visualize the sources of revenue and the types of expenditure which will probably occur and he must study the reports which are prepared in terms of his own suggested classifications. General matters of accounting policy are not beyond the comprehension—in fact they

must not be beyond the comprehension—of the social-work administrator.

Budgetary control requires a knowledge of the accounting process. It is now considered a minimum requirement of good administration to establish some sort of a budget of income and expense in advance of a fiscal period. This budget is the expression of the executive's hope and will, his idea in accounting terms of what will happen during the months to come. Unfortunately, too often budgeting has been thought of as an unnecessary requirement established by accountants. The budget should be a tool in the hands of the administrator. Like the constitution, a budget should be subject to amendment when necessary because of unpredictable volume, price, or classes of services necessary to be rendered.

Uniformity is necessary to effective accounting for social work.—All social agencies are different in some respects from each other—but the similarities are greater than the peculiarities when viewed from the standpoint of the financial transactions. Every organization must have income, and there are only a limited number of sources from which this income may be derived. Likewise, every organization must employ personnel, utilize supplies, and occupy space for clerical or professional services. One agency will perform most of its activities in the client's home; another will carry on a great deal of work at the agency headquarters. One will deal with individuals; another with groups. One will be associated with an educational program; another with recreation. One will emphasize relief; another rehabilitation. These peculiarities affect the economic problems which must be solved by the administrators, but they do not affect the accounting methods by which the economic problems are portrayed and interpreted. A uniform system of accounting will suffice to record the activities of vastly different programs. In fact, the greater the differences the greater the need for uniformity in the methods of reporting and recording the transactions. Otherwise differences in cost may reveal merely differences in methods of calculation.

A number of social-work administrators may say, "My organization is unique and no uniform system of accounting could possibly suit my needs." And each agency is peculiar in certain respects. Moreover, the American public should be grateful for the individuality of each program which expresses the personality of its administrator or sponsoring body. But individuality implies a comparison or contrast with other institutions, situations, locations, or periods of activity. These peculiarities are revealed most effectively through a common standard of comparison and measurement. Uniform records and reports do not hamper the activities or control of individual agencies or programs any more than a uniform musical scale interferes with the composition of a great masterpiece.

The very uniformity of accounting records and reports emphasizes the differences in social-work activities and permits their more effective control. It must be remembered that accounting data are tools made for the administrator. Skilful use of these tools will increase the service rendered by the personnel and facilities under his direction, and justify more clearly the stewardship of community resources. For accounting is made for administrators, and not administrators for the accounts.

In conclusion I would like to make two suggestions. The first is that social workers of all degrees of responsibility should acquire some understanding of accounting method. It is not sufficient merely to examine groups of financial statements or to become familiar with some of the vocabulary. It is desirable to become acquainted firsthand with the processes of recording, classifying, and summarizing business transactions. Such discipline is not unduly time-consuming and can be adapted to existing programs for training for social work at either the pre-professional or the professional level. A knowledge of accounting acquired in this way would enable the social worker to appreciate the difficulties which a bookkeeper or accountant must face in tracing the activities of a complex organization. It

would facilitate his understanding of financial transactions and reports, and would clarify his explanations to his accountant, his staff, and his board of trustees. It would help him understand, for example, why a balance sheet may show a "surplus" at the same time when "cash" is not available to pay the monthly bills.

The second suggestion is that some responsible group in the field of social work should establish uniform accounts and definitions for use in the administration of social agencies and social-work programs. Such a group should represent both private and public agencies and should not be dominated by technically trained accountants. To be sure, all recommendations should be in conformity with "good accounting practice," but they should also be in conformity with "good social-work practice"—a consideration which has been too often ignored when uniform systems of accounting have been recommended in the past.

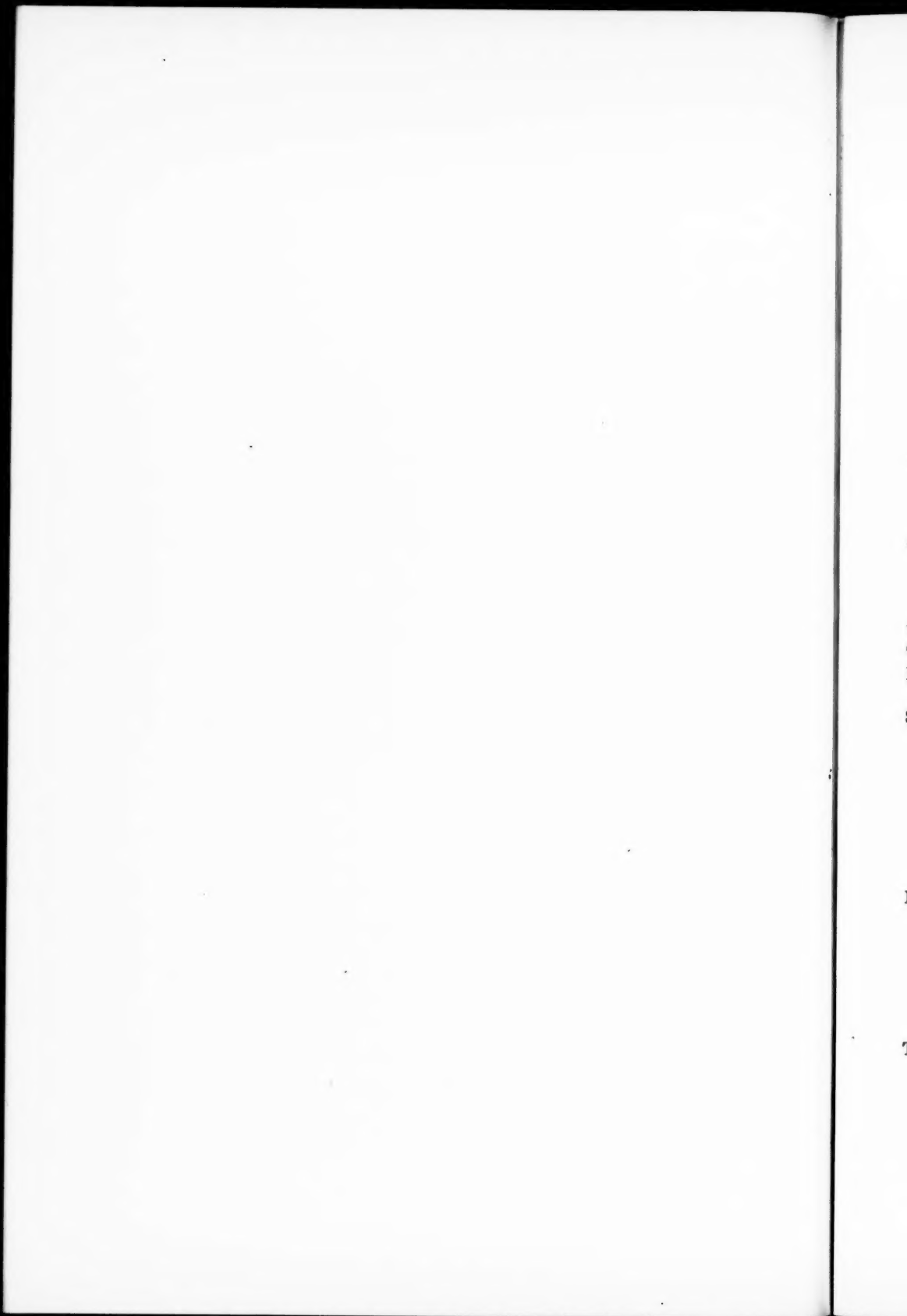
Uniform definitions and account titles do not mean that every agency should follow the same bookkeeping procedures in keeping track of their accounts. They do not even mean that exactly the same forms should be used in preparing the monthly or annual reports. They mean, however, that an account title or grouping, such as "income from government" or "voluntary contributions," always refers to the same type of transactions.

The calculation of unit cost involves professional judgment in social work as well as accounting. It is impossible to determine the "average expenditure for relief per case" unless there is a clear-cut definition of what constitutes relief. It is impossible to determine the percentage of expenses used for "administration" unless there is a definition of what constitutes administration. These judgments involve opinions and decisions dictated by public policy and the requirements of social work. Accounting classifications for social work should be suggested by social workers rather than by accountants.

Incidentally, the word "administration" probably should be

removed entirely from accounting terminology in the field of social work, because of the implication that "administration" is an unnecessary activity, to be financed at the lowest possible cost. In my opinion, some agencies might wisely expend the majority of their income for so-called "administration." This is only one of the problems to be faced. There are many others. But they can all be solved if social workers and accountants regard accounting as a tool for the administration of private and public welfare programs.

PROGRAM



PROGRAM

GENERAL SESSIONS

Sunday, May 23—Invocation. The Most Reverend Joseph E. Ritter, D.D., Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Indianapolis.

Indiana Welcomes the Conference. Honorable M. Clifford Townsend, Governor of Indiana, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Presidential Address: Public Assistance—Whither Bound? Edith Abbott, Dean, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois, and President, National Conference of Social Work. Page 3.

Monday, May 24—Requirements for Permanent Security. The Honorable Robert F. Wagner, United States Senator from New York, Washington, D.C. Page 26.

Meeting Welfare Problems in Flood Relief. The Honorable Neville Miller, Mayor of Louisville, Louisville, Kentucky. Page 36.

Tuesday, May 25—Public Welfare and Efficiency in Government. Charles P. Taft, former General Chairman, Community Chest, Cincinnati, Ohio. Page 46.

The Economic and Social Status of the Negro in the United States Today. Mordecai Johnson, President, Howard University, Washington, D.C.

Wednesday, May 26—Annual Business Session.

Thursday, May 27—Reception to the President of the Conference.

Friday, May 28—Economic and Social Forces and Industrial Relations. The Honorable Frank Murphy, Governor of Michigan, Lansing, Michigan. Page 71.

Saturday, May 29—Luncheon.

Invocation. The Reverend William A. Shullenberger, Pastor, Central Christian Church, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Adventures in Understanding. The Honorable Florence E. Allen, Judge, United States Circuit Court of Appeals, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 84.

SECTION MEETINGS

SOCIAL CASE WORK

Monday, May 24—

1. The Relation between Cultural Restraints and Intrasocial Dependencies and Hostilities. Abram Kardiner, M.D., Practicing Psychiatrist and Lecturer, New York Psychoanalytic Institute, New York City. Page 97.
2. The Case Worker's Need for Orientation to the Culture of the Client. Maurine Boie, Assistant in Social Economy, Bryn Mawr College, Bryn Mawr, Pennsylvania, and Case Worker, Philadelphia Family Society. Page 112.

Tuesday, May 25—

Group Meeting 1.

1. Helping the Client to Deal with His Reactions to Restraints Governing Intra-family Relationships. Adelaide Johnesse, Field Work Assistant, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 124.

2. Helping the Client Deal with Resistance to Prescribed Standards of Behavior in the Community. Ruth Z. S. Mann, Assistant Supervisor, Jewish Social Service Association, New York City.

Discussant: Walter Adams, M.D., Psychiatrist, Provident Hospital, Chicago, Illinois.

Group Meeting 2.

Basic Concepts upon Which Case Work Practice Is Formulated. A. Gordon Hamilton, Faculty, New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 138.

Discussion, Application of These Concepts:

To Public Relief. Dorothy C. Kahn, Director, Philadelphia County Relief Board, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

To Rural Work. Grace C. Browning, Assistant Director, Department of Public Welfare, Oklahoma City, Oklahoma.

To Work with Transients. Madeline MacGregor, Executive Secretary, Travelers Aid Society, Chicago, Illinois.

Group Meeting 3. Interplay of the Insights of Case Work and Group Work.

1. As Seen by a Group Worker. Gertrude Wilson, Field Instructor in Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio. Page 150.

2. As Seen by a Case Worker. Anna Belle Tracy, Associate Professor and Director of the Course in Psychiatric Social Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Wednesday, May 26—Public Relief, Its Relation to Higher Labor Standards and Social Security. Charlotte E. Carr, Executive Director, Emergency Relief Bureau, New York City. Page 163.

Discussants: The Very Reverend Francis J. Haas, Rector, Seminary of St. Francis de Sales, St. Francis, Wisconsin; Leona M. Evans, District Superintendent, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri.

Business Session.

Thursday, May 27—

Group Meeting 1. The Contribution of Case Work in Dealing with the Problems of Adjustment to an Unfamiliar Culture.

1. Case Work with Foreign-Born and the Children of Foreign-Born. Mary E. Hurlbutt, Faculty Member, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

2. A Social Science Approach to Case Work with the American Indian. H. Scudder Mekeel, Field Representative in Charge of Applied Anthropology, Bureau of Indian Affairs, Department of Interior, Washington, D.C.

Group Meeting 2. Re-evaluation of Responsibilities of the Private Case-Work Agency in the Social Welfare Program of a Community.

1. A Private Case-Work Agency Looks at Its Job. Herschel Alt, General Manager, St. Louis Provident Association, St. Louis, Missouri.

2. A Layman Takes Stock of Public and Private Agency Functions. Sidney Hollander, Member, Board of State Aid and Charities of Maryland, and Member, Board of Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore. Page 174.

Group Meeting 3. (Joint Session with the Child Welfare League of America.) The Role of Substitute Parenthood.

1. Fostering Normal Emotional Development of Children Denied the Care of Their Own Parents. Edith L. Lauer, Field Secretary, Jewish Children's Society, Baltimore, Maryland.
2. Foster Placement and Its Problems for Child and Agency. Irene Liggett, Assistant Secretary, Children's Aid Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Discussant: Sophie Van Theis, State Charities Aid Society, New York City.

Group Meeting 4. Case Work with Adolescents Who Have Run Afoul of the Law.

1. From the Point of View of an Institutional Superintendent. Herbert D. Williams, Superintendent, New York State Training School for Boys, Warwick, New York. Page 191.
2. From the Point of View of a Community Case-Work Agency. Susan Burlingham, Case Worker, Philadelphia Family Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Meeting 5. Methods Applicable Where Simplified Treatment Is Indicated.

1. What Is Involved in Simplicity of Treatment? Muriel Moorhead, District Secretary, Cleveland Associated Charities, Institute of Family Service, Cleveland, Ohio.
2. The Modern Use of Older Treatment Methods. Margaret Millar, Case Supervisor, Family Welfare Association, Baltimore, Maryland. Page 205.

Friday, May 28—

Group Meeting 1. Some Recent Developments in Rural Social Case Work.

1. Is a Redefinition of Case Work Necessary to Its Use in Small Towns and Rural Communities? J. Sheldon Turner, Executive Secretary, Frederick County Welfare Board, Frederick, Maryland.
2. The Growth of Child Welfare Services in Rural Areas. Mildred Arnold, Director, Children's Division, Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana. Page 216.

Group Meeting 2. Marriage Counseling—The Contribution of Generic Case Work in This Field.

1. Marriage and Family Relations Clinics. Mrs. Stuart Mudd, Counselor, Philadelphia Marriage Counsel, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.
2. Family Case Work with Marital Difficulties. Jeannette Hanford, Faculty, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 226.

Group Meeting 3. Case Work in an Authoritarian Setting.

1. Functioning under the Authority of the Court. William A. McGrath, United States Probation Officer, United States District Court, New York City.
2. Case Work in Protective Agencies. E. Marguerite Gane, Executive Secretary, Erie County Children's Aid Society, Buffalo, New York. Page 243.

Saturday, May 29—Diagnosis—The Dynamic of Effective Treatment.

1. Professional Skills Requisite to a Good Intake Service. Almena Dawley, Chief Social Worker, Philadelphia Child Guidance Clinic, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Page 255.
2. The Diagnostic Process in Continuing Treatment. Alan D. Finlayson, M.D., Psychoanalyst and Consulting Psychiatrist to the Cleveland Associated Charities, Cleveland, Ohio.

SOCIAL GROUP WORK

Monday, May 24—

1. Problems and Relations of Schools and Leisure-Time Agencies in Education and Guidance of Youth and Adults. H. Harry Giles, Teacher, University High School, Columbus, Ohio.
2. A School-Centered Group-Activity Program—Report and Appraisal. Miriam H. Dettelbach, Assistant Executive Secretary, Council of Social Agencies, Richmond, Virginia.

Tuesday, May 25—Aspects of the Group Leadership Problem.

1. An Experiment in Training Group Leaders and Supervisors. Everett W. DuVall, All Nations Foundation and School of Social Work, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California.
2. The Importance of Maturity and a Social Philosophy in Group Leaders and Supervisors. Grace L. Elliott, New York City. Page 266.

Business Session.

Wednesday, May 26—Raising the Level of Professional Service in Leisure-Time Agencies.

1. A Community Planning Group's Efforts to Set Standards and Improve Methods. Joseph P. Anderson, Secretary, Group Work Division, Federation of Social Agencies of Pittsburgh and Allegheny County, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.
2. The National Agency's Role in Developing Personnel and Employment Standards. Agnes B. Leahy, Executive Secretary, Personnel Division, Girl Scouts, New York City.
3. Co-operation among Group Workers on a National Scale. Charles E. Hendry, Associate Professor of Sociology, George Williams College, Chicago, Illinois. Page 276.

Thursday, May 27—

Group Discussion 1. Problems of Directing the Group Experiences of Young Children.

Discussion Leader: Elise Hatt Campbell, Department of Mental Growth, Merrill-Palmer School, Detroit, Michigan.

Group Discussion 2. Problems of Group Formation.

Discussion Leader: Margaret Williamson, Leadership Division, National Board, Y.W.C.A.'s, New York City.

Summary and Critique: Grace L. Coyle, Associate Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio.

Group Meeting 3. Problems of Planning a Permanent Government Program in Recreation.

1. The Place of the Federal and State Governments in the Program. Irma Ringe, Assistant, Federal Recreation Project, Washington, D.C.
2. The Place of the Municipal Agency in the Proposal. V. F. Hernlund, Chicago Park District Administration, Chicago, Illinois.
3. The Place of the Private Agency in the Program. Robert M. Heininger, Farnum Community House, New Haven, Connecticut.

Group Discussion 4. Significance of the Workers' Education Movement for the Leisure-Time Agency.

Discussion Leader: Glenford W. Lawrence, Director of Adult Education, Chicago Commons, Chicago, Illinois.

Introductory statements:

Developments in Workers' Education under the Educational Division of the Works Progress Administration. Hilda W. Smith, Supervisor, Workers' Education, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C.

Workers' Education as Practiced by a National Union. Merlin Bishop, Educational Secretary, United Automobile Workers of America, Detroit, Michigan.

Group Discussion 5. Problems Relating to Nationality and Racial Minority Groups.

Discussion Leader: Louis Kraft, Director, Jewish Center Activities, Jewish Welfare Board, New York City.

Reports of Experience:

Eugene B. Bowman, General Secretary, Y.M.C.A., Mobile, Alabama.

Miriam R. Ephraim, Director of Activities, Y.M. and Y.W.H.A., Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.

Ethel R. Clark, Organizer, Public Recreation Commission, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Group Meeting 6. Group-Work Programs in Rural Communities. Ferry L. Platt, Jr., Rural Life Associate, Council for Social Action, Congregational and Christian Churches of the U.S.A., Merom, Indiana; Lelan McReynolds, Extension Department, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana.

Discussant: Cleo Fitzsimmons, Extension Department, University of Illinois, Urbana, Illinois.

Friday, May 28—

1. Common Social Goals for Schools, Churches, and Leisure-Time Agencies. Rabbi James G. Heller, The Isaac M. Wise Temple, Cincinnati, Ohio. Page 284.
2. The American Youth Commission—Developments to Date and Plans for the Future. Homer P. Rainey, Director, American Youth Commission of the American Council on Education, Washington, D.C.

Saturday, May 29—Group Work and Leisure-Time Agencies in Recent Community Studies. Report and Recommendations Revealing the Principal Generalizations That Can Be Drawn from Recent Studies.

Committee: Roy Sorenson, Assistant General Secretary, National Council, Y.M.C.A.'s, Chicago, Illinois, Chairman; Edward Lynde, Director, Welfare Federation, Cleveland, Ohio; Mildred Esgar, National Board, Y.W.C.A.'s, New York City; Wilbur I. Newstetter, Professor of Group Work, School of Applied Social Sciences, Western Reserve University, Cleveland, Ohio; Charles E. Hendry, Faculty, George Williams College, Chicago, Illinois; Margaret Svendsen, Chicago, Illinois; W. Thomas McCullough, Alta House, Cleveland, Ohio.

Report presented by the Chairman and several other members of the committee. Page 295.

COMMUNITY ORGANIZATION

Monday, May 24—Community Planning.

New Patterns of Community Organization. Eduard C. Lindeman, National Youth Administration, and New York School of Social Work, New York City. Page 317.

Discussants: Hester B. Crutcher, Director, Psychiatric Social Work, State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany, New York; Harry A. Wann, Supervising Principal, Public School System, Madison, New Jersey.

Tuesday, May 25—State-Wide Planning of Social Work.

1. Stabilizing Palliation. Benjamin E. Youngdahl, Director, Division of Co-ordinated Field Service, State Board of Control, St. Paul, Minnesota. Page 324.
2. The Effectiveness of Citizens' Organizations in State-Wide Social Planning. J. O. Wilson, Citizens' Committee on Public Welfare, Madison, Wisconsin.

Discussants:

New Jersey's Approach to the Problem. Eduard C. Lindeman, New York School of Social Work, New York City.

Nebraska's Approach to the Problem. Ernest W. Witte, Regional Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Lincoln, Nebraska. Page 332.

Business Session.

Wednesday, May 26—Mass Organization in Relation to Public Welfare Planning.

1. As the American Legion Sees It. Ray Murphy, Former National Commander, of the American Legion, Des Moines, Iowa.
2. The Point of View of a Fraternal Order. Frank E. Hering, Chairman, National Old Age Pension Commission, Fraternal Order of Eagles, South Bend, Indiana.
3. Organized Labor's Approach to Social Welfare. I. M. Ornburn, Secretary-Treasurer, Union Labor Label Trades, Department, American Federation of Labor, Washington, D.C.

Discussant: William J. Ellis, Commissioner, New Jersey Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Thursday, May 27—How a City Developed a Plan to Meet New Needs.

Cincinnati's Organized Attack upon Unemployment. C. M. Bookman, Executive Vice-Chairman, Community Chest, Cincinnati, Ohio. Page 339.

Discussant: Ben M. Selekmán, Executive Director, Federated Jewish Charities, Boston, Massachusetts. Page 352.

Friday, May 28—Local Planning and National Agencies.

The Problems of a Local Community in an Attempt to Arrive at a Sound Social Plan. R. K. Atkinson, Clerk, Board of Education, Rockville Center, New York, and Educational Director, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City.

Discussion Leader: Linton B. Swift, General Director, Family Welfare Association of America, New York City, with an informal panel of national and local agency representatives.

Saturday, May 29—The County as a Unit for Co-ordinate Planning and Service in Public and Private Social Work.

1. From the Point of View of Public Officials. Arlien Johnson, Formerly Assistant State Director, Washington Emergency Relief Administration and Associate Director, Graduate Department of Social Work, Washington University, Seattle, Washington. Page 360.

2. From the Point of View of the Private Agencies. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota. Page 369.

Discussant: Arthur Dunham, Professor of Community Organization, Institute of Public and Social Administration, University of Michigan, Detroit, Michigan.

SOCIAL ACTION

Monday, May 24—Adjusting the Worker to Modern Production Method.

1. Technological Unemployment—Its Nature and Remedies. George M. Harrison, Grand President, Brotherhood of Railway and Steamship Clerks, Cincinnati, Ohio.
2. Gearing Workers to Jobs. Nels Anderson, Director, Section of Labor Relations, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, May 25—Planning for the Dispossessed Farmer and Worker.

1. The Philosophy and Practice of the Resettlement Administration. (Arguments for the Resettlement Administration.) Walter Packard, Assistant Director, Resettlement Division, Resettlement Administration, Washington, D.C.
2. Can We Successfully Combine Unemployment Insurance with an Emergency Work Program? Rudolf F. Bertram, Employment Section, Tennessee Valley Authority, Knoxville, Tennessee.

Business Session.

Wednesday, May 26—Planning for the Security of the American Worker.

1. Operation and Coverage of the Social Security Act. Ewan Clague, Research Division, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.
2. The Dependence of a Successful Unemployment Insurance System upon Employment Exchanges. R. C. Atkinson, Member, Research Staff, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. Page 378.

Thursday, May 27—Organized Labor and Modern Industrial Society.

1. The Social Programs of Economic and Political Organizations of Labor. Mary van Kleeck, Director, Division of Industrial Studies, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 388.
2. The Social Significance to Minority Groups of Recent Labor Developments. T. Arnold Hill, Director, Department of Industrial Relations, National Urban League, New York City. Page 399.

Friday, May 28—The Right of Labor to Bargain Collectively.

1. Violations of Civil Liberties in Labor Disputes. Heber Blankenhorn, Economist, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D.C.
2. The Labor Relations Board and Labor Disputes. Edwin S. Smith, Member, National Labor Relations Board, Washington, D.C. Page 409.

Saturday, May 29—International Planning for Labor.

What the International Labor Office May Mean to American Labor. Frances Perkins, Secretary of Labor, Washington, D.C.

PUBLIC WELFARE ADMINISTRATION

Monday, May 24—Making Civil Service Effective in Public Welfare Administration.

1. The Indiana Experiment. R. W. Bunch, Director, Bureau of Personnel, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana.
2. Suggested Tests to Determine Competence of Social Workers for General Staff and Line Positions. Lewis Meriam, Staff Member, Brookings Institution for Government Research, Washington, D.C. Page 419.
3. In-service Training. Agnes Van Driel, Chief, Educational Division, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. Page 426.

Tuesday, May 25—Standards and Methods of Administration of Federal and State Grants-in-Aid.

1. The Federal Government and Desirable Standards of State and Local Administration. Katharine F. Lenroot, Chief, Children's Bureau, United States Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 432. Jane M. Hoey, Director, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. Page 440.
2. Problems in State Administration. William Haber, State Relief Administrator, State Emergency Relief Commission, Lansing, Michigan. Page 445.
3. How Can Good Administrators for Rural Counties Be Secured and Held? James Brunot, Field Representative, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. Business Session.

Wednesday, May 26—New Categories as Steps toward Security.

1. Invalidity Assistance. R. Clyde White, Professor of Social Economics, Graduate School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois. Page 452.
2. A Second Layer in Provision for the Unemployed. Joanna C. Colcord, Director, Charity Organization Department, Russell Sage Foundation, New York City. Page 463.
3. British Experience with Unemployment Assistance as a Supplement to Unemployment Insurance. Zoe L. Puxley, O.B.E., British Ministry of Health, London, England.

Thursday, May 27—Meeting the Costs.

1. The Dilemma of the States. Pierce Atwater, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, St. Paul, Minnesota.
2. Is There a Way Out? J. Roy Blough, Associate Professor of Economics, University of Cincinnati, Cincinnati, Ohio.

Friday, May 28—

Group Meeting 1. Public Welfare and Health: A National Program.

1. Health Insurance. John A. Kingsbury, Associate Fellow, New York Academy of Medicine, Yonkers, New York. Page 474.
2. Public Provision of Medical Care. Bower Aly, University of Missouri, Columbia, Missouri.

Group Meeting 2. Institutions for Mental Disease.

1. Social Aspects of Institutional Administration. Raymond W. Waggoner, M.D., Director, State Psychopathic Hospital, Ann Arbor, Michigan.
2. The Institution and the Community. William A. Bryan, M.D., State Hospital, Worcester, Massachusetts.

Saturday, May 29—Public-Private Relationship.

1. Public Funds in Public Hands? Kenneth L. M. Pray, Secretary, Pennsylvania Committee on Public Assistance and Relief, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania. Page 487.
2. Co-operation or Obstruction in Determining Fields of Activity. H. Ida¹ Curry, Assistant Secretary, State Charities Aid Association, New York City. Page 495.

SPECIAL COMMITTEES

ON CARE OF THE AGED

Thursday, May 27—(Joint Session with the Life Insurance Adjustment Bureau. See their program.) Social Work and Life Insurance.

Friday, May 28—

1. Old Age Assistance in Great Britain. Zoe L. Puxley, O.B.E., British Ministry of Health, London, England.
 2. Varieties of Practice in the United States. Elizabeth Long, Committee on Public Administration, Social Science Research Council, Washington, D.C. Page 507.
- Discussant: Ruth Blakeslee, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

Saturday, May 29—Broader Concepts of Programs for the Care of the Aged.

1. New Opportunities for Public Homes for the Aged. Mary Raymond, Assistant Director, Department of Public Welfare, New Orleans, Louisiana.
2. New Opportunities for Private Homes for the Aged. The Reverend John Donovan, Assistant Director, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York, New York City.
3. The Use of Friendly Visitors. Charles F. Ernst, Director, Washington State Department of Public Welfare, Olympia, Washington. Page 517.
4. Medical Care for the Aged in an Assistance Program. Gladys Fisher, Administrative Officer, Bureau of Old Age Assistance, New York State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
5. Meeting the Discouragements of Elderly People. Ollie Randall, Association for the Improvement of the Condition of the Poor, New York City. Page 523.

ON PUBLIC HEALTH

Wednesday, May 26—Expanding Programs of Public Health.

1. The Control of Syphilis. R. A. Vonderlehr, M.D., Assistant Surgeon General, U.S. Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.
2. The Control of Syphilis from the Viewpoint of Medical Social Service. Mildred Hearsey, Headworker, Dermatology Division, Presbyterian Hospital, New York City. Page 529.
3. Economic Factors Affecting Adequacy of Diet. Faith Williams, Chief, Cost of Living Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U.S. Department of Labor, Washington, D.C. Page 536.

Discussant: Frank G. Boudreau, M.D., Milbank Memorial Fund, New York City.

Saturday, May 29—Expanding Programs of Medical Care.

1. Medical Care under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Josephine C. Brown, Administrative Assistant, Works Progress Administration, Washington, D.C.
2. Medical Care under the Resettlement Administration. R. C. Williams, M.D., Medical Director, Rural Resettlement Administration, Washington, D.C.
3. Medical Care for Crippled Children. R. C. Hood, M.D., Crippled Children's Division, Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C. Page 542.

ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF CHILDREN'S INSTITUTIONS

Monday, May 24—Mental Health Needs in Children's Institutions. Sybil Foster, Field Secretary, Child Welfare League of America, New York City. Page 549.

Tuesday, May 25—

Group Discussion 1. Educational Opportunities within Cottage and Dormitory Groups.

Discussion Leader: A. Ethel Barger, Superintendent, Milwaukee Orphans' Asylum, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

Group Discussion 2. Relationships of Children in Institutions with Relatives.

Discussion Leader: Elizabeth Munro Clarke, Director, Children's Bureau, Indianapolis Orphan Asylum, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Group Discussion 3. Recruiting and Training Institution Workers.

Discussion Leader: Esther McClain, Chief, Bureau of Aid to Dependent Children, Ohio Department of Public Welfare, Columbus, Ohio.

Discussants: J. B. Ascham, Superintendent, Children's Home, Cincinnati, Ohio; A. R. Brane, Superintendent, Ohio Pythian Children's Home, Springfield, Ohio; J. A. Eisenhauer, Superintendent, Cleveland Boys' Farm, Hudson, Ohio; C. A. Lindsay, Superintendent, Cleveland Protestant Orphans' Home, Chagrin Falls, Ohio; Oscar B. Markey, M.D., Psychiatrist, Jewish Orphans' Home, Cleveland, Ohio.

Friday, May 28—

1. Problems in Institutional Care of Children. Isabel M. Devine, Associate Technical Adviser and Field Representative, Bureau of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.
2. Evaluating a Child's Development While in the Institution. Helen A. Day, Superintendent, Sheltering Arms, New York City. Page 564.

ON SOCIAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC HOUSING

Thursday, May 27—

1. Housing Conditions of Low-Income Families in the United States in 1937. B. Charney Vladeck, General Manager, Jewish Daily Forward and Member of New York City Housing Authority, New York City. Page 573.
2. Housing Activities of Federal, State, and Local Governments in 1937. Ernest Bohn, Past President, National Association of Housing Officials, Cleveland, Ohio.

Friday, May 28—Panel Discussion. Social Workers, Social Agencies, and Housing.

Discussion Leader: Joel D. Hunter, General Superintendent, United Charities of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois.

Panel Participants: Jean Coman, Section on Management, Housing Division, Public Works Administration, Washington, D.C.; Bleecker Marquette, Better Housing League, Cincinnati, Ohio; Sydney Maslen, Tenement Housing Committee, Charity Organization Society, New York City; Curtis W. Reese, Dean, Abraham Lincoln Centre, Chicago, Illinois; Paul L. Stannard, Housing Manager, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, Cleveland, Ohio; Joseph P. Tufts, Executive Director, Pittsburgh Housing Association, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; Raymond A. Voight, Housing Manager, Federal Emergency Administration of Public Works, Housing Division, Milwaukee, Wisconsin.

ON SOCIAL TREATMENT OF THE ADULT OFFENDER

Monday, May 24—Three Basic Papers on the Adult Offender.

1. The Arrested Offender. Nina Kinsella, Executive Assistant to the Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C. Page 582.
2. The Incarcerated Offender. Morris N. Winslow, Superintendent, State Prison Colony, Norfolk, Massachusetts. Page 591.
3. The Paroled Offender. Winthrop D. Lane, Director of Investigations, Juvenile Delinquency Commission of the State of New Jersey, Trenton, New Jersey. Page 600.

Tuesday, May 25—

Group Discussion 1. (Joint Session with the Legal Aid Group.) Can Jails Be Made a Factor in Treatment?

Discussion Leader: Austin H. McCormick, Commissioner, Department of Correction, New York City.

Summarizer: Leon Thomas Stern, Secretary, Pennsylvania Committee on Penal Affairs, Public Charities Association, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Discussants: Carol Bates, Executive Secretary, Missouri Welfare League, St. Louis, Missouri; John Bradway, Secretary, National Association of Legal Aid Organizations, Durham, North Carolina; Maurice Floch, M.D., Psychologist, Detroit House of Correction, Plymouth, Michigan; James W. Phillips, Assistant Commissioner, State Department of Public Welfare, Richmond, Virginia; N. K. Teeters, Professor of Criminology and Penology, Temple University, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Discussion 2. (Joint Session with the National Probation Association.) Probation Selection and Case Work.

Discussion Leader: Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York City.

Summarizer: L. Wallace Hoffman, Chief Probation Officer, Lucas County Juvenile Court, Toledo, Ohio.

Discussants: Helen L. Flinn, Clinical Psychologist, Psychopathic Clinic, The Recorder's Court, Detroit, Michigan; Joseph H. Hagan, Chief, Division of Probation and Parole, Department of Public Welfare, Providence, Rhode Island; Irving Halpern, Chief Probation Officer, Court of General Sessions, New York City; Mary Edna McChristie, Referee, Girls' Division, Hamilton County Juvenile Court, Cincinnati, Ohio; Helen D. Pigeon, Consultant, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana; Solon C. Vial, Chief Probation Officer, Marion County Municipal Court, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Group Discussion 3. (Joint Session with the Clinical Psychology Group.) The Staff Approach in Institutional Treatment.

Discussion Leader: Lloyd N. Yepsen, Director, Division of Classification and Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Summarizer: F. Lovell Bixby, Assistant Director, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

Discussants: Saul Alinsky, Sociologist, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois; Justin K. Fuller, M.D., Senior Surgeon, United States Public Health Service, Washington, D.C.; Sara G. Geiger, M.D., Milwaukee County Mental Hygiene Clinic, Milwaukee, Wisconsin; Donald T. Griffin, Director of Classifica-

tion, Division of Correction, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana; E. Preston Sharp, Supervisor of Rehabilitation, Eastern State Penitentiary, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Discussion 4. (Joint Session with the American Association of Psychiatric Social Workers, the American Association of Schools of Social Work, and the American Association of Social Workers.) The Place of the Social Worker in a Penal or Correctional Institution.

Discussion Leader: Edgar M. Gerlach, Supervisor of Social Service, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.

Summarizer: Hester B. Crutcher, Director of Social Work, State Department of Mental Hygiene, Albany, New York.

Discussants: Ruth H. Anderson, Assistant Field Director, American Red Cross, Washington, D.C.; Richard M. Eddy, Field Work Supervisor, School of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Albert G. Fraser, Executive Secretary, Pennsylvania Prison Society, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Irene Grant, Chief, Social Work Section, Veterans' Administration, Washington, D.C.; Philip Heimlich, Secretary, Adult Welfare Department, Jewish Board of Guardians, New York City; Kenneth L. M. Pray, Professor, Social Planning Administration, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

Group Discussion 5. (Joint Session with the Family Welfare Association of America.) Preparation for Parole and Supervision of Parolees.

Discussion Leader: Wayne L. Morse, Administrative Director, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Washington, D.C.

Summarizer: Myrl Alexander, Senior Warden's Assistant, United States Penitentiary, Atlanta, Georgia.

Discussants: Mrs. Blythe W. Francis, General Secretary, Family Welfare Society, Indianapolis, Indiana; F. D. Hope, Supervisor of Paroles, State Department of Public Welfare, Indianapolis, Indiana; St. Alban Kite, Assistant Director, Division of Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey; L. W. Kolakowski, Acting Senior Agent, Pennsylvania Parole Department, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania; John F. Landis, Chief Probation Officer, United States District Court for the District of Maryland, Baltimore, Maryland.

Group Discussion 6. (Joint Session with the American Public Welfare Association.) Selection of Parolees.

Discussion Leader: Paul L. Schroeder, M.D., Director, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois.

Summarizer: William J. Ellis, Commissioner, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.

Discussants: Ray L. Huff, Parole Executive, Department of Justice, Washington, D.C.; A. C. Lindholm, Chairman, State Board of Parole, St. Paul, Minnesota; Frederick A. Moran, Executive Director, Division of Parole, New York State Department of Corrections, Albany, New York; Barkev Sanders, Technical Director, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Washington, D.C.

Friday, May 28—Recapitulation of the gist of the discussion and recommendations of the six simultaneous group discussions held on Tuesday.

Reports of Discussion Leaders:

1. Can Jails Be Made a Factor in Treatment? Austin H. McCormick, Commissioner, Department of Corrections, New York City.
2. Probation Selection and Case Work. Charles L. Chute, Executive Director, National Probation Association, New York City.
3. The Staff Approach in Institutional Treatment. L. N. Yepsen, Director, Division of Classification and Parole, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey.
4. The Place of a Social Worker in a Penal and Correctional Institution. Edgar M. Gerlach, Supervisor of Social Service, Federal Bureau of Prisons, Washington, D.C.
5. Preparation for Parole and Supervision of Parolees. Wayne L. Morse, Administrative Director, Attorney General's Survey of Release Procedures, Washington, D.C.

Selection of Parolees. Paul L. Schroeder, M.D., Director, Institute for Juvenile Research, Chicago, Illinois.

Summation: Sanford Bates, Executive Director, Boys' Clubs of America, New York City.

ON SPECIAL RELIEF PROBLEMS

Monday, May 24—Care of Resident Homeless. Robert S. Wilson, National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, New York City. Page 610.

Discussants: Lieutenant-Colonel A. Layman, Men's Social Service Secretary, Salvation Army, San Francisco, California; Frances M. Welch, Acting Director, Social Statistics, United States Children's Bureau, Washington, D.C.

Tuesday, May 25—What Next in the Federal Welfare Program.

1. Outlook for Social Security. Arthur J. Altmeyer, Chairman, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C. Page 634.
2. The Proposed Federal Department of Public Welfare. Louis Brownlow, Director, Public Administration Clearing House, Chicago, Illinois.

Discussant: William Hodson, Chairman, Division of Government and Social Work, American Association of Social Workers, New York City.

Friday, May 28—Current Problems of Transiency.

Group Discussion 1. The Social Security Act in Relation to Transiency.

Discussion Leader: Charles K. Alspach, Regional Representative, Social Security Board, Kansas City, Missouri.

Group Discussion 2. Legislation Affecting Transiency.

Discussion Leader: Henry Redkey, Murray Hill Consumers' Cooperative Society, Jacksonville, Florida.

Group Discussion 3. Transportation Problems.

Discussion Leader: Dorothy B. de la Pole, Staff Associate, National Association for Travelers Aid and Transient Service, New York City.

Group Discussion 4. Problems of Migratory Labor.

Discussion Leader: Adela J. Ballard, Chief Supervisor, Migrant Work, Council of Women for Home Missions, San Francisco, California.

Group Discussion 5. Work Programs.

Discussion Leader: Philip Schafer, State Transient Director, State Emergency Relief Administration, Lansing, Michigan.

Group Discussion 6. Health Problems.

Discussion Leader: Bleecker Marquette, Executive Secretary, Public Health Federation, Cincinnati, Ohio.

ON STATISTICS AND ACCOUNTING IN SOCIAL WORK

Tuesday, May 25—Measurement in Social Work.

1. Social Work Accounting—Tool or Torment? C. Rufus Rorem, Director, Committee on Hospital Service, American Hospital Association, Chicago, Illinois. Page 645.
 2. Administrative Uses of Statistical Data. Harry Greenstein, Executive Director, Associated Jewish Charities of Baltimore, Baltimore, Maryland.
- Discussants: Emil Frankel, Director of Research, Department of Institutions and Agencies, Trenton, New Jersey; Frederick F. Stephan, American Statistical Association, Washington, D.C.; Raymond F. Clapp, Secretary, Indianapolis Community Fund, Indianapolis, Indiana.

Wednesday, May 26—Uniform Records and Reports.

1. Budgeting for Private Agencies. Edward D. Lynde, Executive Secretary, Welfare Federation of Cleveland, Cleveland, Ohio.
 2. Accounting and Statistics in Public Welfare. Fred Daniels, Assistant Director, State Department of Social Welfare, Albany, New York.
- Discussants: Henry Bauling, Jewish Charities of Chicago, Chicago, Illinois; Ewan Clague, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.; C. M. Bookman, Executive Secretary, Community Chest, Cincinnati, Ohio.

BUSINESS TRANSACTIONS

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PART I

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Elizabeth H. Dexter....	New York City		

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TERM EXPIRES 1938

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Second Vice-President, Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta
Third Vice-President, Ruth Fitz Simons, Olympia, Washington
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Kathryn D. Goodwin.....	Madison, Wis.		

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John S. Bradway.....	Durham, N.C.	Aubrey Williams.....	Washington, D.C.
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PART III

BUSINESS SESSIONS OF THE CONFERENCE

MINUTES

Monday, May 24, 1937, 8:30 P.M.

The Secretary announced the following committees appointed by the President: Committee on Elections: Arlien Johnson, Washington, Chairman; Eleanor Goltz, Michigan; Louis Horne, Nebraska; Donald Howard, New York; Eri Hulbert, Kansas; Jacob Kepecs, Illinois; Leila Kinney, Ohio; Ruth Lewis, Missouri; Margaret Reeves, Wisconsin.

Committee on Tellers: Helen Jeter, Washington, D.C., Chairman; Harriett Bartlett, Massachusetts; Louis Evans, Indiana.

In each case the Committee has power to add to its number as needed.

Official notice was given that the polls would be open for election at the registration desk at Conference Headquarters on Wednesday, May 26, from 9:00 A.M. until 1:00 P.M., and on Thursday, May 27, from 8:30 A.M. until 5:00 P.M.

Wednesday, May 26, 1937, 11:00 A.M.—Annual Business Meeting

The President called the meeting to order, there being a quorum present. The Treasurer of the Conference, Mr. Arch Mandel, made the following report:

This is an interim report or statement of the finances of the National Conference for 1937. The income was estimated at \$51,790. There was appropriated and budgeted \$45,650, a safe margin, it was felt, by the Executive Committee, so that we might finish the year without a deficit. Through April 30 we had collected on the amount estimated \$19,782.77, and expended \$16,178.80. The answer to our financial status for the year will be given by what happens at the Conference this week. We won't have those figures until the end of the week. So that at the moment we can't tell you how we will finish the year, but we hope it will be within the margin set. May I take advantage of your presence here so that I save some postage and remind you, and remind others through you, that the Conference does depend entirely upon memberships for its support, and that it is incumbent upon the social workers to support it if we are to have a satisfactory Conference. So will you please do what you can to urge those in your community and to urge the agencies in your community to support the Conference and its continuous support that is needed in order that plans might be made, and we do have to make plans, as you know, one and two weeks ahead.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Treasurer.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
FINANCIAL STATEMENT

ALL RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURES

(January 1—April 30, 1937)

Operating balance, January 1..... \$ 1,947.25

Receipts:

Memberships.....	\$19,335.05
Contributions.....	267.56
Sales, <i>Bulletin</i>	35.75
Sales, <i>Proceedings</i>	31.40
Refunds.....	462.48
Miscellaneous.....	.53

Total receipts..... 20,132.77

Total receipts and balance..... \$21,480.02

*Expenditures:**

Salaries, proper.....	\$ 8,991.46
Salaries, employees' tax.....	41.61
Travel.....	3,257.62
Printing.....	5,693.58
Postage.....	1,091.78
Supplies.....	296.40
Telephone and telegraph.....	140.59
Rent.....	480.00
Equipment and repairs.....	103.38
Miscellaneous.....	215.82
Refunds.....	5.00
Tax, federal O.A.A.....	101.69
Tax, state U.I.....	216.27

Total expenditures..... 20,635.20

Balance..... \$ 844.82

* Functional distribution of expenditures:

General administration.....	\$ 6,816.52
Membership and publicity.....	1,572.55
Annual meeting.....	1,667.91
<i>Proceedings</i>	2,309.15
<i>Bulletin</i>	2,656.18
Salary tax.....	339.95
Office operation.....	5,112.93
Other.....	160.01
Total.....	\$20,635.20

NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK
BUDGET STATEMENT

(April 30, 1937)

<i>Income:</i>	Budget Estimates	Actual January 1, to April 30, 1937	Balance
Memberships.....	\$47,790.00	\$18,960.05	\$28,829.95
Guaranties.....	2,000.00	25.00	1,975.00
Miscellaneous.....	2,000.00	797.72	1,202.28
Total.....	\$51,790.00	\$19,782.77	\$32,007.23
<i>Expenditures:</i>	Allowed	Expended	Balance
Salaries.....	\$23,890.00	\$ 9,046.64	\$14,843.36
Travel.....	5,550.00	2,690.77	2,859.23
Printing.....	9,950.00	2,143.41	7,806.59
Postage.....	3,000.00	1,016.95	1,983.05
Supplies.....	1,000.00	245.85	754.15
Telephone and telegraph.....	500.00	105.26	394.74
Rent.....	960.00	320.00	640.00
Equipment.....	300.00	92.24	207.76
Miscellaneous.....	500.00	194.72	305.28
Employ tax.....		317.96	-317.96
Refund.....		5.00	-5.00
Total.....	\$45,650.00	\$16,178.80	\$29,471.20
	Functional Distribution		
General administration.....	\$14,700.00	\$ 6,532.97	\$ 8,167.03
Membership and publicity.....	4,200.00	1,416.00	2,784.00
Annual meeting.....	3,700.00	1,183.76	2,516.24
Proceedings.....	5,650.00	9.15	5,640.85
Bulletin.....	4,000.00	1,920.33	2,079.67
Office operation.....	12,900.00	4,648.62	8,251.38
Employees' tax, federal.....		101.69	-101.69
Employees' tax, state.....		216.27	-216.27
Other.....	500.00	150.01	349.99
Total.....	\$45,650.00	\$16,178.80	\$29,471.20

Miss Joanna C. Colcord, Acting Chairman of the Committee on Time and Place, reported that the Committee had considered four invitations and given final consideration to those from St. Paul (Minnesota) and Buffalo (New York). The Committee recommends Buffalo, New York, by a vote of eight to six. The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee after hearing the report of the Time and Place Committee had voted to approve the report of the Time and Place Committee by a vote of ten ayes and two nays.

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was voted to approve the report of the Committee on Time and Place.

Upon the request of the President, Mr. Paul T. Beisser, Baltimore, Maryland, Chairman of the Committee to Reconsider the Functions of the Time and Place Committee, made an informal report. The Committee was appointed more than a year ago by the Executive Committee. It has held a number of meetings and brought into its councils others who had contributions to make. It has found that the task covered considerably more ground than originally anticipated and will take more time for completion. The Committee is considering the criteria to be used in the selection of a host city. They are now considering the financial arrangements, which will require further study before conclusions can be reached. The Committee hopes to make a formal report to the Executive Committee at its fall meeting.

The question was raised as to whether the Conference was considering any plan of regional conferences. The Secretary reported that the Executive Committee had referred this question to Mr. Beisser's Committee for careful consideration in relation to its other work.

The question was raised as to proportional representation of various groups on the section committees. Upon the request of the President, the Secretary stated that these committees were nominated by a Section Nominating Committee, which is required to submit at least twice as many names as there are vacancies to be filled. The members of the Conference are urged in the *Bulletin* throughout the year to make suggestions for the consideration of the various nominating committees. The Secretary further stated that it has been the policy of the Conference to nominate persons who appear to be able to give the best service and make the largest contribution to the work of the committee in the interests of the Conference rather than as specific representatives of any particular group. There being no further business, upon motion duly made and seconded it was voted to adjourn.

Friday, May 28, 1937, 8:30 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Tellers being called for, the Chairman, Miss Helen R. Jeter, Washington, D.C., presented the following report:

The following officers were elected: President: Solomon Lowenstein, New York City; First Vice-President: Grace L. Coyle, Cleveland, Ohio; Second Vice-President: Forrester B. Washington, Atlanta, Georgia; Third Vice-President: Ruth Fitz Simons, Olympia, Washington.

Those candidates elected to the Executive Committee for a three-year term are: David H. Holbrook, New York City; Florence W. Hutsinpillar, Denver, Colorado; Betsey Libbey, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Bertha McCall, New York City; Roy Sorenson, Chicago, Illinois; George S. Stevenson, New York City; Alfred F. Whitman, Boston, Massachusetts.

Respectfully submitted,

HELEN R. JETER, *Chairman*
Committee on Tellers

The report of the Committee on Nominations for election at the annual meeting of 1938 being called for, Miss Neva R. Deardorff, Chairman, presented the following report:

The Nominating Committee has taken the suggestions which were sent from Conference members and has tried to represent the various interests in social work and the different sections of the country. This slate, you recall, is to be voted on by the members this coming year for election at Seattle in 1938.

Our responsibility is to present candidates for President and three Vice-Presidents to serve one year, and for seven members of the Executive Committee to serve for three years.

We have followed the custom of recent years—of offering only one candidate for each of the four offices and fourteen candidates for the seven Committee members. We present for the consideration of the Conference this slate from the Committee on Nominations:

President: Paul U. Kellogg, Editor, *Survey Associates*, New York City; *First Vice-President:* Edward L. Ryerson, Jr., President, Board of Directors, Council of Social Agencies, Chicago, Illinois; *Second Vice-President:* Ida M. Cannon, Chief of Social Service, Massachusetts General Hospital, Boston, Massachusetts; *Third Vice-President:* Jane M. Hoey, Director of Public Assistance, Social Security Board, Washington, D.C.

For the Executive Committee: Rev. C. Rankin Barnes, Chairman, Social Service Department, Episcopal Diocese of Los Angeles, San Diego, California; Karl de Schweinitz, Pennsylvania School of Social Work, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; Charles F. Ernst, Director, State Department of Social Security, Olympia, Washington; A. L. Foster, Executive Secretary, Chicago Urban League, Chicago, Illinois; Julius Goldman, Director, Community Chest, New Orleans, Louisiana; Harry Greenstein, Executive Director, Associated Jewish Charities, Baltimore, Maryland; Eva Hance, Assistant Director of Employment, Works Progress Administration, San Francisco, California; Fred K. Hoehler, Director, American Public Welfare Association, Chicago, Illinois; Chaney C. Jones, Superintendent, The New England Home for Little Wanderers, Boston, Massachusetts; Rev. C. Hubert Le Blond, Bishop of St. Joseph, St. Joseph, Missouri; James Myers, Industrial Secretary, Federal Council of the Churches of Christ in America, New York City; Clara Paul Paige, Director of Social Service, Chicago Relief Administration, Chicago, Illinois; Mary S. Stanton, Executive Secretary, Los Angeles Council of Social Agencies, Los Angeles, California; Walter W. Whitson, Director, Houston-Harris County Relief Board, Houston, Texas.

Respectfully submitted,

NEVA R. DEARDORFF, *Chairman*
Committee on Nominations

Saturday, May 29, 1937, 1:00 P.M.

The report of the Committee on Resolutions being called for, Mr. Pierce Atwater, Chairman, presented the following resolutions:

The Sixty-fourth Annual Session of the National Conference of Social Work will result not only in being one of the largest meetings of this body but its deliberations have presented and clarified some of the most perplexing problems ever considered in these meetings. All members of the Conference wish to record their deep appreciation and

respect for the leadership of our distinguished President, Miss Edith Abbott, and for the excellent work of our administrative staff under the direction of Mr. Howard R. Knight and Miss Jane Chandler.

No city could have been more conscientious and co-operative than has Indianapolis under the direction of a most attentive and thoughtful Committee on Local Arrangements. This Committee headed by Mr. Hugh McK. Landon and Mr. Chester C. Ridge has handled the many details of registration, meeting places and hospitality in a remarkably efficient manner. The Conference is deeply indebted to these officials as well as to all members of the Committee.

This Conference is now sufficiently large so that any city in the United States must make many special arrangements for the care of Conference delegates. In any place but the largest cities of the country very careful attention must be given by hotels to meet the Conference needs. All delegates are conscious that those committee members dealing with the housing problem and the hotels themselves have been most courteous and have gone to great trouble in facing the heavy demands that the large attendance has thrust upon them. Our appreciation is sincerely expressed to this group.

No meeting in the history of the Conference has received more understanding consideration from the local press and national press associations. We are especially pleased to recognize in their efforts this year interpretative material on social work which has been of much educational value.

The National Conference of Social Work is one of the largest enterprises in the country where the job of program planning is largely in the hands of volunteer members of the Conference. The sectional meetings and the proceedings of the affiliated organizations have been planned with care. Subject matter has stimulated many new ideas and clarified the more established procedures. Grateful appreciation for the work of the Executive Committee and the work of sectional officers and committees is hereby made. None of these programs could have been co-ordinated without the thoughtful standards established by the general program committee and to this group our appreciation is extended.

All of the fine things which Indianapolis has been able to do to make this Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting of the Conference an outstanding success was to have been expected from a state which has contributed such distinguished Conference leadership as that given by our past presidents from Indiana, Mr. Amos Butler and Mr. Alexander Johnson.

Respectfully submitted,

PIERCE ATWATER, *Chairman*

Upon motion duly made and seconded, it was unanimously voted to adopt the report of the Committee.

The President announced that the final registration at the Sixty-fourth Annual Meeting of the National Conference of Social Work was 6,788, although the attendance was approximately between 9,000 and 10,000.

At the close of the meeting the Conference adjourned to reassemble in Seattle, Washington, June 26, to July 2, 1938.

Respectfully submitted,

HOWARD R. KNIGHT, *Secretary*

PART IV

CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS OF THE NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF SOCIAL WORK

CONSTITUTION AS REVISED

PREAMBLE

The National Conference of Social Work exists to facilitate discussion of the problems and methods of practical human improvement, to increase the efficiency of agencies and institutions devoted to this cause, and to disseminate information. It does not formulate platforms.

MEMBERSHIP

An individual or organization interested in the purposes and work of the National Conference may, upon payment of the prescribed membership fee for their membership classification, become a member of the Conference. Membership in the Conference shall be of the following classes: (1) honorary members—to be selected and elected by the Executive Committee; (2) active members; (3) sustaining members; (4) institutional members; (5) contributing members; (6) state members. State boards and commissions supporting the Conference through subscription to the *Proceedings*, the enlistment of memberships or otherwise financially, shall be designated "state members."

OFFICERS

The officers of the Conference shall be a President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents, a General Secretary, six or more Assistant Secretaries, and a Treasurer.

The President and Vice-Presidents shall be elected annually by the Conference; the Assistant Secretaries shall be appointed by the General Secretary, and the remaining officers shall be appointed by the Executive Committee.

COMMITTEES

The Executive Committee shall consist of the President, First, Second, and Third Vice-Presidents and the Treasurer ex-officio, and twenty-one other members who shall be elected by the Conference, seven each year for a term of three years. Vacancies shall be filled in like manner. The Executive Com-

mittee shall hold all the powers of the Conference between meetings, not otherwise reserved or delegated. It may enact rules supplementing the By-Laws and not in conflict with them. The President shall be the ex-officio Chairman. Seven members shall constitute a quorum at all sessions of this Committee.

The President shall appoint the committees named in the By-Laws and such other committees as may be ordered by the Conference or the Executive Committee from time to time.

ANNUAL MEETINGS

The Conference shall meet annually at such time and place as may be determined by the preceding Conference, as provided in the By-Laws. The Executive Committee shall have authority to change the time or place of the annual meeting in case satisfactory local arrangements cannot be made or for other urgent reason. The first day of the annual session shall be defined to be that day on which the first regular public meeting of the Conference is held.

GENERAL SECRETARY

The General Secretary shall be the executive officer of the Conference and shall perform his duties under such rules as may be prescribed by the By-Laws or by the Executive Committee.

AMENDMENTS

This Constitution and the By-Laws under it may be amended at any business meeting of the Conference, provided such amendment shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee, and published to the membership of the Conference in a regular issue of the Conference *Bulletin* together with the Executive Committee's action thereon.

BY-LAWS

1. MEMBERSHIP FEES

Membership fees for the following classifications shall be: for active members with the *Proceedings*, \$5; without the *Proceedings*, \$3; for sustaining members, \$10; for institutional members, \$25 (no individual shall be entitled to hold institutional membership, this membership being reserved solely for agencies, organizations, and institutions); for contributing members, \$25 or over. (Contributing memberships may be limited to individuals contributing \$25 or over and to such organizations as may contribute any sum in excess of membership fee for an institutional membership and which shall elect to be classed as contributing rather than as institutional members.) Sustaining members, institutional members, and contributing members shall be entitled to receive both the *Bulletin* and the annual volume of *Proceedings*. All members shall be entitled to receive the *Bulletin*.

2. DUTIES OF OFFICERS

The President shall be chairman ex-officio of both the Executive and Program Committees. He shall appoint all committees except the Executive Committee unless otherwise ordered by the Conference or by the Executive Committee.

The Treasurer shall keep the funds of the Conference in such bank as may be designated by the Executive Committee. He shall keep his accounts in such form as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee and pay out funds on voucher checks in form to be prescribed by the Executive Committee, and his accounts shall be audited annually by a firm of certified accountants appointed annually by the Executive Committee. He shall give bond in an amount approximating the largest amount of Conference funds held at his disposal at any one time, the expense of the bond to be paid by the Conference.

The General Secretary shall have charge of the office and records of the Conference, and shall conduct its business and correspondence under the direction of the Executive Committee. He shall make arrangements for the annual meeting. He shall direct the activities of the Assistant Secretaries. He shall be the official editor of the volume of proceedings, the periodical bulletin, and other publications of the Conference. He shall develop the membership of the Conference and shall perform such other duties as may be prescribed by the Executive Committee. He shall receive such compensation as shall be fixed by the Executive Committee.

3. FINANCE

The financial management of the Conference shall be vested in the Executive Committee. No final action involving finances shall be taken by the Conference unless the question shall have first been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

The Executive Committee may accept donations for purposes germane to the work of the Conference, provided that no endowment funds shall be accepted in perpetuity; but all such funds must be subject to change of objects or to immediate expenditure; but such change or expenditure must be authorized by a three-fourths vote of the members of the Conference present at a regular meeting and such proposition must first have been submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee.

4. APPOINTMENT OF COMMITTEES

1. Within three months after the adjournment of the annual meeting, the President shall appoint the following named committees:

a) A Committee of three on Resolutions, to which all resolutions shall be referred without debate. No final action shall be taken on any resolution in-

volving a matter of policy at the same session at which it is reported by the Committee on Resolutions.

b) A Committee of twenty or more on Time and Place of the Next Meeting. This committee shall meet on the second day of the annual meeting for the purpose of receiving invitations from cities, and shall give a reasonable time for the presentation of such invitations. In the proceedings of the committee only the votes of members present shall be counted. The committee shall report to the Executive Committee of the Conference not later than the fourth day of the meeting, and the Executive Committee shall transmit this report to the Conference with its approval or other findings thereon. Action on the report of the committee shall be by a rising vote. The city receiving the highest vote shall be selected.

c) A nominating Committee of nine members, none of whom shall be an officer or a member of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

2. Program Committee. There shall be a Program Committee which shall consist of the President-elect, the retiring President, the General Secretary, six members, two to be elected each year by the Executive Committee of the Conference, for terms of three years, and the chairmen of all continuous sections.

The said Committee shall have the following functions:

a) To receive suggestions from Conference members, various Section, Special Topic, and Associate Group Committees, social workers, social agencies, and others interested, for subjects or speakers for the National Conference program.

b) To canvass the social work field continuously, to discover material that could be used advantageously on the Conference program.

c) To determine, from year to year, various major emphases for the program as a whole.

d) To recommend to Section and Special Topic Committees subject matter or methods of presentation of subject matter for their meetings to be used at the discretion of the Section and Special Topic Committees.

e) To arrange where desirable, more than a year in advance, for material to be prepared for the Conference Topic Committees. Where such commitments are made for Section programs, such commitments are to be made only upon the request of the Section involved or with its hearty co-operation and consent, and for not more than one-third of the number of sessions allowed at each annual meeting.

f) To arrange the schedule for joint sessions of Sections.

g) To have sole responsibility for the evening General Sessions programs.

h) To establish such regulations as are needed from time to time for the control of the extent of the program as a whole.

i) To provide adequate ways and means for active participation of Associate Groups in the construction of the program as a whole.

j) To execute such other functions from time to time as may be assigned to it by the Executive Committee or the Conference membership.

k) To arrange, with the approval of the Executive Committee, such consultations and other meetings as may be necessary to carry out its functions.

l) To establish either upon its own initiation or upon request, such Committees on Special Topics as may be desirable. When establishing such Committees on Special Topics, the Program Committee shall also determine definitely the term of service of the Committee on a Special Topic and such other regulations as to frequency of meeting, number of sessions at any annual meeting and so forth as may be desirable.

5. SECTIONS

a) The programs of the Conference shall be grouped under Sections of which the following shall be continuous: (I) Social Case Work; (II) Social Group Work; (III) Community Organization; (IV) Social Action.¹

b) Other Sections may be created for a period of one or more years by the Executive Committee or by the membership at the annual meeting provided the proposal therefore shall have been first submitted to and acted upon by the Executive Committee. All Sections shall be reconsidered by the Executive Committee at intervals of not more than five years and recommendations for such modifications as may be desirable presented at the annual meeting for action by the Conference membership.

c) Each continuous section shall be in charge of a committee of not less than nine members nominated by the section members one year in advance and elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. One-third of the members of the Section Committee shall be elected each year to serve terms of three years each. Persons nominated for officers or Section committee members should so far as possible be members of the Conference or on the staff or board of member agencies. No person shall serve on more than one Section Committee. So far as possible, related professional groups shall have representation on Section Committees.

d) Each other Section not continuous shall be in charge of a committee appointed by the Executive Committee, or if created by the membership, in such manner as the membership shall determine at the annual meeting.

e) Each Section shall have power: (1) To arrange the annual Conference programs coming within its field, subject to the approval of the Executive Committee upon recommendation by the Conference Program Committee. (2) To arrange the annual business meeting of the Section and to provide for the nominations of officers and committee for the succeeding year.

¹ This should be generally defined as covering mobilization of public opinion, legislation, and public administration.

f) Each Section shall annually nominate one year in advance a chairman and vice-chairman to be elected by the same method as the officers and Executive Committee of the Conference. The Chairman may be re-elected once. The Section Committee shall each year elect a Section Secretary.

g) Vacancies in the Section Committee shall be filled at the annual meeting in the same manner as the election of new members. Vacancies in the office of chairman or secretary between meetings shall be filled by the Section Committee, subject to the approval of the Conference Executive Committee.

h) The Conference Executive Committee shall have general supervision over the work of all Section Committees with the final power to pass on all programs, in order to insure the harmonious conduct of all parts of the work.

6. ASSOCIATE GROUPS

Independent associations may arrange with the National Conference Executive Committee for meetings to be held immediately before or during the annual meeting of the National Conference. The Executive Committee shall make such rules and regulations as it may deem necessary from time to time for such meetings.

7. SUBMISSION OF QUESTIONS

Any Section or group desiring to submit any question to the Conference shall present it to the Executive Committee for preliminary consideration, at least twenty-four hours before the final adjournment of the Conference, and the Executive Committee shall report on such questions with its recommendation before final adjournment.

8. BUSINESS SESSIONS

At the annual meeting at least one session shall be held at which only matters of business shall be considered. The time of this session shall be announced in the last issue of the *Bulletin* preceding the meeting. The officers of the Conference shall endeavor to concentrate on this occasion as much as possible of the business of the Conference.

Any person may vote at any annual meeting of the National Conference of Social Work, provided (1) That he is a member in good standing at the time of such meeting, and (2) That he was a member in good standing at the last preceding annual meeting. However, if he was not in good standing at the time of such meeting by reason of non-payment of dues, then subsequent payment of such dues shall satisfy the requirements of this subsection.

Any institutional member, or any institution which is a contributing member as defined in Article I of these By-Laws, may cast its vote at any annual meeting of the Conference by designating any member of its board or staff who shall appear personally to cast the said ballot.

9. VOTING QUORUM

At any business session fifty member shall constitute a quorum.

10. SECTION MEETINGS

All meetings of the Conference except General Sessions shall be arranged so as to facilitate informal discussion. The Chairmen of Sections shall preside at the meetings of their Sections or shall appoint presiding officers in their stead.

11. MINUTES

A certified copy of the minutes of the business transactions of the annual meeting, excepting official documents, shall be posted by the General Secretary on the official bulletin board at least three hours before the final meeting of each annual session, in order that the said minutes may be corrected by the Conference, if any question of accuracy be raised before adjournment.

12. LOCAL ARRANGEMENTS

All local arrangements for the annual meetings shall be subject to the approval of the Executive Committee of the Conference.

13. NOMINATION AND ELECTION OF OFFICERS

1. The Nominating Committee shall have the function of nominating one or more persons for each of the offices of President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, and Third Vice-President, and at least twice as many persons for members of the Executive Committee as there are vacancies in that body.

2. Suggestions of names of persons for any of these positions may be submitted to the Nominating Committee by any members of the Conference at any time following the committee's appointment and up to the time of the committee's announcement of the list of nominations.

3. Within ninety days of its appointment, the Nominating Committee shall, through the *Bulletin*, solicit suggestions of names of persons for the offices to be filled, and shall renew such solicitation in each succeeding *Bulletin* up to the time of announcing the list of nominations. The committee shall appoint a place at or near headquarters on the first day of the annual meeting and shall announce the same, at which suggestions for nominations shall be received by them up to 1.00 P.M. of the fourth day of the annual meeting.

4. After taking into consideration the names suggested by the Conference members, but not necessarily confining their consideration to these names, the committee shall draw up a list of nominations as previously specified, and the same shall be announced at the General Session on the evening of the sixth day of the Conference one year in advance of the Conference at which they

are to be elected. The list of nominees shall be published in the next succeeding issue of the Conference *Bulletin* following the announcement.

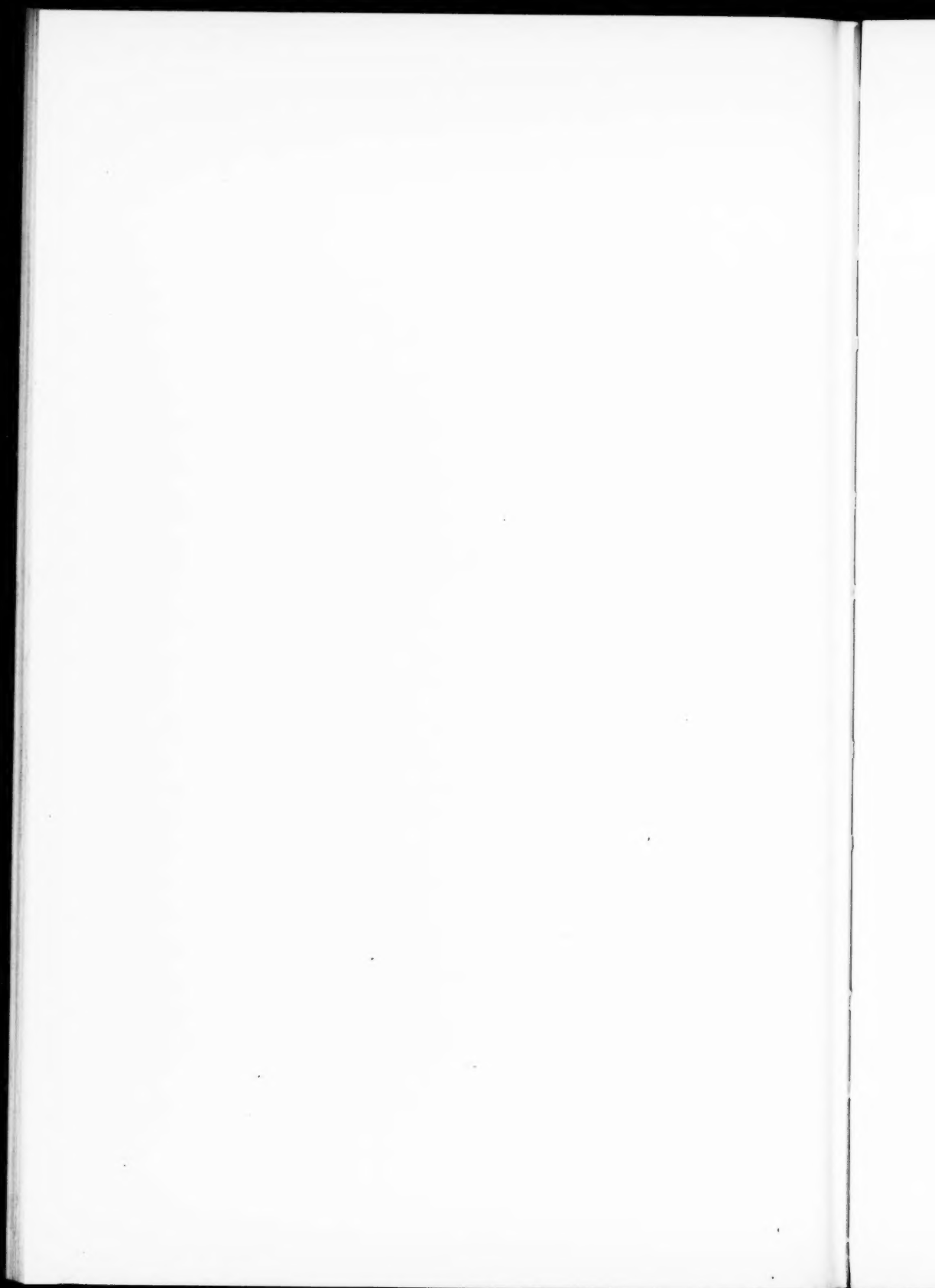
5. Additional nominations may be made by petition of not less than twenty-five members, properly addressed to the chairman of the Nominating Committee and filed at the Conference office not later than January 1 preceding the Conference at which they are to be elected.

6. A final list of all nominations shall be published in the first issue of the Conference *Bulletin* published after January 1.

7. The official ballot shall be sent by mail, to their address of record in the Conference office, to all members of the Conference entitled to vote, or who may become entitled to vote, by the renewal of membership or otherwise, not later than sixty days before the date designated each year for the closing of the polls. Ballots may be returned by mail to the Conference office, but must be received in said office not later than the tenth day preceding the announced date of the first session of the annual Conference; or they may be deposited at the polling place provided at Conference headquarters, at any time during the period during which said polling place is officially open. Ballots returned by mail must be signed by the voter, and shall be discarded as invalid if received without such signature.

8. A polling place shall be established and maintained on the fourth day of the Conference, to be open for at least four hours, at such times as may be decided upon and announced by the Executive Committee. The polling place shall also be maintained between the hours of 8:00 A.M. and 5:00 P.M. on the fifth day of the annual meeting, provided that such day shall not fall on Sunday, in which case the election shall occur on the sixth day. After the time herein specified for voting has expired, the ballots shall be counted by a committee of three tellers appointed by the President, and the result shall be announced at the next general session of the Conference. Election shall be by majority vote of the ballots cast.

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